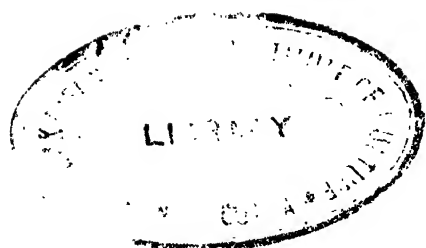


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(Preliminary Issue.)

# The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

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GOLLA CASTE.

BY

H. V. NANJUNDOYYA M.A., M.L.

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## G O L L A S.

Gollas or Gauligas (ಗೊಲ್ಲರು ಗೌಳಿಗರು) numbered 142,291 according to the last Census, the males being about 2 per cent in excess of the females. Only about 3·8 per cent of their number have their traditional profession of cowherds as their principal vocation, the rest being either agriculturists or day labourers. They are as a class illiterate, only about 1·3 per cent knowing how to read and write. They are an indigenous caste in Mysore like the Kurubas, and are found largely in the Tumkur District, Chitaldrug, Bangalore and Kolar coming next in order. Name.

This caste sometimes styled Uru Gollas (ಉರು ಗೊಲ್ಲರು—Town Gollas) has to be distinguished from Kádu Gollas (ಕಾಡುಗೊಲ್ಲರು) or Jungle Gollas. In parts of the malnad, the name Gauliga (which has the same meaning) is used instead. They sometimes style themselves Yádava-kula (ಯಾದವಕುಲ) or Krishṇa-kula, as they profess to belong to the same caste as Krishna. They also style themselves Gollaráju (ಗೊಲ್ಲ ರಾಜು).

Gaṇḍa is the usual honorific suffix, but a division known as Kilári Gollas use the term Náyaḍu.

*Golla* is a contracted form of *Góvala*, which is derivative from Sanskrit *Gópāla* or cowherd. *Gauli* or Gauliga is another form of the same word. Their original calling was that of tending cows and living by the sale of milk and its products. This was carried on slings called Kávaḍi (ಕವಡಿ), and hence these men were sometimes known as Kaváḍigas. When illiterate, they generally affix the mark of a Kávaḍi (two slings balanced on a cross pole) to denote their signature.\*

The term *Golla-ráju* is meant perhaps to denote their superior status on account of their alleged connection with Krishna, who belonged to the royal dynasty of Yádavas.

\* *Turuvāla* (ತುರುವಳಿ) is another old Kannada equivalent of the term. *Turu* meaning a cow and *vāla*, a masculine suffix.

Origin.

The Gollas are well-built, strong and muscular and may be easily identified by the Vaishṇava mark (a vertical red or yellow streak) on their foreheads. They claim to be the descendants of a Brahman maid married to a Kshatriya. Dēvayāna, the daughter of Sukrāchārya, the priest of the Rākshasas, became the subject of a curse, and was left by her companions swimming in a pond in a jungle without clothes which they carried away. She was helped out by the Kshatriya king Yayāti who had to supply her with half his cloth torn out to cover her body before leaving the water. As he lifted her by the hand, she begged him to marry her, as he was the first stranger to touch her hand.\* These Gollas claim to be their descendants. In course of time, the Gollas came to live in Brindāvan, following the profession of cattle-tending and selling milk and curds. It is commonly stated that Krishna mixed largely with Golla maidens and hence the Gollas claim to belong to the Yādava clan in which Sri Krishna was born. In the beginning of the Kali Yuga, they say, they were living in Répalli from which they migrated into the South during the time of one Rājanaréndra for want of patrons in their native country.

Formerly a section of the Gollas who are styled Bīgamudreyavarū (ಬಿಗಮುದ್ರೆಯವರು—of the lock and the seal) were the custodians of the Treasury. They were noted for their staunch loyalty, and in the days of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan they were employed in guarding and transporting treasure. Even now, the menials who open and lock the Government Treasury and handle the money bags are known as Gollas.

Buchanan writes about them as follows :—

"It is said that they may be safely intrusted with any sum; for, each man carrying a certain value, they travel in bodies numerous in proportion to the sum put under their charge; and they consider themselves bound in honour to die in defence of their trust; of course, they defend themselves vigorously, and are all armed; so that robbers never venture to attack them. They have hereditary chiefs called *Gottagaru*, who with the usual council settle all disputes, and punish all transgressions against the rules of caste. The most flagrant is the embezzlement of money entrusted to their care. On this crime being proved against any of the caste, the *Gottagaru* applies to the Amildar, or Civil Magistrate, and, having obtained his leave, immediately causes the delinquent to be shot."†

\* The story is given in the Mahabhārata, Adiparva.

† Travels, P.

This caste is divided into a number of endogamous Divisions. divisions, though it is difficult to make out the *ratio divi-*  
*dendi* in each case. Two main divisions are known by the names Onti Chapparamu-Vállu (ఒంటిచప్పురమువాళ్ళు) and Rendu-Chapparamu-Vállu (రెండు చప్పురమువాళ్ళు), the former erecting only one Chappara or marriage pandal and the latter two pandals, one before the bride's and the other before the bridegroom's house. The other divisions are Yerra or Kilári Gollas (యర్ర లేక కిలారి గొల్లలు) Punagu or Kudī Paítala Gollas (పునగు లేక కుడిపైటల గొల్లలు) Karne Gollas (కరనే గొల్లరు) Púni or Púje Gollas (పుని అథవా పుజే గొల్లరు) Bígamudre or Bokkasa Gollas (బిగముద్రే అథవా బొక్కస గొల్లరు) Kanchu Gollas (కంజు గొల్లరు) Ráchá Gollas (రాకగొల్లరు) Mushti Gollas (ముష్టిగొల్లరు) and probably some more. The members of these divisions eat together but do not intermarry.

Yerra or Kilári Gollas appear to be superior to the other divisions and put on the sacred thread during marriages. Among the Karani Gollas there is a family styled Asádi Gollas (ఆసాది గొల్లరు) who beat on the drum and sing the praises of Máramma, during the festivals held in honour of the village goddess, like the Mádigas, but are otherwise regarded as in no way inferior to the rest. In some places, the members of this division are regarded as servants of the caste, corresponding to Kólkárs.

Bígamudre or Bokkasa Gollas (Gollas of the lock and seal section) are so called because they were the guards of the treasury in former times.

The people of the two-marriage-booths division eschew flesh of any kind during marriages till the Nága-vali is over. Meanings of the names of other divisions are not known.

Gollas have a large number of exogamous divisions named after some animal, plant or other material, and the members belonging to a particular division are prohibited from eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing their division. As in other castes, all the members belonging to the same division are looked upon as brothers and sisters whether there is any relationship traceable or not, and sexual union between a man and a woman of the same division is looked upon as improper and renders the parties liable to expulsion from the caste.

Another peculiarity is that if the object representing any division is not known or ascertainable, the members of that division treat the millet (*Panicum*) known as Navane, as the sacred object. It is generally said that there are 101 exogamous divisions but this is probably an exaggeration. A list of some exogamous divisions with the names of the material objects represented by them is given in the appendix.

Language.

The original language of the Gollas appears to be Telugu. But those that are living in the purely Kannada parts of the State use only that language. The divisions by language has, in some places, become so pronounced, that the Kannada Gollas and the Telugu Gollas do not intermarry.

Birth ceremonies.

A pregnant woman is considered to be specially liable to the evil influence of spirits and is not allowed to go out alone in the evenings. She is generally taken to her father's house and they take special care of her. A pregnant woman is not allowed to see an eclipse and the shadow of the night birds should not fall on her person. In cases of hard labour, a chunam pot is broken at a place where three paths meet.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered impure for ten days and is confined to a room at the entrance of which a crowbar washed in cow's urine, an old winnow and an old shoe are kept to ward off evil spirits. The midwife who attends the delivery gets a present of a *hana* (4 as. 8 p.) for a male child and half that amount for a female. On the third day, the child is washed and an *druti* is waved before it. Neighbours pay a visit to the confinement room, bringing with them presents of old cloths and castor oil to the child. The mother is given some stimulating drugs. On even days, such as the second and the fourth, the mother and the child are taken special care of, and the door of the room is kept almost closed, for fear that evil spirits might attack them. On the eleventh or any other subsequent odd day, the mother and the child are bathed in hot water prepared by immersing certain green leaves and omam roots. The water is consecrated in a new earthen pot in the usual way and the pit ceremony is performed as in other castes. After bathing, the mother warms herself by bending over a fire pan in which omam roots are thrown so as to allow the smoke spreading over the whole

body to keep off cold. Then a wristlet made of black woollen thread with the roots of *baje* (*acorus catamus*) and a waist-thread, if male, are tied to the child. Then the usual dinner is given to all the castemen. The agnates get rid of pollution by bathing.

In the evening an elderly woman consults a sooth-sayer for the name to be given to the child. There is no peculiarity in the names, but as the Gollas are mostly Vaishnavites, the names of God Vishnu are generally chosen. But the names of God Siva are not eschewed, and there are many Gollas who are the followers of this God. Names taken after the minor gods and goddesses are also found in the caste. Opprobrious names are sometimes given and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames, such as, Donka (డంక) the crooked, Gujja (గుజ్జ) the dwarf, and names of endearment like Puttu, Magu, are also common.

In the third month, the mother and the child are taken to a river, after bathing, to worship Ganga (water goddess) by the offerings of turmeric and kunkuma, and cocoanut. Then in the evening, they are taken to a temple where the god is worshipped and *tirtha* is sprinkled on them. The woman gets rid of the pollution completely and may attend to the household duties thereafter. The child is weaned only after two years.

The first tonsure ceremony for the child, whether male or female, takes place near the temple of their family god, in the third year. The barber is presented with a *hana* for a male and half a *hana* for a female child, together with a new cloth and provisions. The child after bathing, is taken into the temple where the god is worshipped and *tirtha* and *prasāda* are given to it. In the evening, the lobes of the child's ear are pierced with an ear ring presented by the maternal uncle, the relatives of the child who have collected by invitation, present the child with some coins and fried grain, and they all return home in a procession.

Adoption is allowed and practised, the son of a brother or other near agnate being taken by preference. They say they may adopt the son of either a sister or even a daughter. The ceremony observed is the same as in other castes, such as renewal of the boy's waist-thread, and caste dinner. *Illātom* is common in the Telugu parts

of the State and an *illdtom* son-in-law gets a share in the property equal to that of a son and in the absence of any sons, becomes sole heir to his father-in-law.

#### Marriage.

Marriage is generally between adults, but as in other similar castes, there is a feeling that infant marriages are more respectable. They even say that adult marriages are an innovation, though the reverse is the probable truth. Boys are not generally married before they are twenty, and the parents arrange the match for both parties. Polygamy is allowed, but is not, as a rule, practised unless for such good reasons as want of issue by the first marriage or incurable disease of the first wife. When a man marries for the second time, during the life-time of the first wife, he generally obtains her consent. Polyandry is unknown. A person whether male or female may remain unmarried without incurring any social odium, but an unmarried woman is not admitted into all the privileges of one in the married state. Thus she may not touch the bridal pair or carry the *kalasa* at a marriage procession. When such persons die, their funeral ceremonies are not observed in an elaborate manner, but are finished within three days. Sometimes, however, they are elevated after death to the rank of *Iragārara* and worshipped in that guise.

Gollas are rather punctilious in the matter of contracting marriage relationship. They do not go beyond the place of previous alliances, thus practically still further splitting the recognised endogamous groups. But, within the recognised circle, there are no prohibitions based on such adventitious conditions as social or religious status, distant living, etc. They have exogamous divisions known as *Bedagus* or *Kulas*, the relationship to which is always traced through males. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle paternal aunt or elder sister is allowed, but the daughter of a maternal aunt, or of a paternal uncle is considered equal to a sister and union with her is incestuous. Two sisters may be married to the same man or to two brothers. The division or sept in which one's own mother was born is preferred to other *Kulas* for marriage. The other relationship should not be that of a brother or sister by analogy or parent and child. By the operation of this rule marriages are sometimes prohibited between persons of two divisions which are connected with a third by marriage. Exchange of daughters is allowed, but is viewed with disfavour except when the parties are poor.

The offer of marriage comes generally from the father of the boy; but when the match is between the boy and his sister's or maternal uncle's daughter, the negotiations may be commenced by either party. The usual preliminary negotiations are carried on and the marriage generally takes place in the boy's house.

Marriage proper lasts for five days, during which time both the families are very busy. On the first day, the boy and the girl are anointed with oil and bathed in their houses. The boy takes a shave and then is rubbed with turmeric and bathed again. This is the first smearing of turmeric. Some matrons after bathing go in the *mudi* state to an ant-hill and worshipping it in the usual fashion, pour milk into the snake-holes. On their returning home, a *Kalasa* is set up in the central part of the house and is worshipped in the names of all the deceased ancestors by placing new cloths and jewels near it and offering incense and cocoanuts. Then a cocoanut is offered to the family god and a dinner called *Dévarāta* (ದೇವರಾಟ — God's feast) is given to the castemen. Five married women are presented with glass bangles to propitiate the deceased female ancestors.

The pandals are next erected (one before each house in case of "two-pandals" section, and only one in other cases) with twelve pillars, a branch of the fig tree brought by the maternal uncle being tied to a central pillar. *Arivéṇis* (sacred pots) are brought in by married women and placed apart in a room on a bed of ant-hill earth and manure. Lamps are lighted near them, and sweet cakes strung together on a string are suspended before them. The nine kinds of staple grains are sown in the earthen dishes by married women.

Among the Karaṇi Golla section is observed, at midnight this day, the ceremony of *Biragudi Sāstra*. Two persons of the bride's house and an unmarried man and a woman, and two of the bridegroom's fast from morning. At about 11 o'clock at night these four persons bathe and put on washed clothes. They are taken, in state, under a canopy to a place where three paths meet. There a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a drawing of a human figure is made with *raṅgōli* (quartz powder). *Pūja* is done to it and on a plantain leaf offerings of cooked rice, 101 sweet cakes, 101 betel-leaves, 101 arcca nuts, glass



bangles, etc., are placed. A small fire is kindled before it and the four persons go round and round the fire. Then *prasadā* is distributed to all, and they return home without making any noise. Then they worship the Arivénis.

Early in the morning, the next day, the bridegroom and his brother are seated together and rubbed with turmeric. A barber pares the toe-nails of the bridegroom after which he is seated within a square formed by placing four vessels in the corners and bathed in *malaniru* water. While yet in wet clothes, his maternal uncle lifts him and carries him bodily and depositing him at a distance in a wicker basket kicks away the vessels and walks backwards. This is styled the ceremony of freeing from bondage (*Sere bidisuvudu* ಸರೆ ಬಿಡಿಸುವುದು). The maternal uncle is then dismissed with the present of a *támbúla*. The bridegroom puts on fresh clothes and goes out in state to a temple. The bride is likewise bathed in *malaniru* and is also "freed from bondage."

The bridegroom and his party come from the temple and are stopped near the entrance of the pandal. Overcoming this mock obstruction, the bridegroom enters and sits on the marriage dais and the bride clothed in wedding dress is brought and seated opposite to him. The Brahman Puróhit chants mantras and the placing of jag-gory and gingelly on each other's head, tying of Kankayas, *tápi* tying, and the *dháre* take place in succession as in Morasu Okkalu\* caste. Then the rice-pouring ceremony takes place and the married women put *sáse* to the bridal pair. Pan supari is distributed to the persons assembled there.

Then the couple rise holding each other by the hand and with the hems of their garments tied together. They are taken round the milk post thrice and are shown the star *Arundhriti*. They then go into the Arivéni room, bow to the pots, take off the Bháshingas and sit together to eat *Burva* (ಬುರ್ವು) served in a single dish. Then a general dinner is given to all the relatives. Among the "two pandals" section of Gollas, the whole ceremony is repeated in the evening before the bride's house. This is called the second *dháre*.

Next day, the Bandári or the Pújári of the caste worships the Arivénis and the new-married couple have to eat a second *Burva*. This afternoon, the worshipping of

\* Vide pp. 15-16 of Monograph XV.

*Simhāsana*\* takes place. The *Baṇḍāri* officiates at this and distributes the betel leaves and nuts in a cup in the prescribed order, under the direction of the headman of the caste. It is said that for every one cup he distributes, he gets his customary fee of two leaves and two nuts.

Next day takes place the worship of the pillars with the earth brought from the ant-hill and other offerings. This is called *Nājavali*.† Then the couple are seated on *Kundānagaḷu* (hollow wooden frames to be kept on the mortar when pounding rice), and the pot-searching takes place. They are then made to play at house-keeping. A doll is given to the man's hand who transfers it to the wife with the formula that he has work in the field and so she should take up the child; she again, in her turn, hands the child back as milk is boiling over and may be spilt if she did not go. In the evening the couple are taken, in state, to a field where the bridegroom ploughs. The bride brings food and her husband has to eat it at her request. Then the water kept in the *Arivēni* pots is taken to a well with the sprouts of grain sown in dishes and thrown into a well. On return, a part of the *pandal* is removed and in the night the bridal procession takes place.

Next day the newly married couple with some relations go to the bride's village, and remain there a day or two and return, leaving the girl there.

It is said that in the houses of *Yerra Gollas*, all the marriage ceremonies, including the *dhāre* and the *tūṭi* tying are observed in the night and the marriage is over before dawn the next day.

The bride price called *Ōli* (ఒలి) in *Telugu* and *Tera* (ತೆರ) in *Kannada* is Rs. 15; the amount varies in different places and sometimes well-to-do parents do not demand it at all. It is said that a widower has to pay an additional sum which is often given in the form of an extra jewel to the wife. There is a story current that the *tera* was 101 pagodas formerly and that many *Gollas* had to go without marriage, and therefore to grow their beards long, for by the prevailing custom, unmarried men were not then allowed to shave their hair. The evil became so great that one of the kings of *Vijayanagar* found it necessary to fix a scale of marriage

\* *Ibid* p. 17.

† *Vide Morasu Okkalu*, p. 16.

expenses by a royal mandate, issued in consultation with the leaders of the caste. The *tera* was reduced to 6½ rupees, and the presents to the bride were to consist of a *Táli* of ½ pagoda of gold, silver bangles worth 3 rupees, a silver armlet worth 7 rupees, and ear-plugs worth 10 rupees. This brought about a large number of marriages at once and for want of time to erect marriage pandals, they performed them, it is said, under Avarike and Bandari plants.

When a girl is married before puberty, she remains in her parent's house till she comes of age.

**Puberty.** When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for 16 days, the first three nights of which she remains in a shed made of green leaves. During this period the leaves are renewed, so that the covering may always be green.\* As in other castes, the girl is exhibited every evening in the company of married women who fill her garments with presents of fruit, cocoanuts, etc. Her mother-in-law, if the girl is married, or the maternal uncle's family bear the expenses of one day's *osage*. Bathing on the 16th day, the girl does Ganga pūja and is rid of the impurity. In her periodical sickness, a woman is treated as unclean for three days and becomes pure after bathing and putting on washed clothes on the fourth day.

The consummation of marriage, in the case of a girl who has attained puberty before marriage, is put off for three months after the marriage. This has resulted in a customary rule that such a girl can live with her husband only after offering Bāgina (ಬಾಗಿನ) to the Gauri in the Gauri feast, which occurs in the Bhādrapada month, exactly three months after the close of the marriage season.

**Widow marriage.** Widows are not allowed to remarry. But if a widow lives in concubinage with one of her own caste, they do not put her out; her issue become a distinct line; and though intermarriage is prohibited with them, the members of the caste do not object to dine in their company.

**Divorce.** The husband may give up his wife for her unchastity or loss of caste and the wife may also separate herself from her husband for habitual ill-treatment or his loss of caste. When the divorce is effected, the head of the caste and the

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\* Formerly the girl used to be kept, it is said, at a distance from the village. This practice is still observed by the Kāḷu Gollas. See Monograph XIV, page 7.

Panchayatats meet and adjudge separation. The divorced woman may not remarry but may live in the keeping of a man of the same caste.

Adultery with a man of a different caste entails expulsion from the caste. It is generally looked upon as degrading though occasionally it is condoned by payment of a small fine.

Gollas do not permit a girl to be dedicated as a Basavi. There is said to be a wandering section of the caste, devotees of the goddess Yellamma, who have this practice. But none of them are found in this State. Death ceremonies.

Gollas bury the dead, but the dead bodies of those suffering from leprosy and other cutaneous diseases are cremated. Just before death, a bit of gold or a *hana* and the leaves of Tulasi are put into the mouth of the dying person and all the nearest relatives pour some water, as their last service. When life is extinct, the body is bathed in warm water and a fire is kindled in front of the house.\* Dás-ayyas are sent for and beat on a gong and blow a trumpet to announce the event. The chief mourner cooks rice in a new earthen pot before the house. The body is wrapped up in a shroud and placed on a bier made of bamboos. A little of rice is tied in a corner of the shroud and the relatives put some rice on the closed eyes of the dead body. It is then carried by four men on the shoulders accompanied by a band, beating of the drum and firing of guns into the air. As the corpse is passing, betel leaves and parched paddy are thrown on it. As in other castes, the body is placed on the ground once while half way and the carriers change sides. Then it is carried to the burial ground where a grave has been dug and kept ready. The son gets his head and moustache shaved and then the dead body is lowered into the grave. The shroud is taken and thrown out, and the body is buried quite naked, the chief mourner putting the first sod of earth followed by the other relatives of the dead person. A water pot is, as usual, broken on the grave after it is closed up. Then all go to a water-course, have a plunge and with wet clothes go home to see a lamp kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. They bury the dead with the face downwards and the head turned to the south. They do not bury anything with the dead body, the popular

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\* It is considered inauspicious to kindle fire right in front of a dwelling house on other occasions.

saying being as a man came into the world so must he go out of it. When a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday, a wooden bolt of a door and a live chicken are buried with the body.\*

The third day ceremony is observed as among other castes.† Among the Kilári Gollas, an extra ceremony is observed on the 7th day, when a *kalasa* is worshipped along with all the jewels and clothes which the deceased wore when alive. The eleventh day ceremony is observed as usual. The Kilári Gollas make the figure of a man out of *Kusa* grass, carry it on a bier to the burial ground and cremate it on the eleventh day. The ashes are collected and a human figure is drawn thereon, which is worshipped with the offerings of an *Ede* (food) and milk. They then throw the ashes in water, bathe and return home. A Brahman is invited to purify the house and the rest of the eleventh day ceremony is observed as among the Morasu Okkalu caste.†

Gollas have a large section known as Désábhágadavaru or Tirunámadháríes who are branded with the symbols of Vaishṇava faith, Sankha and Chakra. Among them as soon as a man dies, a Sátáni priest is called in to officiate at the ceremonies. He makes the symbol of Chakra near the corpse, offers it cooked food and liquor, distributes some of it as Prasáda to the relatives of the deceased and partakes of the remainder. These people do not observe the third day ceremony, but perform a similar one on the fifth day. On the midnight of the eleventh day, the chief mourner and the other immediate relatives resort to the burial ground with cooked food and a large quantity of liquor. The Sátáni priest, who accompanies them, draws a figure of the deceased on the grave, and offers to it food and liquor, of which he tastes a little. When they return home, he instals a *kalasa* in the central part of the house and more liquor is brought in and offered to the *kalasa*. After *pūja*, all the members of the family both male and female with their friends of the same faith (Désábhága) join together and drink copiously, all differences of caste and sex being forgotten. All this, however, is kept secret, and strangers even of their own caste who do not drink (and are known as Mullujana) are strictly excluded.

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\* This practice is traced to a popular belief that when a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday, this will be followed by two more deaths in the village. The bolt and the chicken are intended as substitutes for the two persons.

† See Morasu caste, Monograph XV, pp. 20-1.

Gollas observe pollution for ten days, but the more distant relatives bathe on the fourth day. During the period of pollution, they do not use their caste mark or eat sugar or flesh. They do not perform Sráddhas but observe the Mahálaya new-moon day when they offer an Ede to a *kalasa* in the names of all the deceased ancestors and distribute doles of raw rations to Brahmans. That day some people go in the evening to the burial ground, apply sandal to their family graves, burn frankincense, break cocoanuts and pray to the spirits of the ancestors to keep them and their families safe. They cook their food and eat it after returning home.

Gollas are Vaishnavas and worship Krishna under various names. Some of them have also adopted Siva as their family deity. They also worship minor deities such as Máramma, Yellamma and Gangamma, and sacred animals and trees. Persons of their family dying as bachelors are deified as Iragàranu, and their figures are cut on stone slabs as riding on horse-back and set up in fields with female figures on either side. *Púja* is offered to these images on feast days like the new-year's day and the Gauri. Religion.

The Karani Gollas of the Kolar District have four Maṭhas situated in Gúlúr (Bágepalli Taluk) founded in honor of certain saints of their caste, to whom *púja* is offered in those places, by the devotees who go there on pilgrimage. Rájulamaṭham (రాజుల మఠం) and Purigóni Maṭham (పురిగోని మఠం) were set up for two brothers of this caste named Peddaráju and Chinnaráju; Dévónimaṭham (దేవోనిమఠం) and Mékalónimaṭham (మేకలొనిమఠం) have one Bommala and Dévaru as their patron saint. The headmen of the caste residing in this village have charge of these institutions.

The most important of the feasts observed by the Gollas is the Sankranti (13th or 14th January). The feast is dedicated to the worship of the god *Kámaráya* (కామరాయ). All bathe in the morning, wash their cattle and paint their horns with red and white stripes. The boys grazing the cattle are given fresh holiday clothes and are sent to graze them after a sumptuous dinner. In the evening when the cattle are returning from the pasture grounds, a bonfire is prepared outside the village, and Feasts.

the cattle are driven through the flames. On the boys reaching home with the cattle, cooked rice and sweet cakes are given to them to eat. In some places, it is the practice to boil pods of Avare (అవరకాయ) with salt and give them to the cows and buffaloes. Milk is boiled in the courtyard and distributed to all.

Mushti Gollas perform periodically another feast of cattle (*Avula Pandaga*—ఆవులపండగ). Contributions are levied among them, and all meet at a particular place. A bull (an uncastrated one) decorated and fully caparisoned is taken in state to the courtyard of their temple and is made to lie down on a kambli. The Pújári worships it in the usual fashion, and it is fed with milk, rice and sugar boiled together. *Mangaláratī* is waved and prasáda is distributed to all present. Then the bull returns to its usual place with same honors as on arrival. They hold a general feasting, and the poor of the other castes are also fed on the occasion.

The Púje Gollas occasionally hold meetings called *Nandana Guḍáramu* (నందన గుఢారము Nanda's tent), when they exhibit a number of Krishna's pictures descriptive of different feats. One of the elderly men assembled recites stories about Krishna in whose honor they perform the *púja* and have a feast.

The dedicating of men for the service of God as Dásayyas is very common among Gollas. The noviciate is branded with the marks of Shankha and Chakra on his arms and is presented with a begging-pouch. The dedication takes place when the boy is about ten years old. The presence of Dásayyas is necessary on all their religious ceremonies.

Occupation.

Their original occupation was the tending of cattle and selling milk and its products. They are, however, now to be found in all professions such as agriculture, carpentry, bricklaying and Government service. Some are day labourers also. Their caste status is not affected by their following any of these professions.

Gollas generally keep a number of cattle and sheep. They impound the latter in a fold built for them in their fields. They have a curious ceremony for ridding their cattle of an epidemic of foot and mouth disease. On a Tuesday, a Pillari or a cone of cow-dung is set up on a cleaned spot

near the fold and cotton threads dipped in turmeric are tied to a sheep and a ram. Frankincense is burnt and cocoanuts are broken and offerings of cooked food are placed near the Pillári. Then a boy in *maḍi* is presented with betel leaves and nuts and the cooked food and is made to go away limping; water with cow-dung is sprinkled behind him. This is called in Telugu *Kunṭu velli réśéḍi* (కంటు వెళ్ళి చేశేడి) driving away the limping disease, and the boy is believed to carry away the disease with him.

Gollas belong to the Nine Phaṇa group or the Left Hand section and are ranked high in the social scale, coming next only to Okkaligas, in whose houses they are allowed to dine. They are flesh-eaters but abstain from drink, though the latter practice is not prohibited by any caste rules. They do not admit outsiders into their caste, but persons of their own caste excommunicated for transgression against their caste rules, such as eating with a lower caste man, may be readmitted after a purificatory process, which is the same as in other castes. They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance and the rules of partition are the same as in Morasu Okkalu caste.\*

Social status.

Gollas have a well-defined caste organization. They have groups styled *Kaṭṭémunés* under the headship of an *Yajaman* and a *Gauḍi*, who settle all questions affecting the discipline of the members. Under these is the *Bandári* who is the beadle and as such is bound to call together the castemen whenever there is any necessity. The offices of these functionaries are hereditary and they get some customary fees on all important occasions. Among the *Kurani* Gollas, the office of headman now belongs to a person of the *Dāvódu* division having been transferred to them from the *Rájóllu* division. The explanation given is that the latter had to give up their superior privileges, as a woman of the other division whom they looked down upon as defiled proved her superior virtue by cutting off a limb of a sheep and making it whole again. Ever since, the first *Támḃúla* at marriages is given to a member of this division.

Tribal constitution.

There is nothing peculiar in the dress or ornaments of Gollas, except that their women do not generally wear bodice cloths. They sometimes play on a bamboo flute to while away their time while grazing. Gollas never ride on the back of a bullock.

Miscellaneous.

\* See Monograph XV, p. 25.



## A P P E N D I X

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### List of Exogamous Divisions.

- Alasandula (అలసండుల), beans.  
 A'ne (అనే), elephant.  
 A'sádi (అసాది).  
 Bále (బాళే), plantain.  
 5 Bandáram (బండారం).  
 Bandi (బండి), cart.  
 Bangáru (బంగారు), gold.  
 Bidigállu (బిదిగాళ్ళు).  
 Bódi (బోడి).  
 10 Búnagána (బూనుగాన).  
 Dyávóllu (ద్వావోళ్ళు).  
 Dévadári (దేవదారి), deodar tree.  
 Ellagala (ఎల్లగల).  
 Ganda (గాండా), sandal.  
 15 Gannérta (గన్నేర్త), sweet basil.  
 Ganta (గంట), saddle.  
 Gorimilla (గొరిమిళ్ళు), a herb.  
 Gúba (గుబా), an owl.  
 Gúna (గున), hunch-backed.  
 20 I'ja (ఈజ), a plant.  
 Jambu (జంబు), a reed.  
 Káre (కారే), a prickly plant.  
 Kávaḍi (కావడి), a pole with slings on either side.  
 Kommalu (కొమ్మలు), horns.  
 25 Korla (కొర్ల), panicum grain.  
 Kurimilla (కురిమిళ్ళు).  
 Machchal (మచ్చల), a fish.  
 Maddi (మద్ది), a timber tree.  
 Majjige (మజ్జిగే), butter-milk.  
 30 Mallela (మల్లెల), jasmine.  
 Malupávu (మలుపావుల). The people of this section  
 eschew the milk, etc., of a cow or a buffalo whose  
 calf is dead.  
 Mandala (మండల), a herd.  
 Manga (మంగ), a monkey.

- Mápiṭi (మాపిటి), date tree.
- 35 Marala (మరల), a banyan tree.
- Matti Ávula (మట్టి ఆవుల), a spotted cow.
- Mókala (మోకల), a goat.
- Módaga (మోదగ), butea frondosa, bastard teak.
- Muchchára (ముచ్చార). They do not eat panicum grain
- 40 Munaga (మునగ), horse-radish.
- Nágala (నాగల), cobra.
- Naggilu (నాగ్గిలు), a prickly plant.
- Páládi (పాలాడి), a herb.
- Palle (పల్లె).
- 45 Pálu (పాలు), milk or a herb.
- Pasupu (పసుపు), turmeric.
- Pávalu (పావలు).
- Pótalú (పోతలు), a ram.
- Puligórlu (పులిగోర్లు), the claws of a tiger.
- 50 Púli (పూలి), a plant.
- Purigi (పురిగి).
- Púsangala (పూసంగల).
- Rági (రాగి), peepul-tree.
- Ráli (రాలి), a plant.
- 55 Ramolli (రామోళ్ళు).
- Saḍlu (సడ్లు). They do not eat panicum grain.
- Sampige (సంపిగి), champaka tree.
- Sásuve (సాసువే), mustard.
- Setty (సెట్టి).
- 60 Simha (సింహ), a lion.
- Suraponna (సురపొన్న), a tree.
- Toralu (తోరలు). It is said that they do not eat after sunset, if they hear the sound of a flute.
- Tubara (తుబార), a tree.
- Tuunni (తున్ను), a timber tree.
- 65 Ulavalu (ఉలవలు), Horse gram.
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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**V.**

**BESTHA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## BESTAS.

The Besta (ಬೆಸ್ಟ) caste has, according to the last Census, Number. a population 153,174 persons, of whom 75,107 were males and 77,067 females. They live scattered all over the State, but are found in large numbers in the river districts of Shimoga and Mysore.

The name of the caste is derived from the Kannada word *besada* (ಬೆಸದ), thrown. Some curiously derive it from *Betta-hasta* or *Vetra-hasta*, meaning one holding a cane, and this fanciful etymology is based on the following legend. Once upon a time Varuna invited the *Sapta* Rishis to attend a sacrifice he was celebrating. They agreed to go if he would expel the disturbers of their penance, the land and the aquatic animals from the face of the earth. He worshipped and sought the help of God Iswara who sent Ganga from whom were sprung Suparnaraju, Gularaju and Suta with thirty-two weapons in their hands. One of the weapons was a cane or stick, and descent is traced for this caste from these semi-divine personages. Name and its origin.

Several other legends are given, each giving the origin of the whole or a sub-division of the caste. One legend tells that *Sutaru* or *Sutakuladararu* (ಸೂತರು, ಸೂತ ಕುಲದವರು) are sprung from a person who, when Varuna came out of Ganga, carried him over in a boat and landed him. Another legend is to the effect that Santana *Chakravarti* had connection with Satyavati, a low caste boatman's girl, who thus became the step-mother of Bhishma who was his son by his other wife Ganga. Since Bhishma, otherwise called Gangasuta, was a Besta, being in a way the son of Satyavati whose children were all Bestas, the latter got the appellation of Gangasutas or in Kannada *Gangemakkalu* (ಗಂಗೆಮಕ್ಕಳು) like Bhishma.

The attendants of Varuna have given to their descendants the name of *Parivaradvaru* (ಪರಿವಾರದವರು), meaning retinue of serving men.



The less usual names, as given by Nanjangud informants, are Dushyanta, Nishada or Parasava, Dasa or Margava. According to Manu, a Dushyantha is the son of a Kshatriya father and a Brahman mother. A Nishada, who is to live by fishing and snaring animals, is born of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother. Lastly a Dasa or Margava who is to subsist by working as a boatman is the son of a Nishada father and an *Ayogava* mother. These names are not in vogue, and were apparently suggested for the occasion, by some Brahman instructor, as high-sounding titles.

All these attempts have merely arisen from the motive of making out a superior origin for the caste which, as its main occupation is boating and fishing in the waters, has adopted the name of *Gangaputras* or *Gangamakkulu*, children of water, which furnishes them with their means of livelihood. It may be noted that in Northern India, some inferior Brahmans who worship the Ganga at holy places call themselves *Gangaputras*.

Exogamous  
Divisions.

The following names are given as denoting the exogamous divisions or *Kulas* existing in this community: viz., the *Kulas* of *Chinna* (gold), *Belli* (silver), *Surya* (sun), *Chandra* (moon), *Devi* (goddess), *Suta* (charioteer), *Mugilu* (cloud), *Blashinga* (marriage chaplet), *Mutta* (pearl), *Ratna* (precious stone), *Kasturi* (musk), *Harala* (coral bead) and *Mallige* (jasmine). There are two others called *Manjiravallu* and *Kadinavallu*, but the significance of the terms cannot be made out.

It is said that silver ornaments are not worn by those of the *Belli Kula* except during marriages.

Kasyapa and Kaundinya *gotras*, called after the *Rishi* Kasyapa and Kaundinya, are said to be found in all the endogamous divisions. These *gotras* do not stand in the way of marriages within themselves as they do with Brahmans, and seem to have come into existence from a desire on the part of this caste to raise themselves in the social scale.

Names.

Raju, Nayaka and Boyi are the titles usually affixed to the names of male persons.

There is no peculiarity in the names adopted in this caste. Generally ancestral names and the names of

family deities are given to persons. *Tayamma* and *Puttusami* may be given as examples of terms of endearment. Opprobrious names are sometimes given to children born after loss of other children, such as *Kadamma* (jungle), *Tippamma* (dunghill) and *Javaraya* (god of death).

This caste admits persons of superior castes in the social scale, after the following ceremony. The elders and the representatives of the Besta families gather together in a garden. The aspirant for admission bathes after getting shaved and goes to a temple, where he receives the holy water given by the priest, which he drinks and sprinkles over his head. He is then smeared with ashes all over the body by the caste headman. A feast is given to the caste men at which he collects a morsel from each and partakes of the meal along with the others. Thenceforth he is reckoned as a member of the caste. Caste constitution.

The elders of the caste are the *Dodda Yajman* (Senior Elder), *Chikka Yajman* (Junior Elder) and *Desa Setti*. The *Dodda Yajman* has the power of enquiring into and awarding punishment of excommunication or fine for breaches of caste customs. The *Chikka Yajman* is his personal assistant and is also called *Kolkar* (literally, stick bearer), because he carries a stick as the symbol of his authority. His duties are to collect caste people to join in the funerals or to form a caste council or *Panchayat* to discuss, when necessary, and judge questions relating to the caste. Punishments awarded by the Council or *Dodda Yajman* are to be proclaimed by the *Kolkar*.

The *Desa Setti* is the local head of the section. He gets the first *margada tambula* consisting of two coconuts, plantains, betel-leaves and money about eight annas, in all ceremonies. The Senior *Yajman* gets a double *tambula*.

Adoption of a son is recognized. A boy belonging to the section of the adopting father is more generally selected than one belonging to other sections. A younger brother is prohibited from being adopted by his elder brother. The adopted boy is disabled from marrying within the prohibited degrees of relationship of either the adoptive or his natural family. Adoption.

The marriage should be confined within the same sub-division and those of the same *kula* cannot marry each other. The same rules of restriction on account of blood Marriage.

relationship as in other castes have to be observed. Two sisters cannot be simultaneously married to the same person. They may be married to two brothers, the elder marrying the elder sister, the younger marrying the younger sister. A man belonging to a family following the profession of agriculture does not give his daughter to a person following the profession of fishing, or *vice versa*. Similarly with palanquin-bearers neither the former nor the latter make marriage alliances.

If a marriage take place outside the endogamous circle, the parties lose caste and are regarded as among the half-caste persons, such as those of illegitimate birth.

**Age of marriage.**

A Besta girl may remain unmarried. The practice of dedicating Basavis, though it exists, is getting into disfavour. Exchange of daughters is in vogue.

Both infant and adult marriages are allowed to take place. In the case of the former, a girl is married at the age of about twelve years. She lives with her parents till the consummation of the marriage takes place. Girls are not married to trees, swords, or other inanimate objects. Adult marriages take place generally within the first year after puberty. If a young woman is left unmarried for a long time after that, her chastity is questioned and thereafter only marriage by *Kudike* form is allowed to her.

If a girl has become pregnant before marriage by a man of her caste, she is allowed to marry her lover in the *Kudike* form. If he does not take her in marriage, he will be put out of caste, and she may join any other man in marriage, and her children, if any, will be affiliated to him. If she has lived with a man of another caste, she will be outcasted.

**Marriage ceremonies.**

Marriages are generally settled by the parents or guardians. The proposal comes from the father of the boy, who with a few friends goes to the house of the intended bride at an auspicious hour with cocoanuts, turmeric, red and yellow, betel-leaves and nuts. If consent is given by the other party, a letter of invitation and agreement is written then and there. A priest is called in to fix the day of marriage. The letters of invitation are worshipped by both the parties, and each party presents his letter to the other in a formal manner.

Three, five or seven days before *Chappara* or Pandal ceremony, the intended bride and bridegroom are made to exhibit themselves at a gathering of friends and relatives and an *arati*\* takes place.

The day previous to *Chappara* earthen vessels are newly brought to the house, and Dasaris and Jogis are fed there.

The construction of the *Chappara* or the Pandal is the first of the important ceremonies of marriage. It consists of twelve pillars of which one must be of juicy *kalli* wood in the case of Kannada Bestas, and in the case of others, of *Nerale* or *Kondamara* tree. This post is known as *halu kumbha* (milk post) or *maharla kumbha* (marriage post). The *Chikka Yajman* of the caste attended with drums and gongs, goes to the tree with married women to bring the milk post. He worships the tree and cuts a branch of it. It is brought home and fixed in a pit already formed and spread with milk and ghee at the bottom. A cloth package containing seven kinds of grain is tied to it; and it is sprinkled over with water in which coral and gold are washed, and painted with red and white stripes.

In the evening, a *kankana* consisting of white woollen thread to which are tied a piece of turmeric root and an iron ring, is tied to the bridegroom's hand.

On the second day, water is brought from a pond in vessels by married women. The Dasari worships the pond and idols. The bridegroom's sister brings one of the *Kalasa* pots (styled ಏಡೆಯಟ್ಟವೆ ಗಡಿಗೆ or sister's pot) decorated with *hombale* (arecanut flower). They come back in procession, walking over cloths spread in the street by a washerman (ನಡೆಮಡಿ), and with *matresere* (ಮಜೇಸೇವೆ) at intervals. The latter is described as follows:—

As the procession is moving, they spread a cloth on the ground in front, and place on it in six places, a small quantity of fruit *rasayana*.† Then the Dasayyas blowing the conch and beating gong with cries of ah! ah! ah! go round and round the cloth three times,

\* Arati is the ceremony of waving over the bride and bridegroom a platter containing coloured water.

† *Rasayana* is a sweet compound, generally made by mixing together plantains, coconut, and jaggery with cardamoms or pepper as spices, the whole mashed together.

and eat up the sweet stuff picking it up with their lips. This is repeated a number of times before they reach the marriage house. Two Dasayyas will hold the idols in their hands, and walk in front without taking part in the *manesere*. These are followed by the *Odakuttidayadige* (ಒಡಕುಟ್ಟಿದ ಗಡಿಗಿ) bearer. The idols and the water pot are placed in a room and worshipped till the marriage is over.

Among Saivas instead of *manesere* (ಮಣೇಸೇವೆ), the Jogayya worships Trisula (ತ್ರಿಶೂಲ), and brings home the water vessel.

Muhurtha or Dhare takes place on the third day. A *Nerale* (Jambolana) branch is taken to a Peepul tree and puja offered to it, and it is then brought home and again worshipped. The bridegroom furnished with a spear or dagger is led in procession to a temple, where the relatives and friends of the bridal parties are gathered by invitation. The bride in the meanwhile comes into the marriage house and takes her seat on the plank. The bridegroom comes back from the temple holding a dagger in his right hand, and sits facing the bride while a screen separates the two. The names of the immediate ancestors of both the parties are repeated. The parents pour *dhare niru* \* on the united hands of the bridegroom and the bride. The screen is taken off and the *tali*, a golden disc, the symbol of the marriage bond, is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom. Rice newly prepared out of paddy for the occasion is poured in plenty on the bridal party. The ends of the cloths of the newly united couple are tied together, and they prostrate themselves before their seniors who bless them in return with wishes of a long and happy married life.

The fourth day is the last day of the marriage. The *kankana* is untied by the married ladies and placed in a plate containing jaggory and rice. Then takes place the *Kamba Sastra* or 'Pillar' ceremony. At this, the newly married couple place a handful of cooked rice on a wet cloth in front of each pillar and do puja. After the procession through the village is over, the milk post is

---

\* Dhare Niru means water in drops. When any gift is made in a solemn religious manner, a few drops of water with a few Tolasi (Basil) leaves and sometimes a small coin is put into the hands of the recipient by the donor. The water falls in *dhara* or drops, and the gift of a girl in marriage being one of the most solemn of such acts, the ceremony is commonly denoted by the single word 'dhare'.

worshipped and in the end it is smeared over with ashes. This is the final act of the ceremony.

The bride-price is Rs. 12. This goes to the bride's family, father, mother or brother. It is given in the presence of all during the '*dhare*.' The price of the bride married for the second time is six rupees. Bride price.

The marriage expenses come to about fifty rupees, of which the major portion goes for feasting.

In a marriage by *Kudike*, it is the male members only and not married women that attend the ceremony. Women who are thus married are not allowed to take part in marriage and other auspicious occasions. Kudike.

A girl attains her age of puberty at about her sixteenth year. She is kept in a shed for three days, during which period she is considered impure. Soon after the signs are observed, she is made to sit on a plank, married women wave the *arati* or coloured water before her, and on the fourth day she bathes. Till the eleventh day after the bath, married women gather round her and make *arati* in the evenings. On the sixteenth day, consummation of marriage generally takes place. The shed in which the girl was lodged at the time of her first *menses*, is burnt up. Puberty.

During the ordinary monthly periods, a woman bathes on the first day only, and remains in a portion of the house for three days, during which period she does not enter the kitchen but does other household duties.

When a girl is for the first time sent to her husband after the consummation of marriage, she is presented with new cloths and *madalukki* (ಮಡಲಕ್ಕಿ), i.e., rice placed in her tying cloth, with jaggory, cocoanut, some fruits, betel-leaves and nuts.

When a child-birth takes place, the mother is kept in a separate room, at the door of which a hatchet, margosa leaves, an old shoe and a broomstick are placed to keep off evil spirits. The period of ten days from the day of the birth of a child is one of pollution. On the eleventh day, a bath is given to the mother and child.

Adultery within the caste is tolerated ; but the woman and her lover will be compelled to pay her husband's marriage expenses in case she wants to live permanently with her lover. Sometimes it is settled by a small fine paid to Adultery and divorce.

the caste, and the money is used for a general feast of the caste people.

Divorce is allowed on the ground of unchastity on the part of the wife. She may marry again in the *Kudike* form after divorce. One-half of the first husband's marriage expenses must be refunded by the new husband, in return for which the former unties the *tali* and renounces his matrimonial rights over her.

Remar-  
riage.

The remarriage of widows is permitted if the widow and her new husband pay to the caste a fine of rupees six and rupees eight, respectively. A widow may marry her husband's elder brother but such marriages are rare. The caste in such cases demands an additional fine of a few rupees.

Children of a widow by her second husband cannot claim the property of their mother's first husband. Similarly sons by her first husband cannot succeed to the property of her second husband. If a man has children both by his legal wife and his concubine and if they all live together, the children of the concubine can claim shares in the property of their natural father.

Polygamy  
and poly-  
andry.

Polyandry is unknown but polygamy is freely practised. Barrenness, defect in body or mind and unchastity on the part of the first wife are the principal reasons for one to take another wife. The first wife's sister is generally preferred as a second wife.

Inheritance.

A son-in-law remaining with his father-in-law, is stated to be entitled to inherit the property of his father-in-law, provided he performs the latter's obsequies. In other respects, the members of the caste follow the general Hindu law of inheritance.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

The dead body is generally buried, but when the person has died very old or has otherwise been held in great esteem, his corpse is burnt. During the last moments of a man, all the relatives and caste people gather to take part in the funerals. A few grains of rice are put in the mouth of the defunct person by all the relatives and friends as a last mark of regard for him. The widowed wife worships the body and exchanges betel-leaves with it. If a married woman dies before her husband, her body is laid in a litter constructed of green leaves and flowers and smeared with turmeric powder.

The dead body is generally carried in a frame of bamboo, and where the parties can afford the expense, the frame is decorated with flowers. It is placed on the ground somewhere while half way towards the burial ground, where the son or other person officiating as the chief mourner goes round it with a pot of boiled rice in his hands and smashes the pot on the ground, nearest the head of the corpse.

The dead are buried with their head turned to the South. A new cloth, a plantain leaf and a small copper coin stuck in the dead man's nose are the only things interred with him. This custom has given rise to a proverb in Kannada, which means "Though you earned so much, pity you are left without a pie in your nose."\* A new cloth, rice, betel-leaves and a few coins are laid on the grave and the *loli* of the village is bid to take them as his fees and price for the ground. Before the earth is thrown over the body, a vessel containing some boiled rice is again taken round the grave three times and smashed. If the body is burned, its remains and ashes are thrown in a pond or river on the third day. Milk and ghee are poured on the grave. If it is the husband that is dead, the woman takes off her bangles, *tuli*, etc., and throws them on the grave. Henceforward she ceases to paint herself with turmeric paste.

The period of mourning lasts for ten days. On the eleventh day, the caste people are fed. A temple is visited by the chief mourner and coconuts are presented to the god and broken in his name. This ceremony is meant to open the gates of heaven more easily for the entry of the departed soul. During the period of mourning, no festivities are observed. Milk and sugar are not used for food and caste marks are not put on the face. The whole period of mourning is considered to be one of pollution.

Agnate relations observe the full period of mourning for the death of an adult, while they do not observe any mourning for the death of a child. The parents observe three days of mourning for the death of their infant children.

For the propitiation of the ancestors in general, a *yade* (ಯಡೆ) consisting of all the articles of food and plantain

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\* ಇಷ್ಟು ಸಂಪಾದನೆಮಾಡಿ ಮೂಗಿನೊಳಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ಕಾಸಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಹೋದೆಯಾ.



leaves and coins, is presented to a Purohit on the Mahalaya day. Religious mendicants such as Dasayyas are fed. Ceremonies for deceased individuals are not performed periodically.

Brahmans are not required to assist at the funeral ceremonies which are carried on with the aid of the caste men alone, who may be instructed what to do by the Brahmans.

#### Religion.

These are Hindus by religion and worship the ordinary divinities, and have both Saivas and Vaishnavas \* among them. The Saivas worship Siddappaji and Rajappaji.

There are two religious mendicant orders in this caste called *Jogis* (ಜೋಗಿಗಳು) and *Dasaris* (ದಾಸರಿಗಳು). The *Jogis* are Saivas and are the devotees of *Chunchanagiri Baire Devaru* (ಚುಂಚನಗಿರಿ ಬೈರೇದೇವರು). They carry a horn (ಶಿಂಗ) which emits a shrill sound and *Kamakshi mudra* (ಕಾಮಾಕ್ಷಿ ಮುದ್ರೆ); and they annually send an offering of money to *Baire Devaru* (ಬೈರೇದೇವರು). This god they worship on Sundays if not daily. The *Dasaris* are worshippers of Vishnu and followers of Ramanujacharya. Their principal god is Ranganatha on the Biligiri Rangan hill. Both these mendicant orders eat animal food and drink alcoholic liquors. The other Bestas can intermarry with them.

Tolasamma (ತೊಲಸಮ್ಮ), wife of Biligiri Ranga, Maramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ), Uttanahallyamma, (ಉತ್ತನಹಳ್ಳಿಯಮ್ಮ), Patalamma (ಪಟಾಲಮ್ಮ), and Kalamma (ಕಾಳಮ್ಮ), are their deities. These have jurisdiction within certain limits of territory, and are to be annually propitiated for the welfare of the locality by holding *jatras* or festivals, on which occasions buffaloes, sheep and fowls, are often sacrificed. The remains of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice are partaken of by the people. The carcasses of buffaloes are given away to Madigas. Individual offerings are given after every recovery from a bad disease such as small-pox and cholera. During epidemic seasons, special offerings are made to the local deities to induce them to turn out the intruding goddesses of the prevailing epidemic.

Pujaris of this caste worship these deities daily in the temples built for them. At the annual festivities in front,

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\* Worshippers of Siva and Vishnu respectively as their supreme deity.

of the temple of Maramma, a *Sili* (ಸಿಲಿ) is played. A perpendicular beam of about fifteen feet supports and acts as a pivot to another horizontal beam. To the free end of the latter, a devotee who has made a vow suspends himself by getting the hook passed through the flesh at the back. The beam is turned round and when it completes one turn, the devotee is taken down and he falls prostrate before the deity. The priest then gives him *Prasada* (ಪ್ರಸಾದ).

Near the *Sili*, 'fire-treading' takes place. A pit about 9 feet by 3 feet with a depth of 4 feet is filled with burning cinders. The devotees tread the fire and walk the whole length without wincing.

Natural objects are revered and are accorded the ranks of gods and goddesses. Thus streams in high floods are worshipped. A new cloth, turmeric powder, and a pair of new bamboo winnows are thrown in and floated away with the current. Snakes and ant-hills are no less important as objects of reverence. On *Nagara chauli* day, *paja* is made with flowers and incense to serpent holes, and milk is poured for the snakes to drink. The snake idols, cut in stone and enshrined under *Peepul* and *Acacia* trees, are visited with reverence. Lakshmi-devi, the goddess of wealth, is the principal deity of the caste, and they observe a yearly festival in her honor.

On the *Mahanavami* day, fishermen worship their nets, and cultivators their ploughs.

This caste has a comparatively low status. Their main occupations have been fishing, lime burning and palanquin-bearing and cultivation. Of late the profession of fishing is not looked upon as a respectable one, since it leads to the killing of many living beings. Serving as grooms, sweepers, and elephant drivers is also condemned.

Occupation.

Nets are prepared by them in the old fashion and they never purchase them in the bazaar or use those not made by themselves. The principal instruments they use for fishing are a cane with a long line, to which are attached a hook and bait at the end. The husks or outer meal of grains well boiled in water and formed into balls are used as bait. These balls are stuck to the ground and a stick waving on water indicates their position. The smell of the balls attracts fish and the fishermen make a sweep

of them with their net where they get themselves entangled. Earth worms are used for the cane lines as bait.

#### Superstitions.

In their caste assemblies, an accused person or a witness is said to have sworn when he merely goes round the gathering three times. They do not usually touch the fire, or any other objects to take the oath. They believe in omens, oracles and sorcery.

The sight of a jackal and that of a toddy pot are among those regarded as auspicious omens. When any sickness visits a house, they consult Koracha soothsayers, to know whether the ailment is one sent by God or the effect of an evil eye. A new born child is given a name suggested by the soothsayer. In all cases, children's diseases are diagnosed by the soothsayer, and his prescription regarding diseases caused by spirits is followed in detail. For oracles, they go to temples to consult the presiding deity. He is asked to give flowers, and if a flower drops down to the right of the idol, it is taken as a favourable response, while flowers dropped to the left are the reverse. If the deity is reluctant to give any definite indication, he is coaxed by promises of offerings of animals and money. It is believed by them that no devotee supplicating with a faithful spirit, has been disappointed till the present day.

They tie talismans of copper sheet beaten thin with some writing thereon, called *yantra* (ಯಂತ್ರ), round their arms as preventives against attacks of the spirits. Sometimes talismans serve to procure for the wearers children or success in important undertakings.

#### Food.

The flesh of the following animals are allowed to be used as food:—fowl, sheep, goat, crane, rabbit, crocodile and tortoise. They never eat fowls, sheep, goats, cranes, or other higher order of animals without first offering them to their gods; and they indulge in such luxuries chiefly during festivals. They consider it a virtue to abstain from animal food.

#### Privileges.

They are entitled to use, at their marriages, a red cloth canopy and palanquin and umbrella. Horses may be ridden by them. Some Bestas of Nanjangud do not use a palanquin, as once upon a time when a bride and bridegroom were going in it in a marriage procession, it accidentally took fire and was burnt.

They belong to the eighteen *Phanas* which are said to be a remnant of the old trade guilds. They do not dine with any of the nine *Phanas* who are their rivals.

In caste status, these are higher than Vaddas and Korachas. They do not take food with Waddas, Korachas, Barbers and Agasas, though all these latter eat in the houses of Bestas.

Bestas are the usual *Pujaris* of Yellamma and Maramma.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

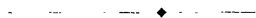
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**XXIV.**

**KUMBĀRAS CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**



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## KUMBÁRAS.

Kumbáras are makers of earthen pots and tiles, and form an important section of a village community. They numbered, according to the Census of 1901, 43,418, of whom 22,839 were males. The largest number of them is found in the Mysore District, the rest being scattered in the remaining districts. Owing to the reluctance of the Siváchár section among them to return themselves as Kumbáras, it is likely that their number, according to the Census, is below the mark. General.

The caste is commonly known as Kumbáras (ಕುಂಬಾರರು). One section describe themselves as belonging to the family of Gundā Brahma (ಗುಂಡಬ್ರಹ್ಮವಂಶವರು) or Gundābhaktaru (ಗುಂಡಾಭಕ್ತರು), while another section say they are the descendants of Sáliváhana (ಸಾಲಿವಾಹನವಂಶವರು), the reputed originator of the Era of that name. Those that have embraced Lingáyatism are gradually disowning the name of Kumbáras, and when pressed for an answer, say that they are Lingáyats who have adopted the profession of pot-making. Kumbáras have no other names. The proper honorific suffix of their name is *Seṭṭi*; but ordinarily men add *Appa*, *Ayya* or *Ayya* and women *Amma* or *Akka* to their names. Kumbára is from Sanskrit Kumbhakára, maker of pots, and the other names mentioned refer to their supposed descent from persons bearing those names. Name.

The progenitor of the caste is said to have been one Gundāyya, also styled Gundābrahma. He is believed to have sprung from Gundā or the fireplace in which the three gods of the Triad together offered sacrifice. He was appointed to make pots for the use of earthly beings. The section who style themselves as Sáliváhanas separated from the main body in course of time. They trace their origin from Sáliváhana, said to have been begotten by a Brahman on a damsel of the potter caste. A learned Brahman, while away from home, discovered that offspring impregnated at a particular moment would become a mighty king, and was hastening back to meet his wife. When he arrived at the bank of the Krishna, a storm Origin.

overtook him and he was obliged to seek shelter in the house of a potter. The lucky hour was fast approaching, and the Brahman became more and more impatient. The potter, on learning what it was that was troubling the Brahman, begged him to allow his daughter to share the luck of the auspicious moment and Sáliváhana was the fruit of the union.

The boy was left with his mother in the potter's house and was duly instructed in the trade. As he grew up, however, he showed an inclination to neglect his proper work and took a delight in manufacturing toy soldiers, horses and implements of war. He stored them all carefully in a room, though his grandfather would have been glad if the boy would devote his time to the more useful work of making pots. The king of the country, who had a bad reputation as an oppressor of the poor, sent his messengers to extort money; and when they reached the old potter's house, Sáliváhana jeered at them and drove them away with whips. The complaint reached the king who naturally got angry and ordered a small company of men to raze the potter's house to the ground and to drag the presumptuous boy to his presence. The young man in the meanwhile had opened the door of his magazine and sprinkled holy water on the toys that he had stored there. The men and animals came to life and a fully equipped army was ready at his service. The king's men were cut to pieces and later on the whole army was utterly routed and the king himself slain. Sáliváhana seized the throne and ruled the country very successfully.

#### Divisions.

There are three main divisions among the Kumbáras : Telugu Kumbáras (తెలుగు కుంబారರು), otherwise known as Sajjana Kumbáras (సజ్జన కుంబారరు), Kannada Kumbáras (ಕನ್ನಡ ಕುಂಬಾರರು), and Lingáyat Kumbáras (ಲಿಂಗಾಯತ ಕುಂಬಾರರು). There are said to be two more divisions styled Kudipaṭṭala (కుడిపాట్ల) and Tamil Kumbáras (తమిళకుంబారರು). The former is a division found in almost all the castes, the women whereof wear their garment (Śíre) so as to allow its loose end to fall on the right shoulder, and the latter division is linguistic and applies only to the Tamil speaking section, of whom there are few in the State.\*

\* NOTE. Nīligáras, spoken of in the Census Report of 1901, were, it appears, a division of Kumbáras who were dyeing cloth with indigo colour. This section is scarcely found now in the State. It is also reported that some Kumbáras drew toddy and were hence called Idiga Kumbáras.

These divisions are not only endogamous but do not sometimes eat together. The third division who wear the Linga, are, for all practical purposes, considered as Lingáyats, following the rites and ceremonies peculiar to that sect and having a Jangama as their priest.

There is little doubt that the Lingáyat section are recent converts from the main body. Some, however, namely, the Sajjana section, state that they were all Lingáyats originally but lost rank by taking to drinking and flesh-eating. It is said that one of them who was possessed of extraordinary powers was put out of caste for indulging himself in these forbidden practices. To revenge himself he sent plague and pestilence amongst them and would not relent till most of his castemen joined and partook of the forbidden food and drink. Only a few who had fled from their homes remained as Lingáyats.

Kannada Kumbáras have a large number of exogamous divisions, but many, especially those in the Mysore District, have forgotten them. The names, as usual, represent some material object, such as a plant or an animal, and the members of a division observe the usual prohibitions against eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing that division. The following are a few of them :—Kastúri (ಕಸ್ಟೂರಿ musk) kula, Sámantigé (ಶ್ಯಮಂತಿಕೆ crysanthemum) kula, Nágara (ನಾಸರ್ cobra) kula, Kendávare (ಕಂದಾವರ red lotus) kula, and Rávaḷa (ರಾವಳ drag) kula.

The Sajjana Kumbáras had, they say, one hundred and eight divisions formerly, but many of them having subsequently become Lingáyats, the number has been reduced to sixteen. Some of them bear the names of material objects to which they show the usual respect, while most of them bear territorial names.

The Lingáyat Kumbáras are also said to have similar exogamous divisions but those of them who live in towns give out, like other Lingáyats, five gótras named after Rénuka, Dáruka, Gajakarṇa, Ghantakarṇa and Visvakarṇa.

A woman is considered impure for ten days on giving birth to a child. During this period of pollution, the woman is confined in a room at the door of which are placed an old shoe and a crowbar to scare away the evil spirits. Old rags are received from the neighbours for the child's bed. On the eleventh day, the mother and the

Birth ceremonies.

child are bathed and the mother is given some stimulating drugs to keep warm. For the purification ceremony, the Kannada Kumbáras invite a Brahman, while the others have their own priests. The child is named and put into a cradle in the evening. In some cases either an astrologer or a soothsayer is consulted as to the name.

Unlike the other Lingáyats, the Lingáyat Kumbáras observe birth pollution for ten days, but the ceremonies connected with the birth are the same as those among other Lingáyats. On the day of the birth of the child, a Jangama priest is called. His feet are washed and a drop of this water is put into the child's mouth. On the eleventh day, after the bath, a Linga is given to the child which the mother keeps with her till he is old enough to take charge of it.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. Mópúrappa may be taken as a name very commonly used among them. Opprobrious names are given, and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames such as Gidda (dwarf), Kariya (black), Kempa (red) are also common.

The confined woman becomes fully purified only at the end of the third month, when she offers Púja to Ganga at a well and visits a temple in the evening. The tonsure ceremony to the child takes place generally in the third year and in the case of Lingáyat Kumbáras, Díksha or the ceremony of initiation into the mysteries of the Lingáyat cult, takes place when the child is about ten years of age.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is allowed and practised when a man has no natural-born son alive. A brother's son or a boy belonging to the same division, is preferred; but if no such boy is available an outsider may be taken. A man may adopt his daughter's or sister's son, but cannot adopt his own brother. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes of a similar status.

#### Marriage.

Marriages may be infant or adult; but of late, owing to the influence of higher castes, such as Brahmans, infant marriage is becoming very popular among the well-to-do people and those living in towns. As already observed, they have both endogamous and exogamous divisions and there is nothing peculiar to the caste in the matter of prohibited relationships for marriages. Exchange of daughters is allowed but is not common. Polygamy is permitted and is practised only when the first wife either has no children or is afflicted with an incurable disease. But polyandry is unknown.

For settling the marriage, the bridegroom's party go to the girl's house announcing that they wish "to eat sweets." The Oppu Vilya, (ಒಪ್ಪು ವಿಲ್ಯ) or agreement by exchange of Tambūla, then takes place and some presents are given to the girl.

The marriage proper may take place either in the boy's or in the girl's house. The first day is devoted to the worship of their family god (god's feast) and to the propitiation of the deceased ancestors by the offerings of clothes and food, before a Kalasa installed in their name. On the evening of that day, a pandal is erected on twelve pillars, one of which, the milk-post, is brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle of either party and set up by married women. In the same night, Arivénis (or sacred pots) are brought from another Kumbára's house.

Next day early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom get their nails pared and bathe in Maleniru. After presenting some bangles to married women, the girl is made to put on new bangles, and new clothes and ornaments. This is styled Bappa Bangára Sástra (ಬಪ್ಪಾ ಬಂಗಾರಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ) ceremony of clothing and ornamenting). The bridegroom, in the meanwhile, is dressed in new clothes and conducted to the temple. After a short stay there, when the clothes, jewels, turmeric and other articles are sent to the girl's house, he is taken to the marriage pandal by his parents-in-law, with a Bháshinga tied to the forehead, and a dagger in his hand. An Arati is waved before him at the entrance and then he goes and stands on the dais facing the west. The bride is brought there by her maternal uncle and made to stand opposite to him with a screen dividing the two.

Then the throwing of cummin seed and jaggory on each other's head at the appointed time, pouring of Dháre water, tying of the Táli and Kankanas and other items take place in the usual course as in other castes. After going round the "Milk-post" and worshipping the Arundhati star, the couple bow before the Arivéni pots, get the Bháshingas removed by the maternal uncle and eat the common meal served in dishes before the Arivéni pots.

Among the Sajjana Kumbáras, the Púja of their tribal deity Gundu Brahma is held the next day. All bathe and put on Maḍi (washed) clothes. The image of the god is brought from their Kattémane for the occasion and the

Púja is done by a man of the Dévara sub-division. After worship, the idol is taken in procession through all the Kumbára streets. On return to the house, the bridal pair make their offerings to the god. Then Tírtha and Prasáda are distributed to all.

The Nágavali takes place the next day, in which the chief events are the bringing of ant-hill earth, worshipping pandal posts and the worship of Simhásana in the evening. The Sajjana Kumbáras are very punctilious in the matter of distribution of Tám-búlas. For example, fourteen Tám-búlas must be given for Gauda division, eight Tám-búlas for each of Dévara and Chaudri divisions and six Tám-búlas for Madanapu division. Tám-búlas are also set apart on this occasion for other sections of Kumbáras. This night "Milk-post" is loosened and the next day the bride and the bridegroom, with some of their relatives, go to the bridegroom's village, and after a sojourn of a few days there, the bride returns to her father's house.

Some of them get a Brahman to regulate their ceremonies while others perform them under the direction of their own Gowḍa.

The bride price varies from twenty-five rupees to fifty rupees. A widower has not to pay anything more but, as a matter of fact, an additional jewel styled Savati Bangára (ಸವತಿಬಂಗರ co-wife's gold) is generally demanded.

If the girl has already come of age, the couple are generally allowed to live together from any subsequent auspicious day, without any further ceremony, but some observe the custom of having a separate ceremonial for it. In such a case, the ceremony begins on a Thursday and ends on a Saturday. It is the custom in some places to allow a period of three months to elapse between the marriage and the consummation ceremony.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, when she is made to live in a shed of green leaves. The usual precautions against the attacks of evil spirits are taken and an elderly woman sleeps with the girl during the nights. She bathes on the fourth day, but is not admitted into the inner part of the house till the sixteenth day has passed, when she is taken to a river and does Gangápúja. If the girl has been already married, the Osage ceremony takes place this day. In the case of unmarried girls, Osage is not observed now but is put off to some day before the ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence.

Widow marriage is generally allowed, but is not popular with some sections, especially that of Sajjana Kumbáras, though some of them seem anxious to reintroduce the practice. Widow marriage.

The remarried widow labours, as in other castes of a similar status, under such disadvantages as not entering the marriage pandal and her offspring forming a separate line at least for three generations. The bride-price is Rs. 12½. No regularly married woman takes part in the ceremonies and in some places they do not see the face of the remarried widow for three days.

Divorce is not popular, and takes place only among the more backward portion of the caste living in villages. The divorced woman may not marry a second time. If the divorce is brought about by the adultery of the woman with a man of the same caste, the latter has to pay the aggrieved husband his marriage expenses. Adultery with a man of the same caste may be condoned on payment of a small fine. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste may be married to him in the lower form of marriage styled Kúḍaváli (union). Divorce.

Except in the case of lepers or persons who meet with an unnatural death, by wild beasts or otherwise, the corpses of Kumbáras are buried. All carry the dead body in a lying posture, except the Lingáyats, who carry it in a sitting posture and bury it according to the ceremonies observed by other Lingáyats. Among the Sajjana Kumbáras persons carrying the corpse put on a Janivára (sacred thread) and also invest the dead body with one. These threads are removed and thrown into the grave while filling it up. If a widow survives, she is made to exchange Tábúla with the dead body, as indicating a final farewell. After interment all go to a well or a river, bathe and return to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. Death ceremony.

The third and eleventh day ceremonies take place as in other castes, such as Okkaligas. They observe pollution for ten days for the nearest agnates, and three days for more distant ones. For the death of a daughter's son, they simply bathe over head to get rid of the pollution. They do not observe Sráddhas, but on the Mahálaya New-moon day, they offer rice doles and money to Brahmans to propitiate all the deceased ancestors.

Kumbáras worship both Siva and Vishṇu as well as the ordinary local deities. Even the Lingáyats among Religion.



them, reverence Vishnu and sometimes bear Vaishnava names. Their tribal god is known by the name of Kumbhésvara (god of pots) to whom the non-Lingáyat Kumbáras offer animal sacrifice. At Minakanagurki, in the Goribidnur Taluk, there is a temple dedicated to one Kondappa who had been an Avadhúta during his life-time. An annual Játra is held at this spot and they generally take advantage of the occasion to settle their caste disputes.

They worship also the implements of their profession, such as the kiln, Chakra or the wheel, Kòlu or the stick with which they turn the wheel, and the stone used for beating and finally giving shape to the vessels. They hold a grand worship of their tribal god during marriages on the day after the Dháre.

Mópúri Bhairava is another of their special deities of which they often keep an image in their houses for worship.

Occupation.

Kumbáras have generally adhered to their original industry, that is, making of pots and tiles. They used to dye cloths formerly, but that profession has almost completely gone out of use now. The potter is one of the recognised village functionaries, and in places still under the influence of the old customary régime, he gets his yearly fees in kind and supplies earthen pots free to the raiyats. He was also bound to supply pots required for communal purposes, such as Púja of the village deity or common feeding. He ranks higher than the washerman and the barber.

The Kumbára works with the most rudimentary tools. He gets his earth out of a field set apart for the purpose, or digs it out of the bed of a tank. The clay is well mixed by being trodden on, and is generally transported in carts to the place of work. The wheel is made of twigs and leaves bound together on two cross twigs and plastered over with mud mixed with hair or other similar binding material. It turns on a pivot (an iron peg or nail) fixed on a pedestal of mud. He turns it about deftly with a long stick which helps him to do work without bending his back.

The tiles and pots are turned out with considerable speed and they are all dried in the sun and afterwards baked in a round oven in which the articles are placed.

Social  
status.

Kumbáras are regarded as pretty high among the Súdra classes and come next only to Okkaligas and Kurubas. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The Kannaḍa section of the Kumbáras, it is said, admit persons of higher castes into their own, but the other division strictly prohibit

such conversion. But all sections readmit persons thrown out of their caste, the usual ceremony, such as procuring them Tírtha and Prasáda, slightly burning the tongue with a gold bit or a margosa twig, being observed. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas and Kurubas, and Bestas, Agasas and Bédas eat in their houses. Kumbáras are flesh eaters, but abstain from liquor. They belong to the Eighteen Phaṇas and their caste sign, namely, the wheel, is shown on the spoon and the ladle, the insignia of the Eighteen Phaṇas, and they are served by the Chalavádi, the servant of their Phaṇa group.

Kumbáras are a well-organised body and each section has its own caste government, but it is said that whenever an important question affecting the whole caste has to be considered, the headmen of all these divisions join together. During marriages not only are the heads of their own groups respected, but those of other divisions are given Maryáda Tāmbúlas. Thus, it is said, that when a marriage takes place in the house of a Kumbára of the Lingáyat persuasion, Tāmbúlas are given or sent to the headmen of the non-Lingáyat Kumbára group.

Tribal  
organiza-  
tion.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. The women of the Sajjana Kumbára section do not put on the nose screw; and when questioned as to the origin of the custom, they say that the man who went to fetch it during a marriage did not return in time and the marriage had to be performed without it. Hence the women could not wear the ornament afterwards. Kumbára women get tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty, with such ordinary designs as a plantain tree, and a bunch of glass bangles (ಬಳ್ಳೇಮಲ್ಲಾರ).

Miscellane-  
ous.



## SOME EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF TRAVANCORE : SIXTH CENTURY, M.E.

IN my last lecture\* I brought to your notice a series of dated inscriptions enabling us to infer, among other matters of historical importance, the names of the sovereigns who ruled over Travancore, or, as it was then called, Vênâd, in apparently unbroken succession from 301 of the Kollam era to 427. I also adduced some reasons for suspecting that for upwards of half a century subsequent to that date, Vênâd was more or less in a state of confusion, probably in consequence of foreign aggression and annoyance. But the last document which I brought to your notice proved that the confusion, whatever its cause, was of a temporary description, and that by 491 the ancient principality had regained her authority and was once more pursuing her even course of progress under Sri Vîra Udaiya Mârtâṇḍa Varma II. *alias* Vîra Pândya Dêva. As there was reason to infer from the same document that this prince had begun his rule only four years prior, we may safely presume that his reign saw the close of the fifth Malabar century.

I propose now to place before you some later documents relating to the same royal house. I regret that the records I possess are not such as to give a continuous account of the period over which they extend. Most of them have been in my hands for more than three years, and I have waited thus long before attempting to give an interpretation of them in the hope that I should be able to fill up the gaps in them, or at least to piece them together so as to throw light on a tolerably large portion of the period to which they refer. But I have not succeeded to the extent of my desire. Still, however disconnected and fragmentary these records are, they constitute the only reliable data yet available for the future historian of the

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\* The three previous lectures are published in a pamphlet entitled *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*. Madras : Addison and Co. Price 12 Annas.

land, and as such, I trust, you will have no cause to regret what attention you may be pleased to bestow upon them.

The first of the documents I have relating to the royal family of Travancore subsequent to 500 M. E. is a Sanscrit distich, inscribed on the northern wall of the Gôsâlâ Krishna temple at Trivandrum, which, for reasons given in a previous lecture, we may presume to be the oldest of the shrines in this town, with the exception of those at Mitrânandapâram. When freely rendered into English the *śloka* runs as follows:—

No. 15  
52

Old Malayalam  
Sanskrit

*Hail! Prosperity! Ho! In the year Chôlapriyâ, when Jupiter was in the sign Leo, king Sarvânganâtha of fair reputation, moved by piety and devotion, and desirous of fame and (the merit of) charity, constructed in the town of Syânandûrapûra the Gôsâlâ temple, the fair lamp-house, and the maṇḍapam (in front) of the shrine of Krishna.*

In this inscription, Syânandûrapûra is the term used to designate the town of Trivandrum. It will be remembered that in our inscription \* of 365, the word Syânandûra was found good enough for the purpose. Why it is now lengthened out by the addition of the unmistakable Sanscrit word *pûra* I cannot say, though it is not unreasonable to suspect that the motive may have been to secure additional sanctity to the village by giving its name a clearly classical air. Having already met with the temple of Krishna in 365, when Aditya Rama Varma presented to the god a 'mountain-like' drum, we have to take the Gôsâlâ here said to have been constructed as referring only to the outer rectangular hall, in the middle of which now stands the real inner shrine. Architecturally, too, this hall bears evidence of a later origin. Probably it was put up in this rectangular form, which is rather unusual in the sacred architecture of Southern India, to suit the original name of the temple, Gôsâlâ, which means literally a cowshed. The fair lamp-house referred to can be nothing else than the wooden railings with small iron lamps that now surround the rectangular structure. It is even now regarded in the country as a specially meritorious act to provide an illumination thus round a temple, when the village folks turn out in their holiday garments to amuse themselves with innocent games and pastimes till midnight arrives, when the local beauties, lamp in hand, begin to move in procession thrice round

\* *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, p. 28.

the temple, while the brave and the sturdy, standing apart, shout Haiyu ! at the pitch of their voices, in the hope of frightening away sickness, famine, and devils ! There is no evidence to show that they succeeded thus in frightening away pestilence or famine : but over the last mentioned source of evil they sometimes completely triumph. For on certain occasions, as the procession goes on, a weak-minded village woman suddenly stops and shivers, and the devil possessing her poor soul, his ears thus assailed by the yell which proves too much even for his infernal tympanum, solemnly promises to surrender his prey then and there ! Such illuminations and ‘ârppu’, as the hideous howling is technically called, must have become about the time of the inscription frequent enough in the rising village of Trivandrum to require the provision of a permanent lamp-house. The *maṇḍapam* spoken of is also still in existence, and the wood carvings on the ceiling and the pillars are really admirable in their own way. The carved figures are meant to illustrate some of the leading events narrated in the *Māhābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, and are entitled to better care than they appear to be receiving in an age when the art of carving may be said to be rapidly on its decline. But we are here more concerned with king Sarvāṅganātha than with his wood carvings, however exquisite. Evidently the name Sarvāṅganātha is more a descriptive title than an individual appellation. It occurs more than once in the worn out inscriptions on the conspicuously high altar or *balipīṭam* in front of the shrine further to the east of the *maṇḍapam*. Exposed as this altar is to the sun and rains, it is no wonder that of the inscriptions with which it is literally covered, nothing more is now decipherable. As it is in a prominent situation and within easy reach, I would recommend these inscriptions on the altar to such of you as may be curious to see and know for yourselves the condition to which most of these valuable historical records on this coast have been reduced through exposure. But I should add that if any of you should at the same time feel tempted to try your skill at deciphering, you ought yourselves to be prepared for similar exposure ; for between twelve and two in the day is the only time suited in this case for leisurely inspection, and umbrellas are objectionable appendages within the precincts of all Malabar temples. In this particular case, you have also to take care that the day you select for your visit does not synchronize with the one on which a certain pious individual among the temple guards is on duty. That zealous functionary was pleased to waive his insurmountable objections to *my* washing the altar, only

after I detected him in the middle of a suppressed discourse, not quite of the nature of a sermon, and obviously meant for the sole benefit of a temple maiden, who, to add to the impressiveness of the occasion, was then standing like a statue, leaning against this very altar, and resting her formidable broom on the crown of that holy object ! But with all your precautions, I doubt whether you would make out anything more from those obliterated engravings than the word Sarvāṅganātha, which, as I have already said, occurs more than once among them. The word literally means ‘master of all the constituents of a kingdom’, which under the name of *desāṅga* are usually enumerated thus :—mountain, river, arable land, towns, garlands, horses, elephants, drums, banners, and sceptre, making ten in all. The allusion might be also to the twenty-one insignia or marks of royalty which are counted as essential before one is crowned king. These are according to Tamil lexicons the following :—crown, umbrella, hair-fans, elephant-hook, drums, the discus weapon, elephants, banners, Fortress, festoons, pots full of water, conchs, seas, the sword-fish, garlands, turtles, a pair of carp-fish, lions, lamps, bulls, and a throne. Why this particular king came to be noted for the complete possession of all these marks of ancient Hindu royalty it is now impossible to say. Perhaps the occurrence of *fortress* in the latter list might suggest that after the bitter experience of the previous century, the Vēṇād kings found it desirable to protect their kingdom by fortifying some of their rising towns. Mr. Shun-goony Menon writes: “Sri Vira Rama Martanda Varma, who was then in his 28th year, was installed on the Musnud in 510 M. E. This king reconstructed the palace near the pagoda at Trivandrum and built a fort round it.”\* If we could be sure of this architectural activity, our conjecture would receive some sort of confirmation, but it is impossible to be positive about the facts stated. There would appear to have been in this early century no regular palace in Trivandrum, the site now occupied by the palace being known even in the extant old land records as Pulluvilāgam. But whatever may have been the circumstances that led to the king’s assuming the title of Sarvāṅganātha, there can be no question as to the date of this inscription. ‘Chōlapriye’ signifies, in the Katapayādi system, the number 1296, and the word ‘Abda’ usually refers to the Sakabda, or the Saka year: Sarvāṅganātha then constructed the beautiful *maṇḍapam* in front of the temple of

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\* Vide page 93.

Krishna, as well as the rectangular enclosure called *gôsâlâ*, in the Saka year 1296, corresponding to the Kollam year 550 or A.D. 1374. It is rather remarkable that this first mention of the Saka year in the Travancore inscriptions should be by a word which signifies also 'dear to the Chôlas'—it being known that with the Pandyas and the Cheras the Kollam year was the more favoured one. If Mr. Shungoo my Menon be correct, then in his account of this early period, Sarvânganâtha might be taken as a surname either of Sri Vira Rama Mârtâṇḍa Varma, who according to this writer ruled over Travancore from 510 to 550, or of his successor Ravi Varma, who died in 557.

But another inscription belonging to the same shrine leads us to a different conclusion. It consists of five Sanserit *ślôkâs* engraved on the basement wall of the very *maṇḍapam* the construction of which is here recorded as having taken place in Saka 1296. The *ślôkâs* might be rendered thus:—

No. 16  
54

Old Malayalam  
Sanserit

*Hail! Prosperity! Aditya Varma, the brave among the brave, is he who has erected the gôsâlâ, Krishna's shrine, and the maṇḍapam, for the use respectively of cattle, the god Krishna, and the gods of the earth (viz., Brahmîns). Lo! there stand visible to all, the gôsâlâ, the maṇḍapam, and the temple of Krishna: O dear friend! what else shall I say? May all behold with admiration these three works executed by King Aditya Varma, and worship Krishna with devotion. The pictures (the wood carvings) that adorn the ornamental maṇḍapam in front of Krishna are such as attract and delight the eyes of all spectators. Stand, therefore, around this delightful maṇḍapam, and gaze on those pictures so gratifying to the eyes!*

These ecstatic lines no doubt represent the feelings with which the author along with the simpler folks of his times, beheld the elegant carvings on the *maṇḍapam*, as they stood fresh from the chisels of the carver. We wish, however, he had been somewhat more calm in his enjoyment, for then he could have embodied in these five *ślôkâs*, so laboriously incised into the stones, far more useful facts of history than his own æsthetic impressions and rhapsodic exhortations. For instance, he could have for one thing told us the date of these works, about which we should be left utterly in the dark but for the inscription we have just explained. If chronology was not in his line, he could have at least utilized the words he so lavishly wastes, to recite the glories of his sovereign,



Aditya Varma, in the fashion of the Chôla inscriptions, affording thereby some scope for further historical investigations. But the most unpardonable of his offences, from our point of view, is his omission to insert somewhere in his five *ślôkās* the title Sarvānganātha of his sovereign. For then we could have been certain that 'Sarvānganātha' of the previous record and Aditya Varma of the present are but names of one and the same king of Vênâd. In the face, however, of the substantial agreement between the two documents, there can be little question as to the truth of the identification. No doubt the more imaginative of the two instruments substitutes in place of the 'fair lamp-house' the inner shrine of Krishna itself, which, however, could not have been constructed along with the *maṇḍapam* in which it is inscribed, since we know that it was in existence as early as 363 M.E. The word *navatvam* used in this inscription signifies usually only 'renewal', and may be so taken to apply to that inner shrine, which probably was touched up and repaired when the adjacent new works, the *maṇḍapam*, and the rectangular enclosure, with the railings for lamp posts, were completed. I have no hesitation, therefore, in inferring that in 550 Vênâd was governed by Aditya Varma sur-named Sarvānganātha. In view of this extremely probable conclusion, Mr. Shungoony Menon's statements would seem to require modification. Either Sri Vira Rama Mārtāṇḍa Varma did not live till 550, or Ravi Varma was not his immediate successor. Mr. Shungoony Menon indeed mentions\* an Aditya Varma with whom in truth his chronology begins: but he is indefinitely said to have reigned in the fifth century M. E., to have adopted two females from Kolathnād on the other side of Calicut, and to have extended his sovereignty to Vycome in 505, statements that do not look at first sight probable in themselves, particularly by the side of our inscription of 491. At any rate, they require further examination and verification. Meantime we may conclude with the help of the records now before us that in 550 the throne of Vênâd was occupied neither by Vira Rama Mārtāṇḍa Varma nor by Ravi Varma, but by Aditya Varma the Sarvānganātha.

Our next inscription comes from a different quarter. It is engraved on four sides of a tablet posted in front of a temple, now said to be sacred to Alvâr, about three miles to the south of Pud-manabhapûram in South Travancore. It consists of two parts—

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\* *I*dic page 93.

a Sanscrit *ślōkā* and a prose record in Tamil. The part in verse may be thus translated:—

No.  $\frac{17}{72}$

Old Tamil Grantha  
Sauscrit

*In the Saka year Sākhālōke, when the sun was in his own house, the chief of the gods in Sagittarius, and the moon in the constellation Yānya, the prosperous ruler, Mārtāṇḍa Varma, of boundless fame and mild disposition, the chief among the kings of Kērala, instituted, granting lands of great value for the purpose, regular offerings at day-break for the god Sambhu of the temple of Sivagiri.*

This rather cleverly composed couplet is certainly more satisfactory than those of the temple of Krishna. The chronogram *Sākhālōke* according to the Katapayādi system of notation means the year 1325, and the Saka era being specially mentioned, there can be no doubt that the date recorded corresponds to our Malabar year 578. The sun being said to be in his own house, current astrology would lead us to infer that the month was Chingam or Simha, the sign Leo being the one now believed by astrologers to be peculiarly the sun's own constellation. But as we shall see presently, the Tamil portion of the inscription specifies the month as Mōsham. This must be due either to an alteration in astrological conventions since 578 M. E., or to an error on the part of the composer of the Sanscrit distich, who mistook the heavenly position where the sun is reckoned to be at the zenith of his glory for the sign specially considered to be his own—a pardonable error, no doubt, on the part of one not acquainted with the intricacies of astrological conceptions. For what is more natural than to suppose that one would be at the height of one's power in one's own house rather than under the roof of another? But such a supposition would imply ignorance of an important branch of Indian letters, not only on the part of the writer of the *ślōkā* but also on the part of those court pandits and other scholars of the age who must have examined the verse before allowing it to be inscribed on a tablet specially prepared for it. The two alternatives being thus equally difficult to accept, I leave the solution of the problem to those better versed than myself in the history of Indian astrology. There can be, however, no similar doubt as to the position of the chief of the gods—Jupiter. He was in 578 in the sign of Sagittarius,—just the position where we should have expected him, having found him 28 years previously in Leo. The lunar mansion of the day was Yānya or Bharani, as the star is now more commonly called.

More important to us than all these items of astronomical information is that the king of Vênâd of the day was Mârtânḍa Varma, who is described as of boundless fame and of mild disposition, the latter of which descriptions at least must be taken as answering to fact. If the third descriptive clause, "the chief among the kings of Kêrala," is meant to be equally significant, it would clearly prove that there were others in Kêrala exercising sovereign powers at the time—a supposition of some historical value, as we shall see further on. But it appears to me quite possible that the expression is a mere expletive introduced to fill up the metre. The subject of the grant is described as lands of great value, and its object a particular divine service consisting of offerings to be made at the early dawn of each day. It would have been of equal, if not of greater, value to us, if the verse had gone on to specify the occasion that prompted the grant. If we were to follow the lead of the punning spirit indicated in the opening words of the verse, "Sâkhalokê Sakâbdê," we should be tempted to find some vague allusion to current events of the period in the succeeding words describing the astronomical conjunctions of the time. The description of the sun as being in his own house might be taken as pointing to the stay of the mild sovereign in his own dominions, while the fact that the chief of the gods was in Sagittarius might suggest that his prime minister was away, bow in hand, on some foreign expedition. The expression 'Yânya Dhâre' would then sound as the now current Malayalam word of Arabic origin *jamyadhâr*, or one who furnishes security for the good conduct of another, and might therefore be held as indicating that some hostage of war was taken by that warlike minister in the course of his foreign conquests. But such commentaries would be worthy of the scholiasts and *bhâshyakartas* of the middle ages, and are obviously inadmissible in historical research. The only conclusion, then, which we can safely draw from the verse is that the king of Vênâd in 578 was Sri Mârtânḍa Varma, a king of a remarkably mild disposition.

This inference is fully borne out by the Tamil portion of the record which when translated reads thus :—

No. 18  
72

Old Malayalam  
Medieval Tamil

*In the Kollam year 578, the sun being 26 days old in Mêsham, on Saturday, new moon, [the lunar mansion being] Bharani, was instituted a dawn offering by Sri Vira Kêrala Mârtânḍa Varma Tiruvadi of Kilappêrûr, to be made to the Mahâdêva of Sivagiri at Rana-*

*Simhanallūr*, and the arrangements made for the expenses thereof are as follows :—

The husked paddy required per day being in home measure..... the total paddy required per year is 24 kalams, and the cost of condiments amounts to..... To meet this total charge, six kalams are to be taken out of the tax due on..... and for the remaining 18 kalams is to be utilized the tax due on the paddy lands beginning with the piece called *Akkirappullan Perai* among the *Alvār* temple lands in *Tiruvikramapūram*, thus making the total 24 kalams in all. The clarified butter required for the divine service and for *Vaisvadevācam* being per month two *nalies* in home measure, the land called *Mavaraimūlaip-pirayidam* is also made over for the purpose. All these properties shall be taken possession of and enjoyed by the *Vāriyan* of *Sattanur*, by name *Adityan Adityan*, and he shall furnish the supplies for the offering and also a holy garland out of the flower garden to be formed by him. (In return for his labour) he shall take the offering of cooked rice. If the supply is not made for any one day when the property is enjoyed in pursuance of this arrangement, double the default shall be paid, but if the failure continues for a month, a fine shall, in addition to double the quantity defaulted, be imposed. If, however, the failure is due to the obstruction of any in the *Sabha*, a complaint shall be lodged at the door (of the temple?) and the obstruction shall then be removed. Thus in lineal succession and as long as the moon and the stars endure shall these paddy lands and garden be enjoyed, the rent recovered every harvest, and the divine service conducted without failure. This copy of the royal writ is inscribed in this stone by *Iehuran Travi* of the temple."

Thus it will be seen that this Tamil portion of the inscription adds a few more particulars to those found in the Sanscrit verse above cited. A fracture having occurred on the lower right hand corner of the front part of the tablet, a few words of the royal writ are irrecoverably lost. But fortunately these words happen only to be those describing the lands from which the smaller portion of the supply, *viz.*, six *kalams* of paddy, is to be drawn. It will be noticed that even as late as 578, the measure used was called *kalam* and not *kōttai*, *marakāl*, or *parai*, as at present. The word *perai* occurs as a part of the name of a particular piece of land, and it seems to me that the underivable modern term *parai*, used in *Trivandrum* and *North Travancore* both as land and paddy measure, might be traced to *perai* and therefore to *peru*, meaning 'to contain', 'to be worth', or 'to multiply'. I have rendered the *illalavu* as

‘home measure’, and if I am right in my interpretation it will imply that some foreign measure was also then current in the country. The word *raisvadēvam* usually means certain offerings to departed forefathers, and since clarified butter alone is provided for, we have to take the offerings as having been of the nature of a sacrificial fire. As in our former documents, so in this we find reference made to the village councils of those days, which, it would appear, had influence and independence enough to obstruct the provisions of a royal charter. In the case of such obstruction, however, provision was made for an appeal to be taken to the ‘door’, which we may take to be the door\* of the temple, and therefore, to the Government authorities connected with the temple. The curious caste name Vāriyan occurs in this inscription: and the attempts made to explain the term are so typical of the spirit of myth-making, so characteristic of Eastern scholarship, that I am tempted to borrow a passage on the subject from the pages† of the last Census Report of Travancore.

“Sri Parasurama,” so runs the paragraph on ‘The Origin and Caste Derivation of Variyars’, “having brought in Brahmins from outside to colonize Malabar, detailed the Sudras to do menial services for them. The Brahmins finding the Sudras unfit from a religious point of view for pagoda service, they prayed to Parasurama to help them in their difficulty. Sri Parasurama appeared unto them and created out of water a new caste for pagoda service. They were called Varijanmar (from the root *vari*—water), which gradually became Variyanmar.” Thus in the attempt to trace a clear Dravidian word to a Sanscrit root, the special creation hypothesis is strained to breaking point. But the derivation, however gratifying to the Sanscrit grammarian, does not satisfy the Nambūri philosopher, as it leaves unsettled the water-made Vāriyar’s position in the Aryan hierarchy. A new tradition is therefore invented, and the paragraph goes on to add:—“There is also another tradition current about their origin, according to which a certain Sudra woman was doing menial service in the pagoda. She was ordered by the Brahmins employed in the temple to sweep away the bones, &c., that lay within the precincts of the pagoda. She did so, in

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\* Till recently the official term for a Revenue District was *maṇḍapattam vadukkal*, meaning the door of the *maṇḍapam*. This Malayalam word is *faṭ* giving way to the Hindustani term *taluk*.

† *Vide* page 746.

consequence of which her caste people excommunicated her from their order. But the Brahmins allowed her to remain in the pagoda service separate from her own caste people. She and her descendants were permitted to live on terms of *sambandam* with Brahmins, thus constituting them into a separate caste, and forbidding them to interdine with Sudras. According to the ordinances of Yegna Valkiya, the offspring of a mixed connection of a Brahmin with a Sudra woman were termed Variers." Thus, then, does the Nambûri seek to check the undue aspirations of his cleanly Vâriyar colleagues in the temple by assigning to them a Sudraic origin. But the Vâriyars themselves are not wanting in inventive genius, and so the paragraph concludes with yet another tradition of their origin. "According to Bhugolapuranam," continues the Report, "there lived in Trichur a certain old Namburi Brahmin married to a young Brahmin girl. Wishing for progeny she commenced a course of devotion to the village god, one portion of which was the making of garlands of flowers daily for the god. This is considered one of the modes of propitiating a Hindu god, who heard her prayer, and she in due course conceived. Her old husband, however, suspected her of infidelity and discarded her. From that day forward the pagoda authorities also refused to accept the garlands of flowers she used to make for the deity. She was, however, resolute in her pious work, and placed the garlands daily on the temple steps notwithstanding and returned home. The flower garlands which she so left on the steps used to be seen the next day on the god's image, day after day. This miracle attracted the notice of the holy Brahmin, who therefrom declared her immaculate, and said that the conception was the result of divine will. She was not, however, taken back into their own community, but a separate caste was started for her from that day, her occupation being making of flower garlands and other such temple service."

We are thankful to the Census Commissioner for having embodied these traditions in his Report; but it would be idle indeed to criticise them. They would have been even beneath our notice but for the currency and credence such false derivations receive in this land, even when the etymology of a word lies, as in this case, unmistakably on the surface. 'Vâriyan' is obviously the man with the *vâri*, and *vâri* in Tamil means a broomstick or rake—*vârukil* and *vâriyal* being other derivatives, in everyday use, from the same root, *vâr*, to collect, clean, or sweep. Sweeping the inner court of

the temple was undoubtedly one of the special duties of the original Vâriyar or Vârer, however much his descendants may now prefer the more leisurely and dignified function of tying up flower garlands for the use of the deity inside. Our Vâriyan, Adityan Adityan of Chhattanûr, it will be observed, had also a garland of flowers to supply, but the extra payment of the cooked rice offerings fixed by the grant would show that he had other functions to discharge and other remunerations to receive.

But whatever were the duties and emoluments of the Vâriyan in question, it is more important for us to note that the full name of the sovereign who ruled over Vênâd in 578 was Sri Vira Kêrala Mârtâṇḍa Varma, which the metrical necessities of the *śloka* contracted into King Mârtâṇḍa. Equally if not more important is the mention of the Kilappêrûr family name. It will be remembered that the earliest of our inscriptions giving this family designation is the one taken from Kadinankulam, dated 389.\* I have not yet succeeded in finding out how the Vênâd royal house came to be associated with a village so far north as Kilappêrûr in the Chirayinkil Taluq. Further on we shall see how in subsequent times an important branch of the original stock assumed an exclusive right to this title. Already perhaps the royal family was getting split up into distinct branches, and it was found necessary thus to designate the branch to which the reigning sovereign of the time belonged. But these doubts are nothing by the side of a more serious difficulty created by Mr. Shungoonny Menon. For whatever was meant by the addition of the Kilappêrûr family name in this particular case, the inscription leaves no room for the least doubt that Sri Vira Kêrala Mârtâṇḍa Varma was the name of the Vênâd sovereign in 578. But Mr. Shungoonny Menon tells a different story. Having noted the death of Kêrala Varma three months after he succeeded to the throne of his uncle Ravi Varma in 557 M.E., the author says: "Kerala Varma Kulasekhara Perumal was succeeded by his twin brother Chera Udaya Martanda Varma. The reign of this sovereign was longer than that of all the Travancore monarchs. His Highness ascended the *musnad* while he was sixteen years of age, and died at the ripe age of seventy-eight after a reign of sixty-two years. His reign was of a mixed character, partly attended with prosperity, and partly with troubles and annoyances, as is natural during such a long period, in which

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\* *Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore*, p. 47.

many vicissitudes might be expected. His Highness Chera Udaya Martanda Varma performed the coronation ceremonies, and was styled Kulasekhara Perumal. During the reign of this sovereign all the south-eastern possessions of Travancore on the Tinnevely side were regained, and the sovereign often resided at Valliyoor and Chera Maha Devi. In consequence of the mild and unwarlike disposition of this king, some of the subordinate chiefs in the east became refractory, and there was constant fighting, and latterly, while the sovereign was residing at Trivandrum, the chief of Rettiapuram invaded Valliyoor, and the king's nephew, being defeated in battle and fearing disgrace, committed suicide. In these places, several grants of lands made by this Kulasekhara Perumal remain, some of which we have already noticed. Chera Maha Devi was his favourite residence, and consequently this sovereign was called Chera Udaya Martanda Varma. Towards the close of his reign, suspecting unfair proceedings on the part of the chief men of the Pandyan State, the residence of the Royal Family was removed to Elayadathunad Hottarakaray (Kottarakkarui?) and a governor was appointed to rule Valliyoor and other possessions in the east. This sovereign died in 619 at the ripe age of seventy-eight years."\* Mr. Shungoony Menon then by way of illustration gives a portrait of the king Chera Udaya Mârtânda Varma. As this is one of the few reigns in the early Malabar centuries of which the author attempts to give us any particulars, it would have helped us more than this attractive picture, if he had indicated the sources from which he borrowed his information. In itself it does not look very probable that the name Chera Udaya could have been derived from Chera Maha Devi. Chera Maha Devi itself is explicable only as "the place with the shrine of the great goddess of Chera." Even supposing it be a contraction for Chera Maha Devi Udaya, we have the irrefutable evidence of our inscriptions to prove that up to 578 at least, that is, up to the twenty-first year of his supposed long reign, he had neither that title nor the designation Kulasekhara Perumal, since a formal royal writ is the last place where such omissions would be permitted. On the other hand, the document proves that the king who ruled over Vênâd in that Malabar year had a distinctly different word as an integral part of his name. He was not, as Mr. Shungoony Menon tells us, Chera Udaya Mârtânda Kulasekhara Perumal, but Sri Vira Kêrala

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\* *Vide* page 94.



Mārtāṇḍa Varma Tiruvadi. Remembering how easily mistakes in dry lists of long compound names may occur, we could have supposed Chera Udaya Mārtāṇḍa to have been either a predecessor or a successor of our Vira Kêrala Mārtāṇḍa Varma of 578 but for a remarkable coincidence. Both Mr. Shungoonny Menon and the author of our Sanscrit *śloka* are agreed as to the characteristic *mildness* of the sovereigns they respectively describe. But what confidence this singular circumstance breeds is rather rudely shaken by Mr. Shungoonny Menon's reference to the Rettaiapuram chief. Rettaiapuram may be taken for Ettaiyapuram, of which it is a vulgar corruption. But the Ettaiyapuram Zemindary was not itself in existence about this time, to attack Valliyoor in the confines of Travancore. The traditions cherished by the family itself do not claim for its founder a higher antiquity than 1423. Dr. Caldwell thus summarizes the legends connected with the foundation of the Zemindary: "On the defeat of Anna Deva Raja, king of Vijayanagaram, by Mohammad Alaaddin, one Kumaramuttu Ettappa Nayaka, the ancestor of the Ettaiyapuram Zemindars, fled from Chandragiri, in company with 64 armed relations, 309 men at arms, and 1,000 dependants, with a certain number of accountants and others, and took refuge with Ati Vira Parakrama Pandya Raja at Madura, who appointed them to repress outrages in the country of the Kallars, and gave them some villages therein for their maintenance. This is represented to have taken place between 1423 and 1443. In process of time they moved on towards the south and became possessed of various villages in the Tinnevely district, one of which, to which they gave the name of Ettaiyapuram, they made the capital."\* Now, it is foreign to our purpose to test the truth of this traditional account of the origin of the Ettaiyapuram Zemindary. Whatever errors there may be in this account it does not err on the side of modesty in the date assigned to its founder. If Kumaramuttu Ettappa Nayaka came really from Chandragiri, it is more likely that he fled from the place when Chandragiri was taken by the Muhammadans in 1645, than about 1423, when Alaaddin is said to have attacked Vijianagaram—a further statement for which it is difficult to find any support. If his flight on the other hand had anything to do with the fall of Vijianagaram, the more appropriate period would be about 1565 and not 1423. But even taking the latter date as the correct time for the original Ettappa Nayaka,

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\* *History of Tinnevely*, p. 84.

since we are told that only "*in process of time*" his successors established themselves at Ettaiyapuram, we cannot imagine how the "chief of Ettaiyapuram" could have invaded Valliyoor, not far from Cape Comorin, in the lifetime of Mr. Shungoonny Menon's Chera Udaya Martanda Varma, who according to the author died in 619 M. E. or A. D. 1444.

But this last date raises a difficulty yet more formidable. We learn from an inscription at Nāvāykkalāṁ, in the Chirayinkil Taluq, dated 7 A.M., Monday, Pushayam Star, Panchami, the 22nd Edavam, Kollam year 614, that the king of Vēṇād on that date was Sri Vira Rama Mārtāṇḍa Varma, and it is therefore impossible that Mr. Shungoonny Menon's Chera Udaya Martanda Varma, whether he was or was not identical with our Sri Vira Kēṛala Mārtāṇḍa Varma of 578, could have reigned up to 619, that is, full five years after the crown had passed to another individual. But curiously enough Mr. Shungoonny Menon mentions some sixty pages earlier and quite in another connection, an "inscription on the inner stone-wall of the Chera Maha Devi Pagoda, dated Malayalam or Kollam year 614 (1439 A.D.), commemorating a grant by the Travancore King Chera Oodiah Martanda Varma to the pagoda at that place while the grantee was residing in the Chera Maha Devi palace." It is possible, of course, to reconcile the two inscriptions by supposing that Mr. Shungoonny Menon's is dated a month or so earlier than ours, in which case the year 614 would be the date both of the death of Chera Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma and of the accession of Sri Vira Rama Mārtāṇḍa Varma. But in scientific researches nothing can be more dangerous than taking matters on trust. We have therefore to examine the Chera Maha Devi inscription afresh. The Nāvāykkalāṁ inscription, also, is too important to be hurriedly disposed of. Until, then, these two inscriptions are fully discussed, we may provisionally suppose that Sri Vira Kerala Mārtāṇḍa Varma was otherwise known also as Chera Udaya Mārtāṇḍa Varma, and that he continued to rule till the end of the sixth Malabar century—the period here taken up for investigation.

Before concluding I shall briefly recount the results arrived at in this paper. Unlike the fourth and fifth centuries dealt with in my previous lectures, the sixth has not been left a pure blank in the history of Travancore, to be filled up by epigraphy. Besides Mr. Shungoonny Menon's History which I have more than once alluded to, there is a more authoritative publication, the Govern-

ment Almanac, in which will be found a list of 35 sovereigns of Travancore, of whom the first four fall within our period. We have therefore to present the results of our inquiry in two aspects—a positive and a negative, consisting respectively of what we are able to affirm and what we are able to deny. The facts we affirm are:—(1) that in Saka 1296, corresponding to the Kollam year 550, the king of Vênâd was Aditya Varma surnamed Sarvânganâtha; (2) that on the 27th Mêsham, 578 M. E., or Saka 1325, the same country was governed by Sri Vira Kêrala Mârtâṇḍa Varma Tiruvadi of Kilappêrûr; and (3) that on the 22nd Rishabham, 614 M. E., the king of the country was Sri Vira Rama Mârtâṇḍa Varma.

These few facts, no doubt, leave many gaps; but so far as they go, they are indubitable—or to be strictly accurate—very nearly so. Being such, they enable us to deny, with proportionate confidence, certain statements commonly believed to be true on the strength of the authorities above named. Mr. Shungoony Menon's list of Travancore kings for the same period would stand thus:—(1) Aditya Varma, who died in 510 M. E.; (2) Sri Vira Rama Martanda Varma, who reigned from 510 to 550; (3) Eravi Varma, who ruled from 550 to 557; (4) Kerala Varma Kulasekhara Perumal, who died 3 months after his coronation in 557; and (5) Chera Udaya Martandâ Varma Kulasekhara Perumal, who ruled from 557 to 619. The list in the Travancore Almanac omits Aditya Varma, and begins with his successor in the above table. From the way in which it is printed with no reference to Mr. Shungoony Menon's History, one would be led to think that it had some independent foundation, but closer examination tends to show that its independence consists entirely in its orthography. Year after year for the last quarter of a century and more, this perennial page\* in the Annual informs us (1) that Sri Veera Rama Martanda Varma Raja ruled 40 years beginning with 1335-36; (2) that Errawee Varma Raja ruled for 7 years beginning with 1375-76; (3) that Kaler Kulasekhara Perumal ruled for a short time in the year 1382-83; and (4) that Chera Oodeah Martanda Varma Kulasekhara Perumal ruled for 62 years beginning with 1382-83. The dates given in this list, if taken to be in the Christian era, correspond well enough with the Malabar years given by Mr. Shungoony Menon, and with the exception of the name Kaler Kulasekhara Perumal, which can

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\* Travancore Almanac for 1895, p. 92.

hardly be identified with Kêrala Varma Kulasekhara Perumal, the dissimilarities in the names might be set down to individual idiosyncrasies in spelling. Now our records enable us to deny almost all the statements supported by these two authorities, and they are the only two in the field. For instance, if there is any truth in the inscriptions I have explained to you, it must follow (1) that Vira Rama Mârtaṇḍa Varma could not have reigned up to 550 M. E.; (2) that Ravi Varma could not have commenced his reign in that year; (3) that in 578 the king of Travancore was not known as Chera Udaya Mârtaṇḍa Varma; and (4) that whenever Chera Udaya did commence his reign he could not have continued on the throne till 619 M. E. We cannot, therefore, safely look to these authorities to fill up the gaps left by the records which I have presented to you. We must leave that good work to future research, more systematically conducted than mine has been. My spasmodic unaided efforts serve, perhaps, only to render the very darkness of the subject visible. But it has been well said: "*Prudens questio dimidium scientiæ est.*" It is half way to knowledge when you know what it is that you have to know.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**VII.**

**KORACHA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## KORACHAS OR KORAMAS.

In the last two Census Reports of the State, it has been in a way assumed that Korachas and Koramas are two different castes; but there is strong reason to hold that the names are mere local variations for one and the same caste. The exogamous divisions among them and family names wherever they are found, and the customs such as a maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters of his sister at reduced *tera* and the payment of the *tera* amount in easy instalments spread over a number of years are all common to both the branches, who moreover speak the same language. The number of this caste, according to the last Census, was 24,228, the number of males and females being nearly equal. They are found scattered all over the State, and as a large section of them are of wandering habits, it is not easy to determine where they are chiefly located. The caste.

Their usual names are *Korama* (ಕೊರಮ), *Korara* (ಕೊರವ) or *Koracha* (ಕೊರಚ), and they sometimes call themselves *Koravunji makkala* (ಕೊರವಂಜಿ ಮಕ್ಕಳು). They have acquired nicknames of *Kalla Koracha* (ಕಳ್ಳಕೊರಚರು) or *Kalla Korama* (ಕಳ್ಳಕೊರಮರು) by reason of their reputed thieving propensity. Name.

Abbe Dubois calls them *Kalla Bantaru* (ಕಳ್ಳಬಂಟರು), but this is not current as a name of the caste now, and was probably only a description of their predominant profession as a thieving fraternity, which he mistook to be the name of the caste.

Those that are popularly known as Korachas, say that Koramas are a different class, addicted to thieving, while those passing for Koramas resent being called by the other name which, they say, applies to a thieving class. The origin of the two words seems to be identical and there is little to choose between them as to the evil repute that they suggest.

In Telugu, they are known as *Brukulas* (బ్రుకులవారు) a name which to their thinking carries no stigma, and which each class claims as appropriate to its own division.

They have as their title or name-ending, *Setti* (సేట్టి), besides the usual ones of *Appa* (అప్ప) and *Ayya* (అయ్య); and they maintain that they belong to the 18 *Phanas* or right hand section of castes.

*Korama* and *Koracha* both seem to be derived from the verb *kuru* (కూరు) meaning to divine or prognosticate, and are applied to the caste on account of their profession of fortune-telling, which their women practise. Some derive these terms from a word which means a hillman (cf. Tamil *Kuranj* a hill country), showing that these people are a wild tribe living in jungles. But the former appears to be the more probable derivation and is in meaning equivalent to the Telugu name of the caste, namely, *Brukula* which comes from the root *Brugu* (బ్రుగు), to know or divine.

*Koravanji makkalu* (కొరవంజి మక్కలు) means children of a *Koravanji*, that is, a female fortune-teller.

Many *Koramas* who are educated and live in towns repudiate the name, and call themselves *Balajas* or *Koravanjis*. The division of *Koramas* known as *Sonai* (సోనాయి) *Koramas* who are pipers, in some places such as *Chikmagalur*, deny their identity with the main caste. But an enquiry into their habits and customs proves their unmistakable identity.

Origin.

It has not been possible to obtain information of any value concerning the origin of the caste. It is likely that they are one of the aboriginal tribes, or that they have a large proportion of blood of such tribes in their veins. Of course, in their case also, mythological or fanciful legends are not wanting to explain their origin. There is a story current that *Párvati*, the consort of *Siva*, once disguised herself as a soothsayer and that *Koramas* are her descendants. Another story connected with their occupation is that a *Méda* was asked to prepare a cradle for *Párvati's* child out of a serpent with its stomach filled with precious stones, but he was afraid of touching it on account of the rattling noise of the stones. Then a *Koracha* was asked, to do the job but he was given a knotted serpent and as the precious stones were held tightly packed in their place by the knots, he heard no rattling, and boldly took it and

split it like a bamboo and made the cradle. Both castes were thenceforth to live on bamboo wicker work; but the Méda still goes about in a gingerly manner and splits his bamboos from the bottom, whereas the Koracha proceeds to cut them from the top. As a reward for the cradle made by him, Párvati presented the Koracha with a divining rod of the bamboo and a winnow which she had been using herself for fortune-telling, and that is how this profession has come down to them.

Mythology apart, they are a wandering tribe found all over the State. That they are decidedly of Tamil origin is borne out by the language they speak, which is common to them irrespective of the place they live in, whether as Erukulas in the Telugu country, as Koravas in the Tamil tracts, as Koramas or Korachas in the Kannada parts or as Koravis or Kaikaris in the Mahratta country.

Abbe Dubois is of opinion that their customs and manners have much in common with those of wandering tribes known in England and France as Gypsies or Bohemians, and that they might have come into this country from Egypt. But the conclusion is far-fetched and Koramas of this State do not show the least traces of such a distant origin.

They speak a language which appears to be a dialect of Tamil or a medley of Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, the first element preponderating. It is not easily intelligible to common people, and like all criminal tribes they have a slang of their own which the uninitiated cannot understand. They are said to have, says Mr. Rice, a peculiar gypsy language of their own with a system of signals which enables them to converse with the initiated, unobserved. \*

There are four main divisions which, though originally based on occupations, have become endogamous at present. They are úru or Dabbe Korachas (ಉರು ಕೊರಚರು, ದಬ್ಬೆ ಕೊರಚರು), Uppu or Ghattada Korachas (ಉಪ್ಪು ಕೊರಚರು, ಘಟ್ಟದ ಕೊರಚರು), also known as Ettina Korachas (ಎತ್ತಿನ ಕೊರಚರು), Kunchige Korachas (ಕುಂಚಿಗೆ ಕೊರಚರು) and Sonri Korachas (ಸೊರಿಯೆ ಕೊರಚರು). There said to be also Pátrada Korachas (ಪಾತ್ರದ ಕೊರಚರು) and Súle Korachas (ಸೋಲೆ ಕೊರಚರು).

Úru Korachas are so called because they have settled down within towns and villages. They are agriculturists

\* Mysore Gazetteer. 1., 233.

but also make baskets, and their women practise tattooing and fortune-telling. They are styled Dabbe Korachas as they prepare bamboo baskets and other wicker work. Uppu Korachas trade in salt and are known also as Ghattada Korachas, because before the introduction of railways, they were the chief carriers of trade between the sea-coasts and the interior of the country above the ghats. Ettina Korachas use bullocks more than donkeys as beasts of burden, and they have incurred notoriety as cattle-lifters. Kunchige Korachas are those who manufacture *Kunchige* or the brush used by weavers for starching their yarn. Sonai\* Korachas get their name from a wind instrument (a pipe called *sonai* in their dialect) on which they play.

Except Urn and Sonai Korachas who are almost settled and live within villages, the rest are more or less reputed to be thieves and are known by the nickname of *Kalla* or thieving Korachas.

**Exogamous divisions.**

They have four exogamous divisions:--Sātpādi (ಸಾತ್ಪಾಡಿ), Kāvādi (ಕಾವಡಿ), Ménpādi (ಮೇನಪಾಡಿ), Mendragutti (ಮೆಂಡಗುತ್ತಿ). They say that the people of Sātpādi division regard the Kakke plant (ಕಕ್ಕೆ, in Telugu, రాకి) as sacred and those of the Kāvādi, the Margosa tree, and that they set up stones to represent their family gods underneath these trees, to worship them. The meanings of these terms are obscure and is said to be connected with the various services performed to the god (Venkataramanaswami) at the shrine of Tirupati. It is stated that Sātpādi are so called because they adorn their god with flowers and jewels, this process being in Tamil styled Sātpādi which is equivalent to *Samarpayē* in Sanskrit. Kāvādi means a carrying pole and the people of this division are said to have carried their offerings to their god, suspended to a pole at both ends. Ménpādi division sing praises of god before the idol; and Mendragutti division offer shoes to the idol.

Sātpādi and Kāvādi are said to be the only two proper divisions, the other two Mendragutti and Ménpādi being the late immigrants from Bandar country (Krishna District), belonging to these main divisions. They received separate names, and even now, in some places, it appears that

\* They may be easily identified as the snake-charmers who, come begging playing on their pipes, with cobras which they exhibit before houses.

intermarriages between Sātpādi and Mendragutti or Kāvādi Ménpādi are not allowed ; but this distinction is not long kept up.

Korachas have also what are known as family or house names, which however have no significance in marital relations. Some of these names are appended. They have no hypergamous divisions.

The ordinary Korachas do not observe any elaborate birth ceremonies. Soon after the child is born, it is washed in lukewarm water, and sometimes the mother is also given a bath and made to lie flat, the waist being tightly bandaged. She is given the usual healing medicines to help her recovery. On the 5th or the 7th day, she and the child are bathed. The whole house is cleaned with cow-lung water and some castemen are invited to a dinner. In the evening of that day, the child is put into a cradle and is given a name. Toddy, arrack and even foreign liquors are freely used on this occasion. Birth ceremonies.

Their names are generally taken from those of their gods and goddesses which include many sylvan deities. The following may be taken as typical, both for males and females.\* *Sanka* (ಸಂಕ), *Māra* (ಮಾರ), *Hannūra* (ಹೊನ್ನೂರ), *Hannūma* (ಹನುಮ), *Malla* (ಮಲ್ಲ), *Yalla* (ಯಲ್ಲ) and *Mācha* (ಮಾಚ), nicknames such as, *Jila* (early haired), *Solla* (crooked) are common

When a child is born after the death of one or more children, a peculiar custom is observed in some places. Soon after the purification bath is taken, the mother either really or nominally goes begging to a few houses to perform a vow previously taken to Venkatramana (of Tirupati) or other family deity, while the father follows her

\* In the Dravidian languages, the same name may be used for both sexes, but the sex is always distinguished by the ending, masculine ending in *a* (ಅ) and the feminine in *i* (ಇ). Except in familiar intercourse, an honorific suffix is always, especially in the higher castes, added, which may be either general such as *appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ-father), *amma* (ಅಮ್ಮ from Sanskrit *arya*, elder or sir), *appa* (ಅಣ್ಣ, brother), or professional or caste-denoting, such as *sāstri*, *dikshita* for Brahmins, *arasu* or *raje-arasu* for the Arasu (or kingly castes), *setti*, *gunda*, *minaka* for other castes, and *rāve* indifferently for Brahmins, Mahratas, Sudras, etc.

For female names, the variety is not so great, the terminations being *amma*, *avva* (ಅಮ್ಮ ಅಮ್ಮ, mother), *akku* (ಅಕ್ಕ, sister), and *ammannāni* (ಅಮ್ಮಣ್ಣಿ, a diminutive form, to denote dearness, of *amma*), the latter being specially employed by the Arasu community and those who imitate them.

with the child in his arms. Out of the money collected, a silver or a copper necklace is made and put round the child's neck. The nose is bored and a ring inserted in the hole; and the child is given a name to denote that he has been born for the sake of begging or by begging.\*

There is no custom of giving two names to the child, one for ceremonial purposes and the other for everyday use. But it is a notorious fact that the Korachas who engage themselves in the profession of thieving have a number of *aliases*, and they have an understanding among themselves as to which should be employed on each occasion, so that the deception may not be discovered, even if the other members of the gang are separately questioned about the names of their associates.

#### *Cowade.*

The Korachas seem to have traces of the custom called *Cowade*, according to which, when a wife is delivered of a child, the husband is confined to bed and treated as a delicate patient. The practice seems to be dying out, and exists only in remote parts in the Shimoga District and elsewhere. These people were questioned in Hiriur, Sira, Maddagiri, Kankanhalli, Mallagal and Goribidnur Taluks but they were generally unwilling to admit its existence without a round-about cross-examination. There is a proverb in Tamil which means that when a Korama woman brought forth a son, the Korama man ate assafetida. † Even where the usage has not disappeared, they now only nominally follow it, giving the husband a little of the medicines prepared for the wife. ‡

#### *Adoption.*

When a man has no children he may adopt a boy, preferably the son of a brother or one belonging to the same exogamous division. But a brother cannot be adopted. There is no ceremony observed except that of taking off the old waist thread (ಉಡಿದಾರ) of the boy and putting on a new one and giving a dinner to the caste people, to announce the fact.

#### *Marriage.*

Marriages are generally celebrated after puberty. A woman may, without incurring any social odium, remain

\* Such as *Tirupatigāḍu* (ತಿರುಪತಿಗಾಡು) or *Tirupāṇiki-pattinārdāḍu* (ತಿರುಪಾಣಿಕಿಪಟ್ಟಿನಾರ್ದಾಡು).

† ಕುರತ್ತಿ ಪುಟ್ಟಿಪೆತ್ತಾಲ್ ಕುರವ್ ಪರುಂಗಾಯಂ ತಿಣ್ಣಾ.

‡ The late Mr. G. Krishna Rao made some enquiry on this matter while he was Superintendent of Police in Shimoga, and furnished a short account, which has been published by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum, in a *Bulletin*. (Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 115-116).

unmarried. If she should be discovered to have gone astray, she is made to join the man, in *kúlike*, if he is of the same caste. If the paramour is of a different but higher caste, her fault may be condoned by a fine, but if he happens to be of a lower caste, she loses her caste.

Polygamy is allowed and practised to some extent according to the means of the husband, but polyandry is unknown.

In marriages, they have to avoid girls among their agnatic relations and others born in their own group, the affinity to the group being traced through males. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is allowed, but the daughter of a younger sister cannot be taken to wife, unless by a widower. Maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter may be married; but in the case of the paternal aunt's daughter, if his father or paternal uncle (younger or elder) has already married a daughter of hers, the other cannot be married by him (the nephew). Marriages in the section in which one's own mother or father's mother was born are allowed, but not in the section in which one's own mother's mother was born, as the latter generally happens to be of one's own section. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously. It is said that if a man has married the younger of the two sisters, the elder cannot afterwards be taken to wife, either in regular marriage or in *kúlike*, on the ground that the relationship as wife's sister (ॐ) is looked upon as equivalent to that of a mother thus rendering marriage with her incestuous. Two sisters may be married by two brothers. The only other formula not covered by the rule of exogamy is that the intended couple should not be related, either actually, or by analogy as parent and child or as brother and sister. There is no objection to exchange of daughters between two families in marriage.

It is a binding custom among the Korachas that the first two daughters of a woman must be given, on a reduced *tera*, to her brother to be married either by himself or to his sons. If he has no sons and does not himself stand in need of the girls for marriage, his right to them is exercised by his getting two-fifths of the *tera* amount payable for each of them at their marriage, but if he takes them, he pays only 12 pagodas each, while the usual *tera* is 20 pagodas.



This is one of the few castes in which the wife may be older than the husband by months and even, though rarely, by years. This is explained by them as owing to their disinclination to forego their right to marry a sister's daughter which is universally recognised in the caste.

There are no impassable bars to marriage imposed by religious or professional considerations, but they usually contract marital relations only with families that are known to one another and that are already so connected. Such of the caste as have long given up criminal and predatory habits, and have settled in towns and villages owning houses and other property, will not naturally enter into alliance with their castemen, who are still notoriously addicted to such habits.

The Korachas who have adopted settled habits, have been imitating Vakkaligas and other similar castes in their marriage ceremonial to a greater or less extent. But the wandering portion of them still retain their peculiarities. They observe no *Vilva-Sāstra* (ವಿಲ್ವಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ), do not call in any band of pipers nor use the *bhāshinga* (ಭಾಷಿಂಗ) marriage chaplet, and some do not even erect a marriage booth. The Brahman astrologer is consulted only to see if the stars corresponding to the names of parties agree\* and to fix a day. He has no further share in the celebration of the marriage.

Monday is considered the proper one to commence the actual ceremony. On the previous Friday, the bridegroom goes to the bride's hut and presents her with a few coins, the acceptance of which signifies her consent. They are both then rubbed with turmeric paste and have a general feasting separately in their own places.

If the parties live in separate villages, the bridegroom and his party arrive at the village of the bride and pitch their hut near hers.

On the day fixed for the marriage, two fresh huts are erected, with their doors opening to the east, one being for the bride and the other for the bridegroom. Strictly speaking, this should be done though they live in houses in villages, as marriages must always take place before huts temporarily put up, but these living in towns have mostly

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\* This is called in Kannaḍa as *Hesarubala* (ಹೆಸರುಬಲ), i. e., agreement of names.

given up this practice. The parties are led to their huts and are anointed and bathed. They are then seated on pieces of date mats and are besmeared with turmeric. After this, they have a dinner for the castemen.

In the evening at about 6 the bride and the bridegroom are again anointed and bathed. Dressed in fresh clothes, they are made to sit facing each other on date mats between the two huts. The fringes of their garments are tied together, and between the couple two pots (ಅರವೇಣಿ ಗಳಿ) are kept on a date mat and worshipped. They rest their hands on these pots, the hand of the bridegroom being placed over that of the bride; and each ties to the other's wrist a *kankana* of woollen and cotton threads twisted together and a turmeric root, a betel leaf and a copper ring tied to it. Similar *kankanas* are tied to the pots also. The couple are then led to the bride's house by the bridegroom's maternal uncle or a similar relation. That night, the bride and the bridegroom observe a fast.

Early in the morning, the next day, the maternal uncle of either the bride or the bridegroom who happens to be unmarried, cuts a branch of a *Nérāle* tree (Jambolana, and places it at a well or a water course. Five persons, two men and three married women, go there carrying two sacred pots and a light, fill the pots with water, worship them and the piece of *Nérāle* wood, and bring them to the bride's hut. This branch is fixed on a small dais in front of the bride's hut and the pots are deposited on a bed of rice spread near it. Two earthen dishes filled with cotton seed and castor oil are placed on these pots and lighted and kept burning till the *dhare* is over. It is the belief that if these lights, styled *mandapa dipa* (ಮಂಡಪದೀಪ), burn steadily, the marriage will prove a happy one. A *kalasa* is also placed there on grains of rice spread in a dish, and *pūja* is made to it, a cocoanut being offered and frankincense burnt.

The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to this place and stand facing each other, the bride looking towards the east. The bridegroom ties the *tūpi* made of a string of black glass beads round the bride's neck; and then they put handfuls of rice on each other's head. The married couple sit to a common meal (ಖಾಸಾ), with the three women and two men that have brought the sacred twig and pots, in which cooked rice, plantains, jaggory and ghee are served to them.

After this they have *Nalugu* when the bridegroom and the bride sit together and offer to each other flowers, sandal, turmeric paste and *pan-supari*, and pour *sāse* or rice\* on each other. Then with the fringes of their garments tied together, and holding each other by the right hands, they are taken to bathe. They sit side by side on wooden pestles laid on the ground and water is poured on them. They go with wet clothes on and worship the *Nérale* twig by going round it thrice and falling prostrate before it.

“The pot searching” ceremony takes place next. A pot decorated with chunam lines is filled with red coloured water, and pieces of silver, copper and gold are thrown in it. The bride and the bridegroom are made to search for and pick out these pieces alternately.

That evening the bride and the bridegroom dressed in rich clothes, and the girl profusely bedecked and crowned with flowers go in state to a temple and after worship return to the bride’s hut, the procession being led by a married woman carrying a lamp on her head. At the entrance of the hut, the woman waves this lamp about the couple for which service she receives a little present. The couple are then taken into the hut, given fresh clothes and served with food, which they and the three married women and two men referred to, must eat from the same dish. This is called the second *Bunna* (ಬುನು).

Then the *Nérale* branch set up in the pandal, is removed after *pūja* from its place. Before its removal, the castemen assemble and demand presents according to the means of the parties. They begin sometimes as high as a hundred rupees, but by haggling the demand is reduced to about five or ten rupees. Occasionally when the parties are very poor, it is even compounded for a betel leaf and a nut.

The bride and the bridegroom are again besmeared with turmeric, and the mother fills the girl’s garment with presents consisting of dry cocoanuts (kopra) cut in halves, turmeric roots, betel leaves and nuts, five quarter-seers of rice and five *hanas*. They then rise from their seats with the fringes of their garments tied together and holding

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\* Rice is believed to be the sign of plenty and the throwing of rice on the heads of the couple by way of blessing is meant to invoke prosperity and happiness on them. In every auspicious ceremony this is an important item.

each other's right hand. The bride transfers the presents into the cloth of the bridegroom, who keeps the rice and returns the rest to her. They salute the elders by prostrating before them and receive their congratulations accompanied with presents of money ranging from a two anna piece upwards, though rarely going to rupees. The hut erected for the husband is then pulled down and its materials and the domestic vessels contained in it are carried to some distance by the bride, who also drives at the same time her husband's donkeys to the new site. She then puts up the hut again and with five married women who accompany her, she fetches water from a well, cooks food and serves it to all the guests. This finally installs her in her new house as its mistress.

This hut is again pulled down and those who brought the materials of the hut and the milk post tie them up in a bundle, which they sink in a pond or well. They are then dismissed with presents of *pan-supari* and some money.

The amount of bride price or *tera* (or *ōli* in Telugu) is 24 pagodas or Rs. 72, and in some places 20 pagodas or Rs. 60. It is said that sometimes as much as Rs. 100 has to be paid. On account of the general poverty of the caste, the payment is spread over a large number of years and it is reported to be not uncommon for a man to remain indebted to the family of his father-in-law during his whole life. Among some families, particularly among the wandering portion of the caste, the son-in-law lives near his father-in-law's hut till a child is born to him.

Among the more civilized portion of the caste, half the *tera* is paid at once, the remaining half being paid at a subsequent date or at the consummation of marriage. A widower marrying a virgin need not pay any additional amount.

The expenditure at a marriage of course greatly varies according to the means of the parties. In addition to the amount of *tera*, the average for a family in ordinary (which generally means, poor) circumstances, may be roughly estimated to be twenty rupees for toddy, twenty-five rupees as feeding charges, and twenty-five rupees for clothes and sundry purposes.

Both parties, especially that of the bridegroom, must supply the castemen with drink every day, and any omission to do so is resented and leads to quarrel.

## Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for four days. During this period, she remains outside the house or hut and a separate shed, made of green leaves of *Lakkali* plant is put up for her. She is given a mat to sit on, and a branch of *Ekka* plant and an iron knife are kept always in the shed to ward off evil spirits, to whose attacks she is considered specially liable during the time. Among people living in villages and towns, the ceremony of presenting the girl with cocoanuts and other things filled in her garment, is observed every evening.

On the fifth day, two married women assist her to bathe and present her with *pan-supari*, dried coconut halves and some dates and Bengal gram soaked in water. Green gram and rice are separately boiled and mixed together with jaggory and made into balls of which three are given to the girl to eat, the rest being given away to two boys and two girls. There is generally a dinner to the caste. The girl takes only one meal during the day.

In the case of a girl who has attained puberty before marriage, consummation is delayed for three months after the marriage, at the end of which the husband goes to his wife's hut, a caste dinner is given, and man and wife thereafter live together.

Widow  
Marriage.

Widow marriage is freely allowed, and a woman may marry as many times as she pleases, provided that at the time of every subsequent marriage, her previous husband is either dead or has divorced her. The ceremony observed is very simple. The head of the caste styled *Náyak* is invited along with other caste people. In the evening of the day fixed, before the house of the woman, her intended husband presents her with a new cloth with or without some jewels in addition. The *hama* presented to the caste by her previous husband at marriage, is returned to his heir, and a similar sum is now given to the caste by the new husband. The *Nayak* then declares them husband and wife. The castemen are treated to a dinner and are regaled with toddy. The *tera* amount paid to a widow varies between from three pagodas to fourteen pagodas.

A widow cannot marry her husband's brother, but may marry any other belonging to his division or sept. It has been stated in one account that the second husband who is allowed the concession of paying a low *tera* has to support the children of the woman by her first husband,

though when grown up, they revert to the family of the first husband.

**Divorce** is permitted on account of the wife's adultery. Divorce. The divorced woman may marry her paramour, the latter having to pay to the previous husband not only the *tera* amount paid by him, but also the expenses of marriage.

Adultery with a man of a higher caste is generally condoned, but entails excommunication when the woman has gone astray with a man of a lower caste. It has been stated that a man of this caste who attempts to outrage the chastity of a married woman, is punished by having his head and whiskers completely shaved, and paraded in the street seated on a she-donkey, a paste of onions being previously applied to his bald crown. If he wishes to rejoin the caste, he is fined the cost of a dinner with toddy to the castemen.

They are not very strict in matters of sexual morality. But it is difficult to believe as stated in a recent publication that they sell or pledge their wives "taking them back" upon redemption of the pledge with any children born "in the interval and treating them as though nothing had happened."\* No trace of this practice as a custom, could be discovered by enquiries made in this State. It is likely that the observation is due to a hasty generalisation from some causes of sexual laxity coming to notice. But poverty and a low standard of morality account for the wives of criminals incarcerated for long terms accepting the protection of some one else, and returning to the husband after his return.

If a man has sexual connection with an unmarried girl and the fact becomes known to the caste, the pair will be married under *kúdi* form. The man pays some fine, which is spent in supplying toddy to the castemen, and gives a dinner. The pair remain separate till they go to Tirupati and have the ceremony called *tala-bálu* (తలబాలు) performed there. Two or three castemen accompany them to the temple there. After worshipping at the shrine, the priest throws some rice on the heads of the pair seated together with their children, if any, on either side. They then, in their turn, pour rice on each other's heads. This fully validates their marriage, and the children born of this wedlock, whether before or after this ceremony, will

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\* Notes on Criminal Class by Mr. Mullaly.

be entitled to have their marriages performed in the regular fashion. The omission of this ceremony is said to leave the children in the inferior status of *Kudike-Salu* (progeny of concubinage) and they are not allowed marriage relations with those regularly born.\* If a widow or a divorced woman marries another, the form of marriage is *kudike*, but she need not undergo the *talubalu* ceremony at Tirupati, as she has already undergone regular marriage once.

Death ceremonies.

They bury their dead. As soon as life is extinct, the body is washed and a mark is put on the forehead *nāma* if a male and *kunkuma* spot if a female. Then it is covered up in a new cloth and is carried to the burial ground on a bier built of bamboos. The carriers must, if possible, be all related as agnates to the deceased. As usual, the body is placed on the ground when half-way to the burial ground, and the chief mourner going round it three times from right to left,† breaks a new pot standing by the head of the corpse, and throws about cooked rice round the bier. Thereupon the carriers change sides and take the body straight to the burial ground. They lower the body into the pit, and the chief mourner puts the first handful of earth, the others all doing likewise after him. When the grave is thus closed up, the chief mourner goes round the ground with a burning faggot of wood and quenches it at the head side of the buried body.‡ The body is buried with the head turned to the south and only the cloth in which the body has been rolled up is buried along with it. On the grave they leave a quarter anna\*\* coin which a Holeyā takes for himself. The party return home after bathing in a river or a well, and have to see a light kept burning at the place where the deceased expired.

\* This practice is in vogue only among the wandering portion of Korachas.

† For auspicious ceremonies when one has to go round in token of showing respect or worship, one goes from left to right—in the way the sun moves apparently in the sky. In un-auspicious ceremonies, such as death ceremonies, one generally circumambulates in the contrary or *apasavya* manner.

‡ This is known in Telugu as *talagorivi peṭṭeli* (తలగోరివిపెట్టేలి), i.e., placing a faggot at the head.

\*\* This is called in Kannada *nelahūga* (ನೆಲಹಾಗ) and is said properly to belong to a caste of men known as *Sudrugādu Sīdhas* (ಸೂಡುಗಾಡುಸಿದ್ಧರು) or *Kāti Pāpas* (ಕಾತಿಪಾಪಲು) in Telugu. The Holeyā collects this on behalf of the above and when they pay the Holeyās periodical visits, the latter have to pay some amount on this account.

On the third day, the chief mourner and some others of the family go to the burial ground and offer cooked rice and water to the deceased. Again on the fifth day, they similarly offer food at the grave. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased is lingering about in the bodies of crows which should eat up this food. This day all the agnates take a bath which removes the pollution. At the end of a month or at a later date within the third month, all the castemen and relations are invited to a dinner, and offerings of food are made to a *kalasa* set up in the name of the deceased.

They do not observe *śrāddhas*, but during the Dasara or on the Mahalaya new-moon day—a *Kalasa* is set up in the middle of the house, new cloths, if they can afford to buy them, are kept near it, and *pūja* is made to it by burning incense and breaking a cocoanut in the names of the deceased ancestors.

Korachas were formerly a nomadic people, but many of them have now settled in towns and villages. They have no recognized head-quarters. The nomadic section are essentially a criminal class, figuring largely in dacoity, highway robbery and burglary. They go about in gangs when on their criminal expeditions, and different gangs have some means of keeping themselves informed of the movements and places of rendezvous of their allied gangs, to whatever distance they may penetrate. Social status.

Ūru-Korachas live in houses similar to those of other castes of their own standing, but the wandering Korachas live outside the villages in temporary huts of arched covering like the top of a country cart, the bent bamboos being stuck in the ground, so as to leave a breadth of about four feet. They encamp in groups and when they shift their places, they carry away their huts on their bullocks. The thieving gangs generally select their places for camping in the jungle.

They have no objection to take into their fold persons male or female, of other castes, such as Vakkaligas, Bapa-jigas or Kurubas, who are admittedly higher in social scale.\* Some accounts say that the convert must be one belonging by birth to the right hand group (18 Phanas), to which the Korachas belong. Some ceremony is observed at the time of admission. The candidate after a bath gets

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\* It is said that a Brahman will not be admitted into their caste.



his tongue slightly touched with a burnt piece of gold or a margosa stick. Sometimes he has to swallow a little of turmeric and soapnut paste. He gets *tirtha* and *prasāda* in a temple, and afterwards gives a dinner to the castemen, with whom he also eats sitting in the same line, after the headman has publicly announced his admission. In the evening the castemen are generally regaled with toddy at the expense of the new-comer.

They are not required to employ Brahmans for their marriages or any other ceremonial purposes. But some of them, settled in towns, occasionally call in Brahmans chiefly as a mark of respectability, and when any Brahman does go to minister to them, he is not subjected to any social disability.

In social position, they rank very low, although they belong to the right hand group of castes known as the Eighteen Phanas. In the bell and the spoon, the insignia of the Eighteen Phanas which is always kept in the custody of the Chalavādi,\* the professional symbol of the Korachas, namely, the splitting knife, is engraved, and the Chalavādi carries the insignia in their processions and other solemn occasions. The Korachas are admitted only into the outer portions of the houses of Brahmans, and actual bodily contact with them is avoided. When a congregation of all the castes takes place in a temple, the Korachas occupy a place only next above the Nāyindas (barbers) and Agasas (washermen) and do not enter the inner portion of the temple. They can live in the same quarter of the village which other non-Brahman classes occupy, but in large towns they usually have separate quarters. They are lower in status than the Médas, another class of workers in bamboo. The Korachas who follow this profession can be singled out from the Médas from the absence of *Trisūla* or trident engraved in their (Korachas') knife. As regards dining, the only classes who eat in the houses of Korachas are Holeyas and Mádigas.

They eat sheep, goats, pigs, the larger species of the lizard class and fish of all kinds. They do not eat beef or kill snakes and monkeys. They indulge rather excessively in drink, using both country and foreign liquor.

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\* Chalavadi, who is a Holeyā in caste, is the servant of the group of castes coming under the Eighteen Phanas. He is the custodian of the symbol of this section, the bell and the iadle, on which are engraved the several insignia of the castes composing it.

The Ūru and other settled divisions of the Korachas have a Setṭi and a Yajman as their tribal functionaries, who enquire into and settle their disputes. Their presence is necessary in all marriage and other ceremonies. They are said to belong to the right hand division, that is, Eighteen Phayās and as such are under the jurisdiction of the Dêsa Setṭi. Tribal organization.

The wandering Korachas are divided into several gangs at the head of each of which is a *Nāyak* or headman. The office of this man is not hereditary but goes to the most competent among them. He commands much respect in the community and settles all the disputes among them. When they divide their predatory gains, the *Nāyak* gets an extra share and in return, it is incumbent on him to use every endeavour to obtain the release of any one of the gang that may be caught and cast in prison, and to make proper arrangement for the maintenance of the convict's wife and children. Periodically members of all the gangs meet at a known rendezvous and settle their caste disputes. Such meetings continue for several days and the toddy and arrack shops in the vicinity drive a good trade.

The general Hindu law is applied to them in matters of inheritance. But in the case of those not regularly settled in towns, they rarely have property sufficient to raise any questions of dispute, and as such property that they have is generally of a kind not to bear too close an investigation as to its origin, the disputes are generally settled among themselves. The father seems to be regarded as having more power than under the ordinary law, and the sons are not allowed to claim a share against his wish. They settle disputes by caste meetings, and the decisions are enforced by pain of social ostracism. Inheritance

The divisions named above, are occupational. Uru Occupation.  
Korachas used to trade in earth salt and even now in the places where it is prepared, they buy it up from the Upparas or salt makers and retail it to the villagers. The trade however has almost disappeared owing to the competition of sea salt. Now they have settled down to agriculture, and are hardly distinguishable from the other agriculturists, unless it be from the soothsaying and tattooing which their women still practise. The Korachas of this division are also known as *Dabbe* or Bamboo Korachas, and they make mats, winnows, sieves, cradles and baskets of all kinds and sizes. The Ghattada or Uppu Korachas were also

formerly great traders in salt. Before the country was opened up by railway communication, they used to ply between the sea-coast and the interior with droves of pack bullocks and asses, on the backs of which their merchandise of salt and grains was transported. They used to travel from place to place with salt in caravans with their women and children, carrying the materials of their huts along with them. But improved roads and means of transport have sadly encroached on their main lawful occupation, and has driven them more than ever to thieving where they have not settled down to agriculture. In some places, however, (as, *e. g.*, Avani, in the Mulbagal Taluk, Kolar District) they still adhere to their old profession and buy imported salt in fairly large quantities in weekly fairs, and sell it in retail in the surrounding villages, thus making a scanty living for themselves.

The Korachas are included under the criminal tribes and are placed under surveillance. They generally take great precautions in carrying out gang robberies, posting sentinels and overawing the inhabitants of the village from giving help to their victims. They train their youths in the arts of lying, and subject them to the discipline of suffering pain without wincing, so that they may not easily betray their accomplices when caught. Burglaries and robberies on a large scale are often the work of Korachas, and to strike terror into the hearts of the villagers, they sometimes carry torches with them.\* They are also adepts in cattle-lifting. Their women sometimes go about hawking baskets and professing to read fortunes, and collect information as to the most suitable houses for attack.

Tattooing is done by the women of the Koracha caste. Women are their patrons generally, though occasionally men submit themselves to the operation. "The tattooers generally use pigments of black and green colour, rarely of blue or dark green colours. They prepare these pigments by mixing with the juice of certain plants or herbs fine charcoal powder obtained by burning a cocoa-nut shell and powdering it finely, or lamp-black or soot, and adding to the mixture, before it is used, either breast milk or water or both."†

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\* See Abbe Dubois on the customs and manners of the Hindus, pp. 66-67 as to the manner of their carrying out their nefarious trade.

† See Mysore Census Report, 1901, in which an excellent account of tattooing is given.

After the tattooing operation is over, the Koracha woman asks for and gets some chillies and a little salt which she waves round the tattooed portion repeating a formula which means that by the help of such and such a god, the effect of evil eyes cast on the tattoo, by the by-standers and others including the woman herself, be removed. Then she smears this portion with turmeric powder. This is said to prevent the tattooed portion from swelling.

The designs employed in tattooing are very varied, flowers, birds and plants being the most usual. The Koracha woman generally keeps a book in which are drawn a number of figures, which she submits to the patient for selecting the pattern. There is a graduated scale of charges for each design. In addition to these modes of living, they engage themselves in catching edible birds for sale or consumption by themselves. They catch birds by means of snares or nets and sometimes by placing gum on the roosts. The women sometimes gain a pittance by begging at the doors of others.

In the Census Report of 1901, the Korachas are classed as animists. Animism has been defined as "the belief which traces everything in the world, from the greater natural phenomena to the various diseases and misfortunes which afflict mankind, to the action of numberless indeterminate, powers or influences, among which, on the theory which gives rise to the name, the souls of departed chiefs and ancestors are supposed to occupy a prominent place." These distinctions are not, at any rate so far as the population of this State is concerned, exclusively applicable to any class or caste. The performance of *Srāddhas* and other similar ceremonies shows that the highest classes are not free from this belief. But as we go down in the scale, the belief in spirits and the practice of offering worship to them is found to assume more and more importance. Koracha class can hardly be regarded as pure animists as their principal god is Venkataramaṇa of Tirupati, commonly known among them as Tirupati Timmappa. They go on pilgrimage to this shrine periodically, and as noticed already, any informal union of an unmarried girl with a man must be confirmed by the performance of the marriage rite there.

Religion.

The names of the chief female deities worshipped by them are Durgamma, Māramma, Halagamma, Māthangamma, Gangamma, Maddūramma and Yellamma. The

worship of a spirit known as Munísvara, is very common in the caste. They offer sheep and goats to these deities and they eat the sacrificed animals. Each of their settlements contains a hut or other structure dedicated to one of these local gods, and they conduct the *púja* in their own manner.

They observe no fasts but keep some of the principal feasts of the Hindus, such as, the new-year's-day, Gauri feast and Navaratri. Saturdays are devoted to the worship of Venkatarāmaṇa. All of them, whether belonging to the wandering or the settled section, bathe on that day and if a Viṣṇu temple is near at hand, they go there and offer fruits and flowers and get *prasāda* before they eat their food.

They have faith in sorcery, but they consult no soothsayers. As the Koracha women are professional soothsayers, their want of faith in their own trade is significant. But they have an implicit belief in omens, and it is said that, whenever the Korachas propose going on their depredatory excursions, they offer *púja* at their temple and pray to be favored with good luck. The omens and the significance attached to them are the same as for other castes who share the superstition, and they are such as the chirping of a lizard, sneezing, and the crossing of snakes, cats and other animals, when one starts on any business. Indeed, there is a regular code of omens on which the elder members are an authority, and the rules are even collected in printed books.

Miscellaneous.

Korachas get themselves tattooed. A woman may get tattooed any time before she becomes a mother. It is said that at the time when she gets tattooed for the first time, her paternal aunt is invited to a dinner. She is presented with a new *sūdi* and the day is observed as a feast. As regards dress, men wear short drawers, a turban and an upper cloth and sometimes a coat. They put on ear-rings styled *Métimuruvu* (ಮೇಟಿ ಮುರುವು) and silver bangles on the wrists. Women wear a *sūdi*, but not a *ravike*, but among Ūru and Soṇai Korachas women wear this article of dress also. The wandering Koracha women put on garlands of glass beads profusely.

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XVII**  
**MADIGA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## MÁDIGAS.

The Mádigas (ಮದಿಗರು), who are known as the left General hand caste (ಎಡಗೈ-Edagai), are regarded as lower than the Holeyas or the right hand caste<sup>†</sup> in the social scale.

Their quarters are separate from those allotted to the Holeyas, and are generally further removed from the main village. Again during the celebration of the festival of the village goddess Máramma, the share of the sacrificed animal which the Mádigas gets is the last, while that of the Holeyas is the last but one.

The Mádigas are the nearer the primitive stage than the Holeyas and they differ much more appreciably in outward appearance from the higher castes. They are generally strong and muscular, and somewhat short in stature, and dark in colour with some what flattened noses. It is generally said that one cannot be certain of the origin of a fair Mádigas and a dark Brahman.<sup>†</sup>

The Mádigas numbered according to the Census of 1901, 296,821 of whom 139,386 were males. They are distributed over all the districts, though the four districts of Mysore, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur contain 88 per cent of this caste.

The caste is commonly known as Mádigas (ಮದಿಗ). Name. They are also styled Edagaiyavaru (ಎಡಗೈಯವರು) or of the left hand faction. Among themselves they apply the terms Jámavas (ಜಂಬವರು), Padmajátiyavaru (ಪದ್ಮಜಾತಿಯವರು) and Mátagas (ಮತಗರು), as being more euphemistic. Pan-chamas is a word which has been recently invented to apply to this and the Holeyas caste, as a term not possessing the

\* In this country, the right hand is considered superior to the left, the former only being employed for eating or handling sacred things, while the left hand is exclusively used for cleaning the lower parts of the body. The designation "right hand" denotes some superiority over the left.

† The Telugu proverb to this effect is, ఎర్రమాదిగవాణ్ణి నల్లబ్రాహ్మణుని నన్నరాదు.

association, suggested by the more familiar names, with the low social status. Chambāra (ಚಂಬಾರರು) and Bégāra (ಬೇಗಾರರು) are also the names which others apply to this caste. Chandāla (ಚಂಡಾಲ) and Antyaja (ಅಂತೈಜ) are the nicknames, when special stress is meant to be laid on the inferiority of this caste.

In addressing them, the naked names without honorific additions are employed generally by all the other castes; and sometimes the suffix *gāru* (ಗಾರು in Telugu) and *gā* (ಗಾ in Kannada) are added to emphasise the comparative inferiority of the person addressed. Among themselves *appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ), *ayya* (ಅಯ್ಯ), and *amma* (ಅಮ್ಮ) are the honorific suffixes employed to elderly persons. The term "*Manegār*" (ಮಣೇಗಾರ-headman) is sometimes applied to the headman or an elderly respectable member of the caste.

The Mádigas and the Holeyas are sometimes known as the "black people," *Nallajanamu* (నల్లజనము) in Telugu and *Kappujana* (ಕಪ್ಪುಜನ) in Kannada and the term *Nalla kulāchārānu* (నల్లకూలారాను) is said to be the usage of these castes. But these terms are not well known and their application not quite established. \*

Meaning of  
the terms.

The meaning of the term Mádiga is not clear. It is supposed to be a corruption of Matanga. The caste known as Mhangs in the Maharashtra country correspond to Mádigas and the names may perhaps be connected with each other. The termination "*iga*" seems to indicate that it may denote their profession, but the first part cannot be traced to any root in the Kannada language. Matanga in Sanskrit is applied to a *Kirāta* or a mountaineer or a barbarian. Matanga was applied to a Dynasty (as it was believed) of hill tribes, but whether they had any connection with these Mádigas, it is impossible to say. They have no such tradition, and say that the name is derived from Matanga † Rishi.

Mádigas belong to the left hand group of castes, as the Holeyas to the right hand and somehow each of these castes which is the lowest in its group, has appropriated the name of the group for itself, Mádigas being generally known as Edagai (ಎಡಗೈ-left hand) men and Holeyas, Balagai (ಬಲಗೈ-right hand) men.

\* See Mysore Census Report of 1901, p. 254. Some of the uneducated use the term "black men" (ಕಪ್ಪುಜನ) for natives or Indians as distinguished from "red men" (ಕಂಪುಜನ) for Europeans.

† To the term Matanga, a meaning is given as 'one that cannot go into the middle of a village.'

Jámbava \* is the name given to a subdivision, but it is also popularly used to denote the whole caste. The name occurs in Ramayana as that of the oldest member of the heterogeneous army of Rama's allies. These Mádigas say they are descended from him, and believe that he was born six months before the creation of the Earth. Perhaps that is their way of laying claim to be the oldest inhabitants of the country, a claim which has some probability in its favour.

The reason for the appellation of Padmajáti (ಪದ್ಮಜಾತಿ - lotus caste) to Mádigas cannot be traced.

Chambar, corresponding to Chakkili (ಚಕ್ಕಿಲಿ) in Tamil, is a corrupted form apparently of *Charmakūra* (ಚರ್ಮಕಾರ), a worker in leather.

The name Bégar cannot be said to be a proper name for this caste, though it is sometimes applied as such on account of their being commonly employed as servants for communal village work. The term Bégar (ಬೇಗಾರ or ಬೇಕುಗಾರ) means either a watchman or one who does petty services for revenue and other officials for which he cannot ask for payment, as it is considered to be part of his customary duties for the village known collectively as *bitti* and *bégári* (ಬಿಟ್ಟು, ಬೇಗಾರ).

The term *Panchama* is one of recent coinage (ಪಂಚಮ, the fifth), and is applied to these and Holeyas as they are outside the four castes mentioned in the Sastras.

*Chandála* (ಚಂಡಾಲ) literally a cruel man, is rarely applied to any caste, except when it is meant to exhibit contempt, and then it applies indifferently to any low caste. *Antyaja* (ಅಂತ್ಯಜ) literally 'born at the end') can also be hardly regarded as a special name for this caste.

There is little doubt that this caste represents the Origin. earliest stratum among the inhabitants of this country who have settled in towns and villages. In colour and features they differ more widely than the Holeyas from the higher classes of the people. It is impossible to trace their origin with any certainty, but they have also some current stories bearing on the subject which as usual are meant to make out that they had originally a higher status than they now possess. It is said that Jámbava Rishi was created by A'di Sakti, primeval force, six months before the Earth and when

\* Jambava of the Ramayana is said to have been a bear as Hanu-ma was a monkey. He is stated to have lived down to the time of Krishna, with whom he wrestled for the possession of a gem styled Samantaka Mani.

the latter was still in a fluid state, he was floating on its surface. By the command of the Creator he killed his younger son and mixed his blood with liquid earth, whereupon it curdled into a solid mass. The name given to his younger son is Heppumuni (Heppu meaning curdle). The boy however was revived by the grace of Paramésvara and Párvati and gave rise to the caste of Dakkalóru who are regarded as the inferior progeny (ಹಳಮಕ್ಕಳು-Haḷemakkaḷu) of Mádigas. Mádigas claim descent for themselves from Yugamuni, the elder son of Jámbara.

They were pure at first, but Jámbara Rishi was one day presented with a cow by Siva for the benefit of his children. Once during his absence at Siva's Court, his son Yugamuni, had a visit from another rishi called Sánkhyā and entertained him hospitably; the latter found the milk of the cow so sweet that he tried to prevail upon Jámbara's son to kill her and eat the flesh. Yugamuni did not agree but Sánkhyā himself killed the animal and induced the others to partake of the meat. On his return Jámbara was horrified at the deed, and dragged both the offenders for punishment to the I'swara's Court; they were doomed to become Chandálas thenceforth, and their descendants became the right hand and the left hand castes, as Sankhya had stood on the right side and Yuga on the left side at the entrance to the Court while awaiting Judgment.\* It is said that Mádigas have been condemned to the mean trade of shoe-making as an expiation for the original offence of their ancestor.† The wife of Yugamuni in the above account is given the name of Matangi but there is another story which makes a male Matanga Rishi their progenitor. Who this Rishi was they do not know but say that it was his curse that has brought upon them their low position in life. One Matanga is mentioned in the Mahabhárata as begotten by a Súdra barber on a Brahman woman. He was therefore a Chandala and could not shake off this character although he performed the most severe penances. It is possible that the name adopted by Mádigas has come from this source.

It is stated that a Western Chálukya King Mangalésa (567—610 A. D.) conquered the Matangas. Who these were has not been definitely settled, and it is conjectured

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\* Mysore Census report 1891, page 255. Another version of the story is given in the account of the Holeyas.

† There is a current proverb in Kannada and Telugu about expiating the sin of killing a cow by the present of a pair of shoes. This has no apparent connection with this story but denotes an utter disproportion between an offence and its reparation.

that they were hill tribes and that Mádigas are their descendants.\* The tribal goddess of the Mádigas is known as Mátangi and they are sometimes popularly spoken of as Mátangi's issue. They themselves have no traditions of any connection with a ruling race, and the conjecture may be due to a mere similarity of names and to the belief that being aboriginal, they should have ruled the country at some remote period.

The claim to a descent from Jám-bava may perhaps be an indication of their original character. Jám-bava is associated with the armies of the allies of Rama in the Ramayana and is said to have been a bear as the bulk of them were monkeys. It is now generally agreed that these terms were applied to the non-Aryan races who helped Rama in his invasion of the southernmost portion of India.

Mádigas speak Kannada or Telugu according to the locality they live in. There are some immigrants into the State from the southern parts of the Madras Presidency and these speak Tamil; but their number is insignificant. Language.

The caste contains two main divisions based on the language they speak, the Kannada and the Telugu Mádigas. The Kannada Mádigas do not intermarry with the Telugu speaking Mádigas. Each language group has three endogamous divisions which are Tanige Buvvadavaru (ತಣಿಗಿಬುವ್ವದವರು) in Kannada and Tale Buvvamuvallu (తెలెబువ్వమువాళ్ళు) in Telugu (of the eating dish division); Hedige Buvvadavaru (ಹಡಿಗೆ ಬುವ್ವದವರು) in Kannada and Gampa Buvvamuvallu (గంప బువ్వమువాళ్ళు) in Telugu (of the basket division); and Mora Buvvadavaru (ಮೊರ ಬುವ್ವದವರು) of the winnow division. Among the last of these there is again the distinction of single and double winnows. Divisions.

These divisions are named after the manner in which the bride and the bridegroom eat Buvva (food or common marital meal at marriages) that is, as they keep the food in an eating dish (ತಣಿಗಿ), a basket (ಹಡಿಗೆ) or a winnow (ಮೊರ). It is said that the people of the last division, in some places, make a figure of a human body out of the cooked rice and other articles used for Buvva (ಬುವ್ವ) and that the bride and the bridegroom with some of their nearest male relatives on either side eat up the figure, the bridegroom and his party beginning to consume from the head and the bride and her party from the legs. From this practice they take the name of

\* Bijapur Gazetteer, page 381; Kanara Gazetteer, page 81; Madras Census Report of 1891, page 302.

Hena huvvadavaru (ಹೆಣಬುವವರು) in Kannada, and Pinigedōmativallu (పినిగెడమతివాళ్ళు) in Telugu (of the corpse division)

In addition to the above there are two other divisions among the Mādigas known as Jāmbavas (ಜಾಂಬವರು) and Dakkalōru (దక్కలూరు) which deserve special mention.

Jāmbavas are the *Gurus* of the Mādigas and have some *mathas* for themselves, such as those at Kodihalli (Hiriyur Taluk) and Nelamangala. They affix *muni*\* to their personal names (as e.g., Rudramuni) and wear a linga and mark their foreheads with ashes (Vibhūti) and sandal paste. When they pay periodical visits to their disciples, they lodge either in a tōpe near the quarters of Mādigas or occupy a house specially vacated and cleansed for them. They consider Pāñchālas (gold-smiths) as their patrons. Whenever they go to a village in which Pāñchālas live, they make it a point to visit their houses, and standing outside, get some presents from them. The Jāmbavas may marry girls from the ordinary Mādiga families after subjecting them to some purificatory ceremony, but they on no account give their girls in marriage to the other Mādigas. All the Jāmbavas talk Telugu and say they belong to the Cuddapah country, and their women throw the loose end of their garment over the right shoulder while the other Mādiga women let it fall on the left side.

Dakkalus are considered to be the Hālemakkaḷu (hereditary bondsmen) of the Mādigas and are treated by them as outcastes. Their progenitor is said to be the second son of Jāmbava whose head was sacrificed at the time of hardening the crust of the earth. His head and trunk were thrown into a well, but there was still so much vitality that the severed body continued to speak. Siva and his consort passing in the aerial regions heard some noise in the well and impelled by curiosity came to the place, questioned the body and learnt its story. The trunk and the head were brought together by the God and restored to full life. The boy declined to go back to his father or to accompany the God to his heaven of Kailāsa, and as he proved so refractory, he was nicknamed *Dakkadava* (దక్కడవ that is, one that could not be held in restraint) and sent to roam about the world with a curse that he and his descendants should have no home of their own, and should

\* Muni (meaning a recluse) is an obsolete title affixed to the names of Rishis.

live on food begged from the descendants of the other son of Jāmbava, who are Mādigas. Even now the Dakkalus have no recognised head-quarters and are always moving from place to place. They are not allowed to enter the Mādiga quarters. When they come to a village, they pitch their camp in a tōpe or other place at a small distance from the houses of the Mādigas and announce to them their arrival. The latter are bound to supply them with food and drink and would on no account incur their displeasure lest they should curse them. While leaving the village, they get some presents from each family of the Mādigas. On important occasions such as marriage, these Dakkalus are not forgotten but have some money presents and *tāmbula* kept apart for them.

The Mādigas have a number of exogamous divisions known as *kulas* (ಕುಲಗಳು) or *Bedagus* (ಬೆಡಗುಗಳು). Most of them are named after various material objects such as trees and animals. Though some of these septs do observe the rule of not eating, cutting, or otherwise using the object represented by their names, the connection if it ever existed universally, is now generally forgotten and no significance is attached to it.\*

Exogamous divisions.

As mentioned already, men of the Jāmbava division may take wives from other divisions, but the women should marry only in their own division. This is a genuine case of hypergamy. But sometimes those Mādigas who have recently adopted the Vāishnava faith in the place of the worship of village goddesses, decline to give their girls to others, while they have no objection to marry girls from other divisions. But the others do not admit this as a mark of superiority, as they hold that a married girl going out of the family cannot contaminate it, whereas a girl entering the family from a lower stratum introduces inferior blood.†

Hypergamy.

No ceremonies are observed during the pregnancy of the woman. The usual prohibition against the pregnant woman's husband doing such things as carrying a corpse, putting on the roof of the house, killing any animal, obtains in this caste also.

Birth ceremonies.

When the women show signs of approaching delivery, they make a vow to their family God and set apart a small coin in earnest of a larger offering to be made in case of safe

\* A list of exogamous divisions is given in the Appendix.

† This belief is embodied in the proverb, ಕೂಟ್ಟಿ ಹಣ್ಣು ಕೂಲಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊರಗು the bride given away becomes an outsider to the kula or tribe.



delivery. On the birth of the child, it is washed and the navel cord is cut by the midwife. The navel string and the afterbirth are buried below the eaves of the house and on the third day a little milk is poured on the spot. It is a belief that they hold with many other castes that if a child comes out of the womb with the limbs foremost, it forebodes evil to the midwife, who is often believed quietly to strangle such a child. In cases of difficult delivery, the mother is given some arrack to drink. All the women who attend on such an occasion are supplied with toddy at the expense of the husband.

On the third day, the mother and the child are bathed in water in which the tender leaves of certain plants, Gaj-jaga (ಗಜ್ಜಗ-*molucca bean*), Ankōle (ಅಂಕೋಲೆ-*Alangium lamarckii*) and lime tree, are boiled. A small pit is consecrated with *pūja* in front of the house and the mother sits on it with the child in her lap. The neighbours each contribute a potful of water for the bath.

An elderly woman goes round and collects a morsel of food from each house and gives it with toddy to the newly confined woman to eat. Similarly, old rags are collected for the child's cradle. In the evening four pots are placed at the corners of the pit made for the bath and the midwife makes *pūja* to them, placing before them an offering of meat and rice cooked together, on leaves of *Ekka* plant (*calotropis gigantea*). She is then presented with a winnowful of grain and a *hanna* in coin for a male child and half that sum for a female child, besides being liberally supplied with toddy. The caste people are feasted in the evening. Except on that day, the confined woman is fed on rice only till the tenth day without any condiment. This purifying ceremony is known as Mutṭu Dēvaru (ಮುಟ್ಟುದೇವರು) Pollution God or Gundī Dēvaru (ಗುಂಡಿದೇವರು) Pit God.

On the sixth day, a stone is set up in the confinement room and worshipped by the midwife with the burning of incense and sometimes the sacrifice of a fowl. This is known as the Goddess Satvi which is believed to record the child's destiny on its forehead. A light is waved before it and then carried and placed in an unfrequented place; it is said that if any one casts a glance on it while being carried, some evil will overtake the mother and the child. On this day, the child is first put into a cradle, generally on old one being used for the purpose and consecrated with *pūja*.

The name giving ceremony takes place about the end of the first month. A Koracha woman is always consulted as to the fitness of the name to be given. That day some castemen are asked to dinner. The following may be taken as examples of typical names among the Mādigas:—

Males.	Females.
Honnira (ಹೊನ್ನೂರ).	Kàli (ಕಾಳಿ).
Sattiga (ಸತ್ತಿಗ).	Malli (ಮಲ್ಲಿ).
Kadiriga (ಕದರಿಗ).	Sunki (ಸುಂಕಿ).
Màra (ಮಾರ).	Hanumi (ಹನುಮಿ).
Màda (ಮಾದ).	Yalli (ಯಲ್ಲಿ).

The giving of nicknames is very common in this caste. Gidda (ಗಿಡ್ಡ) Mòta (ಮೊಟ) both names meaning a dwarf and Lottiga (ಲೊಟ್ಟಿಗ) 'a drinker (of toddy) by pots' may be cited as examples. The practice of giving opprobrious names is also common. Tipa (ತಿಪ್ಪ manure heap), Gundā (ಗುಂಡ round stone), Sudugūda (ಸುಡುಗುಡ burning ground) and Satta (ಸತ್ತ one dead) are some of them. When an opprobrious name is given, the child is put into a winnow and drawn on a manure pit, and the paternal aunt kicks the winnow with the child in it with her left foot, to deceive the Fate into a belief that the child's parents are so indifferent to its value, that the child is hardly worth taking away from them. When all the male children born in a family have died, the nostrils of the last born male child are pierced to make the evil spirit (Fate) mistake the child for a girl and to let it alone.

Mādigas believe, like many of the other lower classes, that children are specially amenable to the attacks of evil spirits. Various kinds of charms are placed round their necks as a protection against their evil influence. White beads strung on the waist thread keep off such spirits. If a child happens to have a fall in the street, the mother kicks the spot with her left foot, and applies a little earth moistened with the child's spittle to its forehead. Sometimes a vesselful of water and some ragi flour are thrown on the spot to appease the hunger and thirst of the evil spirits which, while prowling in the air, should have caused the child to fall down. Any illness occurring soon after such a fall is attributed to it and a vow is made to the Earth Goddess. To fulfil this, a pit is dug either where three paths meet or under a spout discharging rain water from the roof of a house, and into it some rice, dhall and other condiments and a live frog or a chicken are thrown. Frankincense is burnt and a cocoanut is broken. Bhūmamma

(ಭೂವಾಮೃತ-*Earth*) is invoked and the child is made to cross the pit thrice, after which its feet are washed, to carry away the illness. The pit with all its offerings including the live frog or chicken is then filled up.

The children are believed to be specially exposed to the attacks of the evil spirits till they complete the age of twelve. The elderly members of the family generally know what symptoms denote such an attack and they call in the aid of a sorcerer who exercises the spirit generally by tying a talisman (*yantra ಯಂತ್ರ*) to the patient.

The head of a male child is first shaved in the third year, the ceremony being observed at the shrine of the family deity or near a water course, where Gangamma (Water Goddess) is worshipped.

#### Adoption.

Being generally very poor, Mādigas rarely practise adoption to supply the want of natural issue. They do not seem to attach any importance to the existence of a son for increasing the chances of their salvation in the next world. But the practice of adoption is not altogether absent, though it has but little religious significance, as may be inferred from their styling such a boy a Sākumaga (ಸಾಕುಮಗ) or brought up son. A brother's son is considered the most eligible and in his absence, the son of an agnatic relation. A brother cannot be adopted. The boy to be adopted must always be younger than the adopter and of tender age, though, they say, the limit cannot be fixed; but on no account can a married man be adopted. The ceremony observed is like that observed by the Korachas.\*

#### Marriage.

There is no limit of age for marriage in either sex. But some say that marriage after a girl has passed the age of puberty is of an inferior sort, and some important parts of the regular ceremony, such as the bringing of the sacred pots (*arivēni*) are omitted.

Marriages are brought about by the parents or other elders of the family.

Polygamy is allowed and the reasons for taking an additional wife, are the same as in other cases, such as the want of issue, the need for an additional working hand, or some fault or defect in the first wife. The additional wife is generally a widow or a divorced woman and is married in the Kudike form or a concubine is considered sufficient. Polyandry is unknown.

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\* See Page 6. Korachas.

Marriage must be inside their own groups, such as Kannada Mādigas, but outside their own *Kulas* or *Bedagus* the members of the same *Kula* or *Bedagu* being considered related as brothers and sisters. Marriage with the daughter of an elder sister or of maternal uncle or paternal aunt is considered most suitable. A man cannot marry his paternal uncle's or maternal aunt's daughter as she is regarded as equal to a sister. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers, the elder marrying the elder sister, the younger, the younger. Exchange of daughters is not only practised but is most commonly in use, the reason being the saving of the bride price by both parties.

Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the father of the boy, who repairs to the house of the bride's father for whom he has to procure toddy at his expense. Such visits are repeated several times till the bride's father expresses his consent, after which the agreement is sealed by the ceremony of *Oppu-Vilya* (ಒಪ್ಪುವಿಲ್ಯ). In the presence of the head and other castemen, the bride's father and the bridegroom's exchange *tāmbūlas*; and a further confirmation takes place subsequently on an auspicious day fixed for them by the village astrologer. The latter's opinion is also obtained about the *Sālāvali* (ಸಾಲಾವಳಿ) or the mutual compatibility of the names of the parties to be married. For this ceremony of *Vilyada Sāstra* (ವಿಲ್ಯದಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) the boy's father accompanied by some married women go to the girl's house, taking with them certain provisions consisting of seven seers of rice, two or three cocoanuts and small quantities of ghee, oil, jaggery, powdered turmeric, etc. A meeting of the caste people is convened and the girl is seated on a plank, and presented with fruit and flowers placed in her garment. Five Kalasas are installed before her and worshipped. An essential part of the ceremony is the *Simhāsana pūja*, a heap of betel leaves and arecanuts with *Vibhūti* balls at the four corners being placed on a kambly.\* In front of this is placed the *Mudre* or insignia of Arulappa Saranaru (ಅರುಳಪ್ಪಸರಣರಮುದ್ರೆ), which is a sacred symbol preserved by the head of the caste and brought out only for such occasions. After the worship is over, the girl rises from her seat and does *Namaskarā* (bowing) to the sun and the elders. In some places, she gets a present of Rs. 5, three rupees from the bridegroom's father and two from hers. But generally the father of the girl gives

\*See Page 9. Bédas.

her a *hana* (4 as. 8 p.) called *Dévarahana* (ದೇವರಹಣ- God's money). This is subsequently used to prepare a *tālī* which is tied to her on the first day of the marriage (the first saffron smearing-ಮೊದಲರಸಿನ). The boy's father has ordinarily to pay in addition one rupee as the astrologer's consultation fee and half a rupee for feeding charges. He has also to bear the expenses of buying toddy for the caste-men. After this ceremony is performed, the girl should not, properly speaking, be married to any other. Any party that withdraws from the agreement has not only to reimburse the expenses incurred by the other party, but has also to pay a fine to the caste, which is spent on toddy, and the girl may be married to another person, but the full marriage rites are not gone through.

The marriage takes place generally in the boy's house. The ceremonies follow in the same order as among some others of the Non-Brahman castes, beginning with the *Dèvaruṭa* (God's feast) and *Modalarasina* (first smearing of turmeric).

The *pandal* is erected on twelve posts covered with *Flonge* or cocoanut leaves; and the central or milk post is of fig (*attī*) or milkbush (*kallī*) tree, cut by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. The post is decorated with seven stripes of turmeric drawn round it and seven betel leaves tied to it. There is also a package of nine sorts of grain attached to it by a thread. It is believed that a pregnant woman will meet with some evil if she sees this log while it is being taken to the bridal house.

On the evening of the day, the bride's party arrive at the place and are received by their hosts with due honour. They are supplied with provisions consisting of nine seers of rice, one jaggory cube, and a vesselful of rice.

The sacred pots (*arivèṃ* ಅರಿವೇಣ) are then fetched by the married women of both parties from the village potter. They are painted and placed outside by him; and the women decorate them with lines of saffron and rice flour in fifteen places. They are set upon a bed of manure mixed with nine kinds of grain, and *pūja* is offered to them sometimes with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat. Red marks are impressed on the wall on each side of the entrance to this room with the palm of the hand dipped in blood or coloured water, to keep off the evil eye. A thread dipped in a solution of turmeric powder is tied to each pot, and a similar one to the wrist of each married woman. This part of the ceremony is called *Gangā-pūja* (worship of Water Goddess), and is followed by a general dinner.

Early in the morning the next day, the bride and the bridegroom undergo the nail paring ceremony, a man of their own caste doing the service. The bridal pair bathe in the *maleniru*. They are made to sit by turns within a square formed by passing a cotton thread seven times round the necks of four earthen or brass vessels filled with water and placed at the corners. Some balls of cooked rice are placed in the vessels and on various parts of the body of the parties to be married and they are made to bow towards the sun. Four married women take the vessels and pour the water contained therein on the head of each of them. After this the boy and the girl are made to sit on the threshold of the house with folded hands. The thumbs of the two hands are tied together with a cotton thread and a bradawl stuck into a lime it is placed in the hands. An earthen jug full of water is kept at the spot. The bridegroom and the bride are each lifted up by the maternal uncle who turns round three times with the burden and each bows towards the sun, and upsets the water jug by kicking it. They are then carried inside the house and deposited on the marriage dias. The maternal uncles are each presented with a turban, twelve betel leaves, twelve nuts, one cube of jaggory and four pies. This ceremony is called *Binaga or Sarcibidisuvalu* (ಬಿನಗ ಅಥವಾ ಸರಬಿಡಿಸುವುದು) i. e., release from bondage.

Then putting on new wedding clothes, the bridegroom goes out of the village and sits under a tree, where his limbs are smeared over with turmeric paste. He is then made to stand facing the east, and water is poured into his hands through funnels made of betel leaves. He turns round three times and bows towards the sun, and throws away the leaves towards the east. After similarly acting towards the other cardinal points, he sits on a kambly spread under the tree. Then his party go to and return from the marriage house three times taking each time new clothes and other articles to the girl. The third time the bridegroom sets out with a dagger in his left hand rolled up in a red kerchief. The bridegroom's sister carries, in a now basket, some betel leaves and arecanuts, limes, turmeric, paste, a gold *tuli* and a skein of unbleached cotton thread. Near the house a light is waved before him to ward off the evil eye. A mock reistence is overcome by throwing half pounded paddy by the two parties at each other. The bride and the bridegroom are made to sit near the Arivépi pots with their hand joined together. The maternal uncle of the bride gives betel leaves and arecanuts to

the head man styled Pedda Mādiga (Telugu) or Dodda Mādiga (Kannada) and putting on the thread known in this connection as Bondi (ಬಂಡಿ) round the bride's neck, ties the *tāli* to her.\* Bhāshingā and Kankāṇas are then tied to each party. They are then led into the pandal and made to stand facing each other on the marriage dias. Either the Yajaman or another old man conducts the marriage ceremony. The couple place cummin seed and sesamum grain (ಜೀರಿಗೆ ಎಳ್ಳು) on each other's heads. Dhāre or milk pouring ceremony, Talabālu or putting rice on each other's heads and presentation of garlands to each other, take place. Lastly the husband is made to tie another *tāli* round the neck of the girl and thereupon the binding and essential portion of the marriage is completed.

The *Simhāsana pūja* (literally worship of the lion seat or throne) then takes place. A black kambli done into four folds is spread on a spot cleaned with cowdung water near the marriage seat and some rice is spread over it and drawings are made of their professional instruments such as an awl, a knife and a saw. A kalasa or vessel filled with sweetened water is placed on this bed and a quarter rupee piece is thrown in. It is decorated with a silver chain round its neck and lumps of *Vibhūti* are placed on the corners of the kambli. In front of the kalasa, betel leaves and arecanuts are arranged in a pile. The bridal pair worship all this with the help of the Yajaman and the Darsanadavaru (ದರ್ಶನದವರು) or Dāsayyas and the Chowḍike-yavaru (ಚೌಡಿಕೆಯವರು) the pūjāries of their tribal goddess. The betel leaves and nuts are then distributed among the people assembled in a prescribed order of precedence. The first *tīmbūla* is set apart for the sun and the moon, the second for the Bhūmīdevī (Earth Goddess), the third for Gaṇṭama Vābayya, a mythical hero who is believed to have conferred a boon on the caste by procuring for them a king known as Penugonda Ratnakambli Rāja (ಪೆನುಗೊಂಡ ರತ್ನ ಕಂಬಳಿ ರಾಜ), their guru, then the Yajaman, then the Kaṭṭēmanes, then a *tīmbūla* to the whole caste people and lastly to the Dakkalus, their reputed children. Afterwards *tīmbūlas* are given individually to the assembled persons.

The bridal couple then rise and walking round the milk post three times, go into the room where the Arivēnis are installed, holding each other's hand and with the fringes of their garments knotted together. Near the arivēnis takes place the important ceremony of *Buvvada pūje* (ಬುವ್ವದ

\*In some places the husband himself ties the *tāli*.

పుజే) or *Dómati pùja* (దోమతిపూజ). On a spot cleaned with cowdung and water a plantain leaf is spread, and on it is consecrated an eating dish, a basket, or a winnow according to the section the parties belong to. Married women observing fast cook in new earthen vessels four to eight seers of rice mixed with jaggory, holding a cloth to their noses to prevent the rice becoming contaminated by their smelling it. It is then placed in a dish, winnow or basket and mixed with four or five seers of ghee, plantains, and sweet cakes, and made into balls. Then the bridal pair and the three married women who have observed a half fast (eating only once a day) for the previous three days worship this Buvva. Some balls are then distributed to all the caste people as *prasāda* and the rest are divided equally and put into two dishes, baskets or winnows as the case may be. The bride and her relations take one portion and the bridegroom and his party the other, and they consume the whole of it at one sitting without leaving a single morsel. It is said that they should carry the food to their mouth only with two fingers. The "dish" and the "winnow" sections perform this ceremony in the God's room (*Arivēni* room) while the "basket" section do it in the *pandal* which is closed by a screen. The bridal pair alone remain inside to eat the rice and their relatives receive their balls and go outside to eat them. Whatever remains unserved must, as a matter of right, go to the bride's relatives. The basket is kept in the *pandal* and is removed thence only when the structure is pulled down after the marriage.

Among some winnow section people an extraordinary custom prevails in eating the Buvva. With the cooked rice that is served in the winnow a human form is made and worshipped by the bride and the bridegroom and the parents of the latter. Then the bridegroom and his party sit near the head, the bride and her party sitting near the legs, and both parties eat up the whole figure. Any part that may remain uneaten is distributed among the claimants thereto. All those that are not connected with the families of either party are scrupulously excluded. The marriage ceremonies among this section take place at night and are finished before morning. It is apparently thought that this improvisation may be taken to represent what perhaps used to take place in grim earnest, and its observance is not generally admitted.

When the relatives of the bridal pair come out of the room where they have partaken of the Buvva repast, the



maternal uncles of the bride and the bridegroom intercept them at the threshold and beat them with whips of twisted cloths. There is considerable fun and excitement when they try to evade the blows.

When this ceremony is over, all the caste men are given a dinner, and in the evening the bridegroom's party must supply toddy to every one of the caste people including women and children.

Next day they observe the *Nágavali* ceremony. The newly married couple fetch water from a well in four vessels. Then the bringing of earth from an ant hill and worshipping the posts of the pandal is observed as among other castes\*. Then takes place the pot searching ceremony and removing off of the *Kankanas*. The newly married couple are taken in a procession in the streets that evening.

The next two days the party repair to the bride's house where a feasting takes place, and return to the bridegroom's place, after which the "milk-post" is removed, and the marriage festivities finally closed.

The expenditure is about the same as among the *Holeyast*. The most important item is drink and the expenditure on toddy goes to about Rs. 30. The bridegroom pays the whole of it on the *Vilya Sástra* and *Dháre* days; but on the other days the bride's father contributes a third of what is spent for drinking.

The bride price is Rs. 12, half of which is paid on the *Vilyada Sástra* day and the other half on the *Dháre* day. A widower has in some places to pay an additional sum of a rupee and a half as *Sautihonnu* or the co-wife's money. This is more a local than a caste custom.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept outside for nine days and is not allowed either to touch other persons or to enter the inner portion of the house. A shed made of green leaves of *Lakkili* or other plant is put up for her residence. The maternal uncle must bring the materials for the shed, and pull the shed down on the tenth day when the girl bathes. On the first day the girl is bathed standing on an old shoe and a broom. If the girl is already married, her mother-in-law comes the next day and presents her with cocoanuts, plantains, and other things placing them in her garment and then gives her a bath. The husband generally bears the feeding expenses of that day. If the girl is

\* See Kuruba caste, page 11.

† See Holeyast caste, page 10.

unmarried, all this is done at the expense of the maternal uncle. After bathing, the girl is led to a water-course to do *Ganga Púja* and then she may go inside the house freely. When she is subsequently married, she may live with her husband without any further ceremony.

Modesty or ignorance often makes girls reluctant to disclose their change of state, and when they thus continue in contact with the others, it is believed that the pollution will bring on some evil to the family.

The consummation of marriage of girls who have attained puberty before being married is put off for three months after the marriage to avoid the possibility of any issue being born within the first year, which is considered inauspicious. It has been ingeniously suggested that this period is meant to ascertain whether the girl has been chaste before the marriage.

Widow marriage is allowed and freely practised but in some places such parties and their issue form a distinct line. A widow may not marry a brother of the deceased husband or any of his nearest agnates, and sometimes even the whole sept of the deceased husband is avoided. A bachelor may not marry a widow. The ceremony is simple and takes place in the evening before the house of the widow's father. A meeting of the castemen is convened by the *Najaman*. All jewels or other property belonging to the deceased husband are returned to his relatives who signify their consent to the union by accepting a *Támbúla*. The man presents the widow with a new cloth, which she wears. The new couple take their seats in the assembly on a *Kambli*. A *Kalasa* is set up on a *Gaddige* (seat) known as *Aralappana Gaddige* (Aralappá's seat). It is worshipped by the pair. A *Táli* is tied to it. The man and the woman exchange betel leaves and the headman of the caste gives them a *Támbúla* to signify his permission. Either a widow or a woman married a second time takes the *Táli* from the *Kalasa* and gives it to the man, who ties it to the widow. No women who have their first husbands living take part in the proceedings of the marriage, but they may attend the dinner party. In some places, the newly married widow may not show her face to regularly married women for three days. The husband has to supply toddy to all castemen.

The *Tera* or bride-price for a widow is Rs. 6. A widow may marry as many times as she pleases, and it is

said that the price diminishes at every subsequent marriage. Widow marriages are always brought about by the parties themselves.

#### Divorce.

A divorce can be easily obtained and the divorced woman may marry either her paramour or another person in the *Kúḍike* form; or she may remain as a prostitute without losing caste. A man who elopes with a married woman, has to pay the marriage expenses of her husband, besides a fine to the caste, before he can marry her. The return of the *Tāli* tied at the marriage by the husband, in the presence of the assembly of the castemen and the headman, operates as an effective divorce.

Adultery may be condoned except when a *Mádiga* woman misbehaves with a *Holeya* man, when she is irredeemably put out of the pale of the caste. It is said that a wife who is living in adultery may even after the lapse of some years be reconciled with her husband and go to his protection with any children that may have been born in the interval. An unmarried girl committing sexual indiscretion with a man of the same caste and becoming pregnant, is either married to the latter in the *Kúḍike* form or has her fault condoned; and any other casteman may subsequently marry her.

#### Basavis.

Dedication of girls as *Basavis* is common in this caste. Some families have the custom of devoting the eldest girl to this life; while in many cases, a girl is so dedicated in pursuance of some vow taken at a time of illness or other distress. This is invariably done after the girl attains her puberty.

On a lucky day, the girl after bathing is taken to the temple dressed in new clothes. She is there seated on a *Kambli* with a dagger by her side to represent the bridegroom. All the members of the caste with the headman should be present. A *Kalasa* is installed and the married women or *Basavis* smear the girl with turmeric paste and place the lucky things, such as rice and cocoanuts, in her garment. The girl then rises and standing in front of the dagger pours rice over it in token of her having been wedded to it. Then either the *Pájári* of the temple or a *Basavi* touches the dagger with the *Tāli* which is tied to the girl's neck. The girl now carries the dagger and places it within the temple. The *Pájári* hands over to her a cane and a begging pouch which she hangs on to her left shoulder. She is then branded with a *Sankhu* (४०३३) and *Chakra* (४०४४) on the shoulders

and sometimes a *Chakra* mark is branded on her breast, but this is dispensed with if the *Basari* is not a virgin. It is said that formerly the girl was required to sleep three nights in the temple ; but now she spends one night there and often this is also dispensed with. When the ceremony is over, the girl goes round and bows to all the castemen and elders and receives their blessings. The father of the girl must give a dinner to all the castemen and give them also toddy to drink.

Such a girl may consort with men of any caste except a Holeya, and her issue are treated as well as if they were legitimate in all respects. During the *Jātra* of Māramma the presence of some Mādiga *Basaris* is secured wherever they are available. When new pots are brought for this worship and when the buffalo is led to the sacrificial post, *Basaris* come dancing and singing songs in praise of Māramma and spitting on the by-standers.

A married woman or a widow sometimes becomes a *Basari* or a prostitute ; but she is not allowed the status of a regular *Basari*, nor is any elaborate ceremony observed, except the getting of the permission of the castemen, and giving a dinner. Such women cannot take part in any auspicious ceremonies.

The dead are buried except in the case of pregnant Death. women and lepers whose bodies are cremated. When a pregnant woman dies, the fetus is first removed, as otherwise a serious calamity is believed to follow. Sometimes the body of a leper or of one killed by wild beasts is buried under a heap of stones by *Kallu-Sēre* (ಕಲ್ಲುಸೇರೆ) or stone service.

The customs observed in preparing the body and carrying it to the burial-ground, and the mode of burial are the same as in some of the other castes.\* The body is always carried with the head towards the village, as the reverse would be equivalent to bringing the corpse into the village, which would result in some calamity.

After the burial, all go to a well or river, the chief mourner bathes and the rest wash their feet and hands and return home to see a light kept on the spot where the deceased expired. After a formal consultation, the headman of the caste fixes a day for beginning the obsequies. The corpse-bearers cannot enter the inner portion of their houses till the third-day ceremony is over. On the night

\* See Dombar Caste, page 13.

of the death, some water is placed at the place and *rāgi* grain spread round the vessel so that the spirit may leave its mark on the grain if it should come to drink; and the inmates seriously look for such marks in the morning.

On the third day, the agnates get rid of the *Sūtaka* by bathing. The chief mourner, the corpse-bearers and some other relatives go to the grave to offer food and water (ಕೂಳಿನಿರು ಹಾಕುವುದು). A figure representing the deceased is drawn on the spot and a sheep or a fowl is sacrificed before it. They then place some cooked food on a leaf for crows and retire to a distance. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers who carried the corpse are touched with milk and ghee. On the tenth day, the house is cleaned with cow's urine and sometimes whitewashed, and the earthen cooking pots are replaced by new ones. A *Kalasa* is kept in the middle of the house and is worshipped with the offerings of food and new clothes and a dinner is given to all the castemen, followed by a general carousal at the toddy shop in the evening.

During *Sūtaka*, they do not go to temples or celebrate any worship of the family god, and eschew flesh and milk. At the end of the first month, they give another dinner to their caste people, making *Pūja* to the *Kalasa* as usual. Till the completion of the month, they may not perform any auspicious ceremonies in the family.

They do not perform annual or monthly *Śrāddhas*. On the lunar new-year's-day, *Vināyaka Chaturthi* and *Mahālaya Amāvāsye*, all the members of the family bathe and go fasting to the burial-ground, where they make *Pūja* by applying sandal paste to the stones and burning incense and offering cocoanuts. On returning from the grave-yard, they instal a *Kalasa* filled with toddy and worship it, sacrificing generally a sheep or a fowl. It is said that to propitiate the first wife, the second wife offers her *Pūja* in the usual way whenever she wears for the first time a new cloth.

*Sūtaka* is observed for three days for the death of any agnate. All except the parents merely bathe after the death of a child. On the third day, they go to the grave-yard and put on the child's grave, some fried grain, milk and ghee. They do not observe any pollution for the death of daughter's or sister's son.

social sta-  
tus.

Mādigas are the lowest caste found in the State. They are a settled people and generally live apart in ill-built thatched houses, in quarters outside the main village,

known as *Mádiga-kéri* (Mádiga quarters). Their habits and the nature of their work contribute to make this the dirtiest part of the village. The houses have only one entrance with flimsy shutters and without any windows. They are divided by a partition wall of about four or five feet high into two parts, one being used for kitchen and store, and the other, the larger half, for sleeping and tethering the cattle. Some of those living in towns have, however, built more substantial houses. They are not allowed to use the common village well, and have barbers and washermen among themselves. Mádigas cannot approach Brahmans within the distance of about twenty paces. Any Brahman who has been touched inadvertently or purposely by a Mádiga must purify himself by bathing, and washing all his clothes and renewing the sacred thread.

They do not employ Brahmans for conducting their ceremonies, nor will any Brahman condescend to lend them his services. The Mádigas will under no circumstances allow a Brahman to enter their quarters, as they firmly believe that such a thing will bring on the ruin of their families. If unknowingly any Brahman enter their quarters, they abuse him saying “ಏ ಕುಚ್ಚು ನಾಯಿ, ಹೋಗು—Fie! Get out, you mad dog!” and after he leaves the place, they clean the whole place with cow-dung and water. This restriction is, however, gradually losing its force.

Mádigas freely take in recruits from all other castes except the Holeyas. The ceremonies observed at the time are the same as those observed by the Holeyas.\*

Admission  
of stran-  
gers.

They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. Cases of partition and disputes of trivial nature are settled by the panchayats, comprised of either the village elders or their own castemen. A *Basavi* daughter enjoys the same privileges as a son in the matter of inheritance, while a destitute widowed daughter or sister is always willingly received into her parents' house or given some article of value at the time of partition.

Inheritance

They have strong belief in omens, both good and bad. Whenever they have to begin any important ceremony, not only are Brahmans consulted for choosing an auspicious day, but they observe many omens. Often, they consult the soothsayer if any unforeseen thing happens in the house. Children are always protected from evil

Omens.

\* See Holeyas account, page 15.

spirits by wearing charms. They generally put on beads strung to the waist-thread, and a *Tāli* with the figure of *Hannumanta* (ಹನುಮಂತನ ತಾಳಿ) on the neck. A charm usually worn on the neck is a square metallic piece containing numbers up to 9 arranged in squares, so as to total fifteen in every line. Thistāli has on the other side the figure either of *Hannumanta* or any goddess. Another charm worth mentioning is a piece of metal with the figure of a dog, supposed to cure the whooping cough, which in Kannada is known by the name of dog-cough (ನಾಯಿ ಕೆಮ್ಮು).

8	3	4
1	5	9
6	7	2

Occupation.

Mādigas are workers in leather. They have a primitive way of tanning and preparing it. They first apply chunnam to the hides of cows and buffaloes and keep them for some days. Then in a pit which they call *Galle* (ಗಲ್ಲೆ) and which they consider sacred, a lotion of the bark of the *Ararike* plant (*Cassia auriculata*) is made and the skins are soaked in it. They then beat the skins with wooden mallets and stretch them in the sun to dry. This leather is used for making leather buckets (ಕಪಿಲಬಾಣೆಗಳು), shoes and other simple things. Those in towns have recently learnt more refined ways of tanning sheep and goat skins out of which they prepare shoes and slippers.

When employed as village watchmen, they are known as *Tālis*. In some places, they enjoy inams for this work and other kinds of free service such as carrying Government property from place to place, and acting as guides from village to village. They are also known as *Bēgaris* as they are bound to serve without remuneration. They are employed as scavengers in large towns, and in small places it is their duty to sweep the villages and keep them clean. These variations in calling do not affect their social status.

Formerly each family of Mādigas was attached to one or more families of raiyats or agriculturists, whose work they had to do and in return get the customary remuneration. The Mādiga was entitled to take the carcass of any cattle that may die in his principal's house. This qualified kind of serfdom has however all but died out except in the rural parts.

A village Mādiga has to supply each person who contributes to his yearly allowance of grain, a pair of sandals and some leathern ropes for the ploughing cattle. He has also

to make the leather bucket for lifting water with the hides supplied by the raiyat and to keep it in proper repair. He is required to help at the harvest. In return for this service, the Mádiga gets, in addition to the dead bodies of cattle in his patron's house, one bundle of unthreshed crop and a winnowful of grain\*, food for the working man, and the remnant of the grain left on the threshing-floor after measurement. He is also given other perquisites such as food on marriage and other festivals observed in his patron's house.

The Mádigas find a ready market for the articles that they can make, but on account of their intemperate habits, both men and women drinking to excess, they are poor as a class. The chief implements of their profession are *Rampi* (ರಂಪಿ—a small saw), *Ari* (ಆರಿ—an awl), *Goota* (ಗೂಟ— a peg), *Uli* (ಉಳಿ—a chisel), *Adikallu* (ಅಡಿಕಲ್ಲು—the stone on which they keep the leather while cutting it), *Kodati* (ಕೊಡತಿ—an iron mallet), and *Gluri* (ಗೂರಿ—a knife). They are all of a rude pattern and the Mádigas are rather slow in taking to improved tools. But in towns they generally provide themselves with improved implements of foreign make and also use the stitching machine.

*Tappate* (ತಪ್ಪಟೆ) and *Ramdholu* (ರಂಧೋಲು—the big drum) are the instruments they use whenever they have to proclaim any important event in the village. These instruments are made by themselves. The *Tappate* is the characteristic instrument of the caste, and this has given rise to a functionary known as *Tappatiga* (a man who beats the Tappate) who is the *Pujari* in the caste.

Some Mádigas have taken to agriculture. They hold lands either in their own right or cultivate others' lands on *Vāra* or other tenure. But most of them are either day labourers or hired servants under raiyats on annual contracts. The conditions of the contract vary in different localities but the most common terms are for the master to feed the servant twice a day, and to give him a *Kambli*, a turban and a loin cloth, and *pan-supari* and tobacco.

The Mádigas, Malas and a few other low castes must, as regards their original religious beliefs, be classed as animists or *Sakti* worshipers. They are notorious for their allegiance to the minor goddesses, such as *Maramma* and *Masunamma*. The tribal goddess of the Mádigas is *Matangi*

\* ಹೊರೆ ಹುಲ್ಲು ಮೊರೆ ಭತ್ತು is the popular phrase for this customary remuneration.



which they now call *Mahālakshmi* or A'di Sakti. Mátang was said to be the wife of Jamadagni, the father of Parasuráma, and was also known as Rēpuka. She used to go every day to a river to bathe and fetch water for her husband's ablutions, and by virtue of her chastity, she used to carry the water home in a vessel made out of sand. One day when she went to a river, a Gandharva king happened to pass in the aerial regions. The lady, who saw his figure reflected in the water, had an involuntary feeling of admiration for its symmetrical beauty, an emotion which no virtuous wife should have towards a stranger. She tried to make, as usual, a vessel out of sand but could not succeed as the virtue had departed from her. She accordingly went to her husband without the water, and when questioned why she returned empty-handed, explained to him all that had happened. Jamadagni became extremely angry and called upon his son Parasuráma to behead his mother. As a dutiful son, he pursued Rēpuka who ran and concealed herself in the *Galle* (गल्ल) or the pot in which the skins are soaked in a Mádiga's house. Parasuráma, unable to identify his mother, cut off the heads of all the women present there and brought them to his father. Jamadagni was much pleased with the obedience of his son and asked him what boons he would have. Among others, he begged his father to restore his mother's life. The Rishi accordingly granted the boon. Parasuráma took the head of his mother to the Mádiga quarters where he had killed her and not being able to find out her body he placed the head on the headless body of a Mádiga woman. When the body came to life, the mistake was discovered and she could not be taken to the Rishi's hermitage. She thus became the tutelary deity of the Mádigas under the name of Matangi. The soaking pot is therefore considered by them as Matangi, which they worship with offerings of turmeric and vermilion on Tuesdays and Fridays. In some places a grand feast is held on Dípávati in honour of this goddess, when all the inhabitants of the Mádiga quarters join together and sacrifice a number of goats, sheep and fowls, toddy pots also being consecrated in the name of the goddess.

Máramma is another of their tribal goddesses who attained her position according to a popular story in the following manner. A Mádiga boy endowed with fair features went in search of employment to a far off place called Kāsūri-paṭṇa. A Brahman mistook his origin and received him as a student into his family and finding him

an apt pupil, made him proficient in Védas and Sástras. His daughter was given in marriage to him and they had a number of children, who, however, unconsciously betrayed their base origin by playing at shoe-making with leaves. After several years, the Mádiga's mother who had been searching everywhere for her lost son discovered him in the guise of a Brahman in this town. Finding it impossible to evade her, he got her head shaved and clothed her like a Brahman widow, and lest her speech should betray her, he enjoined her to pass for a dumb woman. Thus introduced into the family, she was treated with great respect by her daughter-in-law. But the sight of a sumptuous breakfast loosened her tongue and she exclaimed that the sweet cakes she tasted were not so good as buffalo tongues. The Brahman woman at once knew what this meant and going to her father asked him what would purify an earthen pot polluted by the touch of a dog. Applying the means suggested to herself, she heaped paddy straw round the house in which the whole family was asleep at night, entered the flames and perished with all of them.

Her stern virtue had its reward. It was ordained that she should thenceforth become the goddess of epidemics under the name of Mári and receive *Púja* ever afterwards. Her husband would be born again and again as a he-buffalo, her children as small kids and her mother-in-law as a sheep and all would be sacrificed to her. It was also said that after the buffalo was killed, its entrails should be placed on its head and a lamp lit thereon, and that the right front leg should be cut and placed across in its mouth as a punishment for the Mádiga having laid his unholy hands on her breast.

In almost every village, a temple of this goddess is found. In some places she is represented by a large bust made of stone. On the outbreak of a severe epidemic, especially of small-pox, special festivals in her honour are organised. Women dressed in *Mudi* go to the shrine carrying lamps made of sweetened rice flour on their heads on Tuesdays and Fridays. Sometimes, in the centre of the village, a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a washed cloth is spread thereon. Cooked food\* and curds are brought from every house in the village and made into a heap on which a bunch of margosa leaves is stuck. This is worshipped with the offerings of turmeric and *Kunkuma* powders and incense and cocoanuts; and a sheep or a goat is sacrificed before it when the devotees can afford it.

\* This *Púja* is known as ಕುಂಫಕೂಳುಹಾಕುವುದು (Offering of a rice heap).

A much grander feast is celebrated in honour of Mâri at irregular intervals, the hostility between the right-hand and left-hand groups often coming in the way of its performance. The Mádigas and the Holeyas take the prominent part according as the left or the right hand section is in the ascendant. This is meant to commemorate the fate of Mâri's husband, and at the close of every such festival, a he-buffalo is dedicated for the next celebration and allowed to roam at large through the village fields and grow fat till the time of sacrifice.\* Sometimes additional beasts are similarly dedicated as votive offerings to Mâri on the occurrence of any serious illness in a family.

The village elders and all the villagers pay their share of the expenditure. It is generally in *Chaitra* or *Vaisákha* that the festival is celebrated. The period is proclaimed by the beating of tom-tom in the village and during the week preceding the event, no one is allowed to go out of the village. The frying of eatables is also interdicted in every house during this period.

An image specially made for the occasion is installed on a raised place in a shed built of green leaves in front of the Mâri temple or some other central place. In the morning of the prescribed Tuesday, the *Pújári* of this goddess washes the idol and worships it. *Aratis* are brought from each house in the village and offered in order of precedence. The *Pújári* is always a non-Brahman; he is either a Kammára, a Bêda or sometimes even a Mádiga. In the evening the newly made image is brought with great pomp in a procession accompanied with loud though discordant music. It is worshipped near the house of the blacksmith who decorates the idol behind a screen, painting its eyes and forehead. As soon as the screen is removed, a number of cocoanuts are broken and one or two goats are killed. The spectators are afraid of going in a line with the idol's eyes, as it is believed that the goddess does harm to the person who catches her sight first. After the usual worship, the image is carried by the blacksmith who walks on washed cloths spread on the way by the washerman. Then the whole procession comes to the shed with great pomp, a Mádiga man known as *Ranagayya*† dancing before the idol and uttering abusive language. Near the shed, some

\* The owners of the fields dare not turn out the animal lest they might incur the anger of Mâri.

† *Ranagayya* is supposed to represent, the brother of Mâri's Mádiga husband. He is also styled *Gósangi* (ಗೊಸಂಗಿ).

sheep or goats are killed and the image is finally installed in it, a pot filled with toddy being also consecrated and placed in front of the idol. Then auspicious things (ಮಂಗಳ ವಸ್ತುಗಳು) such as *Táli*, nose-screw, toe-rings and yellow *sadi* are brought in state by the village headman and tied to the goddess. Presents of rice, cocoanuts, betel leaves and arecanuts, plantains and other fruits are given to the goddess as if she were a bride, heaped in her garment.

In the meantime, a party of Mádigas fetch the he-buffalo set free in the name of Máramma and hold it tight by the ropes. Its temper has been subdued by keeping it on short rations for two or three days previous to this event. Some quantity of oil is poured on its head and bunches of margosa leaves are tied to the horns. Turmeric paste and *Kunkuma* powder are rubbed on its head. It is then taken in procession through all the streets in the village, Raṇagayya leading it indulging in dancing and abusive songs. As the procession approaches each house in the village, the inmates thereof bring water in a small vessel and throw it on the buffalo, and then pour some oil on its head and apply turmeric and *Kunkuma* powders to its forehead. When the buffalo is brought back to the shed, it is tied up to a forked post just opposite the image, the neck resting on the fork. An Asádi man beats on a drum and sings the praises of Máramma, reciting the story relating to her birth, marriage and death. Sometimes a band of Mádiga *Basaris*, most fantastically dressed, dance before the goddess, while Raṇagayya, also dressed in a queer fashion, capers about freely, indulging in filthy language and spitting on the persons in the way. While this din is going on, the *Pájári* worships the god, and waves *Arati* and sprinkles *Tirtha* on the buffalo's head. A Mádiga or a Bédá (according to the custom of the place) with a single stroke of a sharp long scythe cuts off the head of the beast, another man catching its blood in an earthen vessel. As soon as the head is severed from the trunk, the tongue is drawn out and the right foreleg of the animal is cut off and thrust into the mouth crosswise. The head in this condition is carried to a small shed (called Mátaṅgi's shed) erected in front of Mári's idol and kept there on a raised platform. A layer of fat taken from the stomach of the animal is spread on the eyes and mouth and a light is kept burning on the head in an earthen basin. Two small kids and a sheep are also killed and their heads kept near the buffalo's. Then a number of sheep and goats and sometimes he-buffaloes are killed, so that the

whole place becomes reeking with blood. A large quantity of boiled rice is soaked in the blood caught in earthen vessels, and is mixed with the undigested food found in the stomach of the consecrated buffalo. This rice is carried in baskets, on the heads of Mádigas, followed by Asádi, Raṇagayya and others, who run crying out 'Kó bali' (receive the sacrifice) to a spot on the boundary of the village. One or two sheep are again sacrificed there and the party run round the whole village boundary throwing out the coloured rice and calling out 'Kó bali.' Similarly all the fields in the village are traversed. It is nearly day-break the next day, when this procession returns to the Mári's shed. Then *Aratis* are waved round them and *Tírtha* and *Prasáda* are given to them.

In the morning, the slaughtered animals are all divided among the twelve office-bearers (*Ayagararu*-ಅಯಗಾರರು) of the village, and such of them as are not meat-eaters make over their shares to the Mádigas or Holeyas as the case may be. The heads of all the sheep slaughtered become by right the property of the village washerman.

This fair continues sometimes as long as one week, but generally it is finished in three days. Various sports are held and the village keeps it as a general holiday. The idol is carried on the last day to the boundary of the village where a new shed has been put up. As soon as the image of Mámamma is removed from the old shed, the heads of the sacrificed beasts kept in the Mátangi's shed are buried in it and the shed is burnt down. Then the procession goes to the village boundary with great pomp, the Asádi singing the praises of Mári, and Raṇagayya (Gósangi) abusing her and others in the filthiest language. At the boundary, the idol is placed on a dais in the new shed, and the *Pújári* throwing a curtain round, breaks the bangles put on it and removes the *Táli* thread, thus indicating that Mári has entered into widowhood. They all return to the village where the Mári's temple has been already locked. Next day all the village people collect together and set free another buffalo in the name of Mári. This restores the married condition of the goddess when the temple is opened and all the villagers offer cocoanuts, etc., to the image and get *Tírtha* and *Prasáda*.

The other names which the Mádigas give to their goddess in different forms are Pújamma (ಪೂಜಮ್ಮ), Akkayyamma (ಅಕ್ಕಯ್ಯಮ್ಮ), Masanamma (ಮಸಣಮ್ಮ), Kálamma (ಕಾಳಮ್ಮ), Chandamma (ಚಂದಮ್ಮ), Marigamma (ಮರಿಗಮ್ಮ), Kollápurī-

yamma (ಕೊಲ್ಲಾ ಪುರಯಮ್ಮ), Durgamma (ದುರ್ಗಮ್ಮ), Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) and Gangamma (ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ). The last is always worshipped on a Monday near a water-course, while the others are worshipped either on Tuesdays or Fridays. Muniśvara (ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ) is a male god or spirit worshipped generally by them, the worship being conducted in a grove.

Their worship is conducted either under a margosa tree in their *Hatti*, i.e., quarters, or outside on the prescribed days of the week, the *Pújári* being a man of their own caste. The margosa tree is considered sacred, as the peculiar dwelling place of the goddess they worship. Their shrines are generally surrounded by these trees and they do not wantonly cut them or use their fuel except when cooking in the groves in course of performing a *Pája*.

Mádigas pay reverence to their patron saint Aralappa (ಅರಳಪ್ಪ), said to be a contemporary of Basavanna, the great Lingayat reformer. He is believed to have shown his devotion to Basavanna by presenting him with a pair of sandals made out of the skin cut from his and his wife's thighs. Basavanna being extremely pleased with his devotion, gave him *Lingudhárane*, i.e., allowed him to wear on his person the Saiva emblem. Even now Aralappa is revered by the Mádigas in all important ceremonies, such as marriage.

They pay reverence to all the gods of the other Hindus. A section among them known as *Désábhúgáde-earn* (ದೇಶಾಭಿಗತರು) are Vaishnavas, having as their gurus Sātánis or Srivaishnava Brahmans. Some of these become *Dásaris* who earn their food by begging and whose presence is necessary on all important ceremonies. Mádigas observe the Hóli (ಕಾಮನಹಬ್ಬ), the New Year and the Gauri (ಗೌರಿ) feasts.

They have a strong faith in sorcery, witchcraft and soothsaying, and many devil-scarers are found among them. When ordinary remedies fail in case of illness, an exorcist is called and asked to find out whether the sick person has offended any of the family gods, or his sickness is due to any spell cast over him by an enemy, or if he is possessed by any evil spirit. If the anger of any of the family gods is the cause, a vow is made to propitiate it; but if the cause is traced to either a spell cast by an enemy or to an evil spirit, the devil-scarer by an appropriate performance removes the cause and ties a talisman as a protection

Superstitions.

against future trouble. Mádiga children wear charms made of leather.

Religious  
orders.

The gurus of the Mádigas are Jámavas. Those of the Vishnu faith who follow Srivaishnava Brahmans and Sâtánis as gurus also recognise the status of the Jámavas.

A'sádi is a Mádiga whose duty it is to sing the praises of Máramma during her *játra*. He gets heavily drunk and goes on repeating the songs relating to the history of Mári, to the accompaniment of his drum. A'sádis are found scattered in small numbers throughout the State.\*

Gósaugi, which probably means a cow-eater, is another functionary whose presence is necessary during the Mári *játra*. He is a beggar and repeats songs relating to the origin of the caste while playing on a stringed cylindrical instrument known as *Jarakane* (ಜರಕಣ). During the Mári festival, he represents Raṇagayya, supposed to be the brother of Máramma's Mádiga husband, and hurls all sorts of foul abuse on her for having destroyed his family in that horrible way.

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*Bála Basara* (ಬಾಲಾಸವ) is a man of the Mádiga caste who pays them periodical visits and sings to them of the history of Basava and Aralappa to the accompaniment of a *Tambúri*.† He is rewarded with doles raised by subscription. *Bála Basara* is also credited with the power of foretelling events, such as famines, that may happen during the next twelve years. He bears a *mudre* (an insignia) of *Góma Basara* (a bull with saddle).

Mádigas have also a priest of their own known as *Pappatiga*‡ (ಪಪ್ಪತಿಗ) who is a *Pújári* of their temples, into which no other casteman is allowed to enter. The office of the *Pújári* is hereditary. He is initiated in the following manner. After bathing, he puts on washed clothes and is taken to the temple. There, after *Púja*, a necklace containing some beads and a *Táli* bearing the representation of a goddess is tied to his neck. Thenceforth he cannot engage himself in his caste profession of working in leather, but has to live on fees levied during marriages and by begging. He has to worship the god, and gets some customary perquisites

\* Gollas have also a man among them called an A sadi, whose duty is also similar.

† A *Tambúri* is a stringed instrument formed like a *Vina* but without its note gradation.

‡ Literally a drummer.

*Dásayyas* who are dedicated to Vishṇu are branded with *Sankhu* and *Chakra* and abstain from working in leather. The presence of a *Dásayya* is necessary in all feasts observed by the *Désabhāga* section. He must repeat the word “*Góvinda*” before he eats. His paraphernalia consist of *Sankhu* (conch shell), *Jágate* (gong) and *Bavanasi* (begging bowl or pouch).

*Máchála* (ಮಚಲ) is a beggar attached to the caste. He begs only from *Mádigas*. He carries a bugle (*Kahale*-ಕಹಲೆ) and a shallow drum (*Tappate*). He is generally invited during marriages and when they have to observe the worship of the family god. He pays periodical visits and gets some prescribed fees.

*Dakkalara* (ದಕ್ಕಲರ) has already been described. There are also *Jogis* and *Nílagúraru* among *Mádigas*.\*

*Mádigas* are the lowest of the “left-hand” section of the community. The whole caste is parcelled out into groups independent of one another, except that when an important matter has to be settled, the headmen of the groups near one another send invitations to others to attend the meetings. These groups are called *Kattamanes*. Each group has a headman styled *Dodda gajamāna* (in Kannada) or *Pelida gajamānadu* (in Telugu), meaning the senior headman. He is called *Manégúra* (ಮನಗೂರು) in some places. He presides over the tribal deliberations and gets an additional *Támbara*. Next to him is the *Chikka gajamāna* or the junior headman, otherwise called *Bud-dhiranta*. He presides over the caste council in the absence of the senior headman, and during marriages he officiates and conducts the ceremony. Under them is the *Kóikar* or *Kondikádu* being the beadle and as such bound to call together all the castemen whenever necessary. These also get extra *Támbaras*. The jurisdiction of these officials extends, as in other castes, to punishing a man for transgression of any caste rules, as, for example, adultery, and to admitting strangers into the caste.

Tribal  
constitu-  
tion.

As regards their professional organization, it is said that each family must strictly adhere to their own patrons or principals, and that, in the event of disagreement between himself and his patron, no other *Mádiga* must do the latter's work. Such strict rules are going out of use. Where unpaid labour has to be done in villages, all the *Mádigas* do it by turns.

\* See Holeya account, page 18.



Miscellaneous.

The Mádigas are hard drinkers, both males and females indulging in toddy to excess. They eat carrion of cattle, sheep, pigs and all other animals except monkeys, snakes and a few others. They do not eat in the houses of *Náyindas* and *Agasas*, and no one eats in their houses.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Men put on the scanty clothing usually worn by the poor among the lower classes, namely, a loin cloth, a turban and a *Kambli*, and the women wear *Sire*, but not *Ravike* (bodice cloth), the latter being worn only by the *Basavis*. They are a filthy class and wash themselves only occasionally; women sometimes dress their hair, but it is generally neglected. The *Jámbava* and the *Gósangi* wear a *langu* in imitation of the Lingayets and put on ashes and sandal in horizontal lines and *Akshate* mark in the forehead. They sometimes enact plays in which they put on disguises and sing of the origin of their caste. They respect the *Akkasúle* caste and consider these people as their fathers.

## APPENDIX.

(LIST OF EXOGAMOUS DIVISIONS).

- Aivalli (ಐವಳ್ಳಿ).  
 Ankélu (ಅಂಕೇಲು).  
 Ari (ಆರಿ). They do not either cut or touch *Banni* tree (*Prosopis sp. coccinea*).  
 Belli (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ), silver.  
 5 Bandári (ಬಂಡಾರಿ).  
 Bhógam (ಭೋಗಂ).  
 Billu (ಬಿಲ್ಲು), a bow.  
 Chatrí (ಚತ್ರಿ), an umbrella.  
 Chímalu (ಚಿಮಲು), ants.  
 10 Chinnada (ಚಿನ್ನದ), gold.  
 Chittálu (ಚಿಟ್ಟಲು), a kind of fuel tree which they do not use.  
 Emme (ಎಮ್ಮೆ), a buffalo.  
 Emma or Benne (ಎಮ್ಮೆ-ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ), butter.  
 Gonabá (ಗೊಣಬ).  
 15 Gongadi (ಗೊಂಗಡಿ), a cloak worn over the head and the face.  
 Gujjalu (ಗುಜ್ಜಲು).  
 Handa (ಹಂಡ).  
 Hatti (ಹಟ್ಟಿ), court-yard.  
 Heggade (ಹೆಗ್ಗಡೆ), chief man.  
 20 Honnu (ಹೊನ್ನು), gold.  
 Hunda (ಹುಂಡ).  
 Hutta (ಹುತ್ತು), an ant-hill.  
 Huvvu (ಹುವ್ವು), flower.  
 Jinivágala (ಜಿನಿವಾಗಲ).  
 25 Kámagatti (ಕ.ಮಗತ್ತಿ).  
 Kambli (ಕಂಬಳಿ), a blanket.  
 Karadi (ಕರಡಿ) a bear.  
 Kengáre (ಕೆಂಗಾರೆ).  
 Kóri (ಕೋರಿ), a rag.  
 30 Kúrma (ಕೂರ್ಮ) a tortoise.  
 Kuri (ಕುರಿ), a sheep.  
 Kusume (ಕುಸುಮ), a plant.  
 Lakkibanda (ಲಕ್ಕಿಬಂದ).  
 Lakkirámada (ಲಕ್ಕಿರಾಮದ).  
 35 Maddale (ಮದ್ದಲ), a drum.  
 Mági (ಮಾಗಿ).  
 Mallige (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ), jasmine.

- Mandala (ಮಂಡಲ), herd of cattle.  
 Mandūma (ಮಂಡಿಮ).  
 40. Miniga (ಮಿನಿಗ), a fish.  
 Muchchala (ಮುಚ್ಚಳ), a lid.  
 Munaga or Nuggi (ಮುನ-ನುಗ್ಗಿ), horse-radish  
 (*Moringa*) *plerigosperma*.  
 Nāzara (ನಾಝರ), cobra.  
 Nakka or Nari (ನಕ್ಕ-ನರಿ), a jackal which they  
 neither kill nor eat.  
 45. Pālu or Hālu (ಪಾಲು-ಹಾಲು), a kind of herb.  
 Pasapu or Arasina (ಪಸಪು-ಅರಸಿನ), turmeric.  
 Puli or Huli (ಪುಲಿ-ಹುಲಿ), tiger.  
 Sāda (ಸಾದ).  
 Sākila (ಸಾಕಿಲ).  
 50. Sannakki (ಸಣ್ಣಕ್ಕಿ), a species of rice (husked paddy)  
 Setṭi (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ).  
 Sōgo (ಸೋಗಿ), the leaf of palms, sugarcane or  
 screw-pine.  
 Telamāru (ತೆಲಮಾರು).  
 Yakachi (ಯಾಚಿ), the jujube.  
 Yakila (ಯಾಕಿಲ).

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## APPENDIX.

List of Exogamous Divisions ... ..	14—16
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## DÉVANGAS.

Dévānga (ದೇವಾಂಗ) is one of the castes that has **Name.** weaving as its special profession. Several distinct castes which have weaving as their principal occupation have been clubbed together as Néyige or weaving caste. This is inaccurate, as several castes having little in common are included in the generic term: namely, Dévānga, Sāle, Bīli-magga or Kuruvinavarū, Paṭvegār, Saurāshṭra or Patnulkar, Sēṇiga and Togata.

Jādarū which has the same meaning as a weaver is sometimes applied to them especially in the western part of the country\*. They call themselves Dévāngas—i.e., born from the limbs of Gods.

Seṭṭi is the ordinary ending used to their personal names and denotes respectability. Appa (ಅಪ್ಪ), Ayya (ಅಯ್ಯ) and Anna (ಅಣ್ಣ) to the names of men and Avva (ಅವ್ವ), Amma (ಅಮ್ಮ) and Akka (ಅಕ್ಕ) to those of women are used as honorific additions. Recently some of them who follow the priestly vocation have begun to use the suffix Śāstri, hitherto used exclusively by Śmārta Brāhmins.

In the beginning of the world, men went naked and **Origin.** Brahma created Manu to weave clothes for them. The art was, however, soon lost when Manu attained Mōksha, and people had to cover their shame with leaves and bark. The three Gods met in consultation, and Manu was reincarnated as Dévala or Vidyādhara from the eye on Siva's forehead. Dévala went to fetch the thread for weaving which was obtained from the stalks of the lotus in the navel of Vishnu. Five Rākshasas headed by Vajradanta attacked Dévala and wished to carry away the thread obtained after severe Tapas. On his appeal for divine help to Siva, Pārvati appeared on his side as Chaudēsvari. The Rākshasas had secured a boon from the gods that out of every drop of their blood which touched

\* A Spider is known as Jādara-hula (ಜಾದರ ಹುಲಿ) or weaving insect.



the ground, a thousand warriors should spring up to fight for them. To prevent this, the terrible Goddess spread out her tongue, so as to cover the whole battle field, and swallowed all the blood falling from the giants' wounds, and soon vanquished them. Some of the blood was used as colouring matter and gave five colours (black, white, red, green and yellow). Thenceforward Chaudésvari became the tutelary deity of this caste. This Dévala afterwards wove cloths and presented them to Dévas who, in appreciation of his services, gave him as wife Dèyadatta who is said to have been born from the fire-pit (ಯಜ್ಞಕುಪ) in which the seven Rishis performed Yagna. Dèvala then gave clothes to the inhabitants of Pātāla Lōka, and there obtained Nagadatta as his wife. He gave clothes to men and got Agnidatta from them for his wife. It is said that this personage had seven Avatāras (incarnations), namely, Manu, Vidyādhara, Pushpadanta, Bhētāla, Vararishi, Daivasāli and Dèvadāsamayya, the last of which took place in the Kali age.

There are other accounts which place Dèvala on a much higher position. Some say that he is the creator himself and that the Gods of the Triad are his Chēlas or pupils.

Some of this caste claim the rank of Brāhman\* and style themselves Déva Brāhman (Divine-Brāhman), the Brāhman being distinguished as Gō-Brāhman (Cow-Brāhman). Others are, however, satisfied with the rank of Vaisyas.

The following account is given of their origin in the Baramahal Records.† “When Brahma, the creator, created the *charam* and *acharam*, or the animate and inanimate creation, the *Dēvatas* or Gods, *Rākshasas* or evil demons, and the human race were without a covering for their bodies, which displeasing the God *Narada* or reason, he waited upon *Paramēswara* or the great Lord at his palace on the *Kailasa Parvata* or mount of Paradise, and represented the indecent state of the inhabitants of the universe and prayed that he would be pleased to devise a covering for their nakedness. *Paramēshwara* saw the propriety of *Narada's* request and thought it was proper to grant it and whilst he was so thinking a male sprung

\* Castes and Tribes of Southern India by E. Thurston, P. 156.

† Section III, Inhabitants, Madras Government Press 1907, pages 179-180.





into existence from his body whom he named *Deva angam* or the body of God in allusion to the manner of his birth. *Deva angam* instantly asked his progenitor why he had created him. The God answered "repair to the *Pala Samudram*, or sea of milk, where thou wilt find *Sri Maha Vishnu*, or the august mighty God Vishnu, and he will tell thee what to do; *Deva angam* repaired to the presence of *Sri Maha Vishnu* and represented that *Paramèswara* had sent him and begged to be favoured with Vishnu's commands." Vishnu replied "Do you weave cloth to serve as a covering to the inhabitants of the universe?" Vishnu then gave him some of the fibres of the lotus flower that grew from his navel, and taught him how to make it into cloth. *Deva angam* wove a piece of cloth and presented it to Vishnu who accepted of it and ordered him to depart and to take the fibres of trees and make raiment for the inhabitants of the Vishnu loka or Gods. *Deva angam* created ten thousand weavers who used to go to the forest and collect the fibres of trees and make it into cloth for the *Devatas* or Gods and the human race. One day *Deva angam* and his tribe went to a forest in the *Bhuloka* or earthly world in order to collect the fibres of trees when he was attacked by a race of *Rakshasas*, giants on which he waxed wrath and unbending his *Jata* or long plaited hair, gave it a twist and struck it once on the ground; in that moment a Shakti or female Goddess having eight hands, each grasping a war-like weapon, sprang from the earth, attacked the *Rakshasas*, and defeated them; *Deva angam* named her Chudèshwari or Goddess of the hair, and as she had delivered his tribe out of the hands of the *Rakshasas* he made her his tutelary divinity."

The Dèvàngas found in the State are divided into Divisions. four endogamous divisions, namely, (1) Sivàchar Dèvàngas, (2) Kannada Dèvàngas, comprising Siryadavaru (of Sira) and Hadinenṭu Maneyavaru (of eighteen houses), (3) Telugu Dèvàngas and (4) Haṭagàraru. The Sivàchar Dèvàngas appear to be converts to Lingàyatism from the other Dèvàngas; but they say that they are Lingàyats from the beginning and that the other divisions must have become degraded by losing the Linga. This however seems to be the reverse of what actually occurred. Kannada and Telugu sections were at first merely linguistic divisions, but have crystalised into separate endogamous groups. The subdivision Hadinenṭu Maneyavaru (those of

eighteen families) among the Kannada Dēvāngas owes its origin to a secession from the main groups of those who adopted some heterodox practices. There are two derivations given to the term Haṭagāraru. One is that they are the handloom weavers *hat* meaning hand and the other that they are *stubborn* or obstinate referring to the following incident.

At one time all the Dēvāngas were Lingāyats; subsequently one of their number became a religious preacher and induced them to give up the Linga and wear the sacred thread instead. Those who obstinately stuck to the new form of religion were known as Haṭagāraru. Some of the Haṭagāras however appear to have latterly gone back into Lingāyatism, because there are Lingāyat and non-Lingāyat Haṭagāras.

**Exogamous divisions.**

Kannada Dēvāngas, Telugu Dēvāngas and Haṭagāras have exogamous divisions some of which have names borrowed from objects considered sacred. Along with these which they call Bedagns, some of them also give out eponymous Gótras. A list of all these divisions is given in the Appendix.

**Birth ceremonies.**

After childbirth, Lingāyats observe no pollution, while other Dēvāngas observe it for ten days. All however have a purificatory ceremony on the eleventh day, Lingāyats inviting a Jangama and others a priest of their own caste. The inviting of Brāhmanas for ceremonies has of late been given up. The ceremonies up to name-giving are nearly the same as among parallel castes.

**Adoption.**

When there is no male issue, they resort to adoption, and there is nothing special in the rules about the selection of the boy and the method of affiliation.

**Dikshe.**

Among the Lingāyat Dēvāngas, the Dikshe or the initiation ceremony takes place when the child is about ten years of age. A Jangam priest is called to officiate at this ceremony. The novice is bathed and is made to take his seat on a wooden plank. The priest installs in front of the child five Kalasas, one at each corner and the fifth in the centre of a parallelogram drawn with quartz powder. The Kalasas are worshipped in the usual manner, the priest reciting Mantras. The Linga which the boy has been wearing is washed seven times with milk, ghee, butter, sugar and honey, which are collectively called Panchamruta (ಪಂಚಮೃತ) and the priest then ties it to the boy whispering in his ears some Mantras. Then Dakshine





(money) and Tàmbûla are distributed and the father of the boy gives a dinner to the Jangamas and Dèvàngas.

Among the Kannada and Telugu Dèvàngas, the corresponding ceremony known as Upanayana is observed as part of the marriage ceremony and takes place on the Lagna day.

Marriage among the Dèvàngas of all divisions may be either adult or infant. A woman may remain unmarried all her lifetime and there are said to be some rare cases, in which women have been leading single lives, sometimes as religious ascetics. In recent times, however, infant marriages are becoming more popular and are supposed to enhance the social status of the caste. The full funeral rites are not observed to dispose of bodies of persons dying unmarried; but some of them get posthumous honours as Íragàraru. Marriage.

In marriages, one has to seek a girl within one's own group, but outside the Bedagu or Gôtra. An elder sister's daughter may be taken and is in fact considered the most proper person to marry, but the daughter of a younger sister may not be married. A man may marry his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, but not the daughter of his paternal uncle or maternal aunt, as this relationship is regarded as that of a sister. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is allowed and practised. Polygamy is allowed but practised only in such exceptional cases, as barrenness or incurable disease in the first wife.

The boy's father as usual makes the first move and the preliminary agreement of Vilyada Prasta is much the same as in other castes. The marriage ceremonies generally take place in the boy's house.

One or two days previous to the actual beginning of the ceremonies, the boy and the girl to be married are smeared with turmeric in their own places; and a feast is held in honour of their tribal Goddess (Chaudèsvari) and the family ancestors. Then the bride and her party set out for the bridegroom's place.

The putting up of the marriage shed on twelve pillars, the chief or milk post being brought by the maternal uncle, the bringing of Arivèni pots and holy water (ಶ್ರೀಪತ್ನೀಪಾತ್ರ) by five married women walking all the way on cloths spread in the street, are the next events.



The next day, after nail paring and bathing in Male-niru of both the parties, the boy is taken to a temple and seated on a Kumbly (woollen blanket). The bridegroom's party pass and repass three times carrying the marriage presents to the bride's house and then the bride's people come to welcome the bridegroom in the temple. Some turmeric paste is rubbed over him, handfuls of rice (Sàso) thrown on his head and in procession he is taken to the marriage Pandal.

If the parties are not Lingâyats, the Upanayana takes place and the boy gets his sacred thread, purification (Punyâha), Hôma and other ceremonies taking place as in other higher castes. Then the boy is taken to a Peepul tree where he is met by the parents of the bride who wash his feet and bring him to the marriage Pandal for marriage. The girl is then brought there and the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand facing each other with a screen between them. The Purôhit chants Mantras, the screen is removed at the appointed hour and the bridal pair put cummin seed and jaggory on each other's heads. Then follow the Dhâre or giving away the girl, the tying of the Tâli, the rice-pouring ceremony and the tying of the Kankâras. Afterwards Pân-supâri and Dakshinë (money) are distributed to all. The couple rise, walk seven times round the Hôma fire holding each other by the hand with the fringes of their garments knotted together, go round the milk post three times and worship Arundhati after walking seven steps in the open air. Then they go to the Arivëni room, and after bowing to the pots, return to join the dinner.\* In the evening the couple are made to sit together before a gathering of married women and other relations, and chew betel leaves and nuts, the bride handing them over to the bridegroom and the latter returning the compliment.

On the second day takes place Nâgavali. The couple bathe after nail paring, and bring earth from an anthill, which they make into balls and place near the pandal posts, and make Pûja. Some married women are fed and presented

\* In some places, e.g., Channagiri, the couple sit before the Arivëni pots and eat Buva. Food is served in two dishes, and the bride and her near relatives and the bridegroom and his relations sit at their respective dishes for eating it. At the end, the bridegroom hands over a morsel to the bride which she eats. The bridegroom pays down eight annas to the bride's people who wash the dishes.





with Bágina. After pot-searching, the Kankanas are removed. After a night procession, the bride's entry to her husband's house takes place.

Next day they bathe in Ókuli water \* and the milk post of the Pandal is removed. The couple are then taken to the girl's village and return after a day or two.

The bride price is generally fixed at seven pagodas or Rs. 21, and some times Rs. 9 is added. In some places it is said to range between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500. Some receive the price under the euphemistic term of Bhùri Dakshina, while others have almost given up the practice. As regards marriage expenses also there is no uniform standard. It is said that till the Dhàre ceremony, the expenses are incurred by the girl's father and then the boy's father has to pay for Dakshine and give two dinners.

A widower has to pay double the bride price.

When a girl attains her age, she is considered as impure Puberty. and is bathed and an Ārati is waved to her by married women. Being under pollution, she sits by herself for ten days either in a shed built of green leaves or in a separate corner of the house, a twig of Alangium Lamarekii (ಅಂಕುಲಿ) being stuck at the place to ward off evil spirits. In the evening she is exhibited in the company of married women (who do not touch her) and is presented with fruits, flowers, turmeric and kunkuma. She is during this time fed on nutritious food, and is not allowed to walk barefooted and during nights she is kept awake for fear of molestation from evil spirits. On the eleventh day she bathes, and the house is purified by the Puróhit and a dinner given to their caste people. The girl, however, does not get rid of the pollution till the sixteenth day is over, when, if she is already married, the consummation of marriage takes place. The latter ceremony is finished in one day. In the morning the couple are anointed and bathed. In some places they observe the ceremonies of the worship of the nine planets, Hóma, etc., but generally this is dispensed with. The couple are seated together in the night in the company of their relatives and castemen and they distribute Pán-supari and cocoanuts before going to their nuptial couch.

With regard to widow marriage, the practice is Widow not uniform. In some places, in Channagiri in the marriage.

\* Ókuli (ಅಂಕುಲಿ) is water coloured red with turmeric and chunam. Those engaged in the sport or ceremony squirt this on each other.

Shimoga District, for instance, it is allowed and fairly common. In some other places, *e.g.*, Bangalore and Mysore Districts, it is said to be not in vogue. In the Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts, the practice is allowed. In Madras "Widow marriage is permitted in some places and forbidden in others."\* The custom appears to have been at one time common and has gradually fallen into disfavour. The following is quoted from the "Baramahal Records," page 183, Section III, a work written in the closing years of the 18th century. "In this sect (Dévàngas) widows are permitted to marry a second husband but if she has children by her first husband, her parents are obliged to give nine chakras to them. When a person contracts himself in marriage to a widow, he only pays her parents thirty sultan fanams; if she has none living, the money is to be divided among her relations. If the widow has no children at the time of her second marriage, her parents are to pay six chakras out of the nine to the brother or brothers of the deceased. The children of such a second marriage are received into the sect."

Adultery  
and  
divorce.

Adultery on the part of a woman is regarded with abhorrence and she is thrown out of caste and cannot be re-admitted. Divorce is allowed only on the ground of the wife's adultery and the divorced woman is not allowed to remarry.

Death  
ceremonies

Dévàngas bury the dead. The Lingáyats or Siváchar Dévàngas observe the ceremonies peculiar to the followers of that religion in disposing of the body, such as washing the feet of the Guru, sipping the water, placing the body in the grave in a sitting posture, and the Guru placing his feet on the head of the corpse. They observe no pollution but perform the third day and eleventh day ceremonies. There are some Dévàngas who are styled Tirunámadháris or Dása Jana and these observe the ceremonies peculiar to that cult, inviting a Dásayya or Sātáni priest and worshipping the Chakra. But the major portion of the Dévàngas who are neither Lingáyats nor Dása Jana observe the usual ceremonies. As soon as a person is dead, his body is washed and wrapped up in a new shroud. It is carried in a lying posture on the shoulders of four men and is buried with the face turned towards the south.

\* Castes and Tribes of Southern India, by E. Thurston, Vol. II, P. 163.





After the corpse is disposed of, the party bathe and return home and look at a light kept on the spot where the life expired. On the third day, the son accompanied by some elderly relatives goes to the burial ground and bathing in a river, erects a small shed on the grave in which a figure of the deceased is drawn. Food with vegetable is cooked there, and offered to it after burning incense; and is afterwards thrown to crows. After they return home the corpse-bearers have their shoulders smeared with ghee and milk and washed with soap-nut. All the agnates eat together. On the eleventh day, the agnates including the son bathe to get rid of the pollution. A Purôhit is called in to purify the house. Then a Kalasa in the name of the deceased is set up and worshipped. Then rice, money, sandals, umbrellas and other articles are distributed to enable the deceased getting these things on his journey to the other world. Generally a cow\* is given away to the Purôhit. Prayers are then offered for the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Then a party repair to the graveyard, burn incense and offer cocoanut to the deceased, and also some rice boiled together with pulses. On return, they go to a temple, offer worship to the god and pray for forgiveness of the sins of the deceased, and for the opening of the doors of Vaikuntha.† Then a dinner is given to all the castemen in memory of the deceased. Pollution is observed for ten days for the death of an adult agnate, three days for that of an infant. There is no period of mourning for the death of a daughter's son or other relative; in the former case they all bathe. When under pollution, they do not put on their caste marks, abstain from sweet things and milk, and suspend their daily work.

Dèvàngas do not generally observe Sràddhàs, but on the first anniversary of the day, they worship a Kalasa and feed their castemen. Recently some have taken to performing Sràddhàs on the day corresponding with the date of death. For the propitiation of the ancestors in general they observe the Mahàlaya Amāvāsyā and distribute doles in the names of the dead. In common with other castes of similar status, they observe Huvilya ceremony to

\* This is said to furnish a cow to the deceased for crossing the river of fire (holding its tail) in his passage to the Yamaloka to receive his judgment.

† In some places this ceremony is observed on the next day which is styled Vaikuntha Samârādane.



propitiate deceased females who predeceased their husbands; and whenever she wears a new cloth for the first time, the second wife of a man distributes Pān-supāri and jaggory syrup, etc., to propitiate the spirit of the first wife.

Religion.

The Lingāyat Dēvāngas are strict Śaivas. Other Dēvāngas worship both Vishnu and Siva without any distinction. All have family Gods either of the Vishnu or the Siva group. They worship also the Village Gods and Goddesses Māramma, Muniswara and others. The distinction known as Dāsajana and Mullujana also obtains among them, in some parts the former being strict Vaishnavas. Among the Mullujana there are Jōgis, that is, those that dedicate themselves to the worship of Bhairava Dēvaru of Chunchangiri (Nagamangala Taluk). They undergo the ceremony known as Dikshe when a Bairagi of the Chunchanagiri Māṭha bores a hole in the lobe of the right ear with a knife. This individual has a whistle called Singanāda suspended to his neck and has to sound it whenever he makes Pūja.

Their tribal Goddess is known as Chaudēsvari, and also as Bana Sankari. She is held to be an incarnation of Pārvati, who came down to help Dēvala when he was attacked by Rākshasas while bringing down the thread for weaving from Vishnu. The image is kept in temples and also Katte-manes. They have Pūjāris of their own caste, and the Yajmān has charge of the idols at the Katte-mane, where every year they have a festival lasting for three days in honour of this Goddess.

They hold a special celebration on a much grander scale at intervals of five or ten years. The expenses which come to about 200 or 300 rupees are met by contributions from members under several Katte-manes. Pandals are raised in some large grove to accommodate the people and the gathering continues for four or five days.

A number of young men, generally one from each family, are chosen as Alagu Komāraru (ಅಲಗು ಕೊಮಾರರು sword boys) who must remain in the Pandal all through the festival without going to their homes. They are taken to bathe in a water-course where they worship Ganga (water) and are smeared with turmeric paste and dressed in yellow clothes. They are brought back in procession, and purify themselves by drinking Gōmūtra with





turneric and tying Kankana threads to their wrists. They may not touch cooked food but should live on milk and fruits. In the evening, these young men go in procession to a pond or well outside the town and after Pūja to Ganga proclaim loudly that they would come there the next day to take water for the worship. Thereafter a watch is kept near the pond and no one is allowed to touch the water.

Early in the morning the next day, the Alagu Komārars bathe and dress in yellow clothes. The Setṭis and Yajamāns, the Pūjāri and other functionaries of the tribal constitution and all the castemen\* gather near the Pandal and go in procession with music and band to the consecrated pond or well. The Pūjāri sets up a Kalasa in a dish filling it with the water taken from the pond or well, decorates it with arca flowers, and worships it. A blunt sword smeared over with turmeric is handed to each of these boys who flourish them in the air and strike their chests with the edge of the swords. Then a large number of cocoanuts are broken and the procession moves slowly to the Pandal where a Kalasa is installed and a sword is balanced over it. Exercises of swordmanship are exhibited by the Alagu Komārs and the Pūjāri.

Next day a Jyōti or light is worshipped. The receptacle and the stand for the light are made of rice mixed with jaggory and cocoanut and pounded into paste. The rice for the purpose must be collected fresh from a field and by a person clothed in Maḍi (clean state). Formerly this light was being paraded throughout the village, and this practice is now given up, on account of the light, it is said, once having flown up a cocoa-nut tree and refused to come down till a human being was sacrificed. Consequently the light, the Kalasa and the swords are worshipped in the Pandal.

The next day (*i.e.*, the last day) jaggory water and soaked pulses are distributed among the caste people. After this, the Kalasa, the light and the swords are taken in procession to the pond and there worshipped. Then the water in the Kalasa is emptied into the pond, and the light extinguished. The lampstand is broken up and the sweet paste distributed as prasāda. Afterwards all return to the Pandal and have a dinner.

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\*Note.—It is said that no woman is allowed to go with the procession lest casually the monthly sickness may occur and cause pollution by contact.

Another tribal god is Rāmalinga to whom temples are built in large towns.

They have belief in oracles, omens and soothsayers and consult them.

Gurus.

Their Guru is the Swami of the Hampe maṭha in the Bellary District, who is believed to be the direct descendant of Dēvala, their progenitor. Formerly this maṭha was very influential but in course of time it was broken up into five minor maṭhas, the more important of which are the maṭhas at Bettigere, Gadag, Kadakola and (Shapur) Belgaum, all in the Bombay Presidency. The Guru may be a celibate or a married man. He makes periodical visits to his disciples and collects contributions from them. He is assisted by a lieutenant who tours with him, holds enquiries and settles disputes. When the questions are of grave nature, they are decided by the Guru himself. During such visits, the disciples are favoured with Tirtha and Prasāda. Recently the head maṭha at Hampe has been revived and a new Swami has been installed therein.

The Lingāyat Dēvaṅgas acknowledge Nidamūnadi Kari Vrishbhēndraswāmi as their Guru.

Social  
Status.

Dēvaṅgas occupy a high position in the scale of castes claiming to be superior to Okkaligas. They even advance a claim to be regarded as Brāhmins, which, however, is not admitted by others. Formerly Brāhmins acted as their priests, but are being replaced by men of their own caste. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste, but those who have degraded themselves by irregular or improper practices may be readmitted after purification.

They follow the usual law of inheritance. In making partition of lands, it is considered correct to give the youngest son the easternmost or the northernmost plot. Partition is usually effected before a Panchāyat, meeting in the temple of the tribal God for the sake of ensuring honesty and truthfulness on the part of the rival claimants.

Dēvaṅgas belong to the Nine Phana or the Left-hand group of castes. They have their own set of dancing women who are prohibited from serving at assemblies of rival group of castes.

Food.

In the matter of food and drink, the Lingāyat Dēvaṅgas are vegetarians and teetotallers, and the others are gradually coming up to that standard.





The Lingayat Dèvàngas and Jangams dine with each other. Of the other sections, some eat in the houses of Brāhmans and the others refuse to do so.

The Dèvàngas have Katte-manes with jurisdiction over a limited area and presided over by Setṭis and Yajamāns. The beadle of the caste is known as Mudre Manushya (Signet-man). These Katte-manes take cognizance of matters over which courts established by law have no authority.

Caste  
Govern-  
ment.

The caste has its class of dependants or Haḷa-Makalu, who go by the name of Singadavaru or hornmen. They are said to wear both a Linga and a sacred thread. Their Guru has always one of this class among his followers on his tours of visitation. The Singadavaru are also rewarded with presents raised by contribution whenever they visit Dèvānga people independently. They are said to be the repository of the history and tradition of this caste.

The caste as a whole have weaving as their occupation, but they generally follow agriculture also and some times make it their exclusive occupation. The imported yarn is purchased and woven in hand-loom. Though it has suffered from competition with machinery, the trade is carried on on a fairly large scale. The weavers are generally poor and have to borrow from money-lenders to whom the finished products are mortgaged in advance. Government have been taking steps to introduce better looms and encourage co-operation, and some amelioration has resulted in the condition of this large class of artisans. Still, the low returns of trade combined with some improvident habits have left them poor as a class, liable to suffer most in seasons of famine or scarcity.

Occupation



## APPENDIX.

(List of Exogamous divisions.)

I. Kannada Dèvàngas.		Meaning of term.
Ambali	(ಅಂಬಲಿ)	Gruel.
Arivàṇa	(ಅರಿವಾಣ)	A pot.
Baṇṇa	(ಬಣ್ಣ)	Colour.
Bàḷe	(ಬಾಳೆ)	Plantain.
Belli	(ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ)	Silver.
Beṇṇe	(ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ)	Butter.
Basàpatra	(ಬಸಾಪತ್ರ)	
Chokkamaru	ಚೊಕ್ಕ ಮರು	
Dabbe	(ದಬ್ಬೆ)	Bamboo.
Doddatala	(ದೊಡ್ಡತಲ)	Large head.
Guddina	(ಗುಡ್ಡಿನ)	
Hosakere	(ಹೊಸಕೆರೆ)	Name of a place.
Kallukòte	(ಕಲ್ಲುಕೋಟೆ)	Do
Kanakana	(ಕನಕನ)	
Kadaga	(ಕಡಗ)	A wristlet.
Kachchòru	(ಕಚ್ಚೋರು)	
Kòranalli	(ಕೊರನಳ್ಳಿ)	
Machche	(ಮಚ್ಚೆ)	A mole or mark.
Mande	(ಮಂಡ)	Head.
Màdèva	(ಮಾದೇವ)	
Muchehala	(ಮುಚ್ಚಳ)	Lid.
Mùremme	(ಮೂರಮ್ಮ)	Three she buffaloes.
Mutta.	(ಮುತ್ತ)	Pearl.
Ondu Màtu	(ಒಂದು ಮಾತು)	One word.
Oṇṭemne	(ಒಂಟೆಮ್ಮೆ)	Single she buffalo.
Pettige	(ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ)	Box.





Punagu	(పునగు)	Civet.
Roddagàrru	(రొద్దగార్పు)	
Sappe	(సప్పె)	Insipid.
Sanje	(సంజే)	Twilight.
Séje	(సేజే)	
Sobagu	(సోబగు)	Ornamentation.
Totlu	(తోట్లు)	Cradle.
Vainbāḷe	(వైంబాళే)	Arcea flower.

## II. Telugu Dēvaṅgas.

Anumalu	అనుమలు	Dolichos lablab Lin.
Bandi	బండి	Cart.
Bantha	బంత	Quilt.
Chimala	చీమల	Ant.
Chinta	చింత	Tamarind.
Chapparam	చప్పరం	Pandal.
Dūde	దూది	Cotton.
Duggāni	దఘాణి	A two-pie piece.
Enumala	ఎనుమల	Buffalo.
Góduma	గోదుమ	Wheat.
Hāraka	హారక	Pasulupam Serobicula- tum Lin.
Jīlkara	జీలకర	Cumin seed.
Maṭham	మఠం	Monastery.
Nalugu	నలుగు	
Onti	ఒంటి	Single.
Pichhiga	పిచ్చిగ	Sparrow.
Roddagāri	రొద్దగారి	
Santa	సంత	Fair.
Sajja	సజ్జ	Holcus spicatus Roxb
Uddi	ఉద్ది	Black gram.

## III. Haṭagāṅaras.

Arasina	(ఆరసిస)	Turmeric.
Dēvi	(దేవి)	Goddess.
Gaḍige	(గాడిగ)	Pot.

Honnubágina	(ಹೊನ್ನಬಾಗಿಲ)	Gold.
Honnungura	(ಹೊನ್ನಂಗುರ)	Gold ring.
Kalasa	(ಕಳಶ)	Vase.
Sakkare	(ಸಕ್ಕರೆ)	Sugar.
Simhāsana	(ಸಿಂಹಾಸನ)	Throne.

In addition to the above, the Dēvaṅgas have returned the following eponymous divisions :—

Bhāskara Rishi Gōtra	(ಭಾಸ್ಕರ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Dhaunya	do (ಧೌವ್ಯ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Chitravarga	do (ಚಿತ್ರವರ್ಗ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Mālīka	do (ಮಾಲಿಕ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Māṇḍavya	do (ಮಾಂಡವ್ಯ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Manu	do (ಮನು ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Pippala	do (ಪಿಪ್ಪಲ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Rāja Mahā	do (ರಾಜಮಹಾ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Sringa	do (ಶೃಂಗ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).

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Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

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XXII.  
KILLÉKYÁTAS CASTE.

BY

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— ♦ —  
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## KILLÉKYÁTAS.

The Killékyátas are a wandering tribe of picture showmen found scattered all over the State. They are also known locally as Shillékyátas, *Bombé Aṭṭavaru* and ತೊಗಲು ಗೊಂಬೆಯವರು. Another section of them who fish in rivers are known as Burude Bestas, *i.e.*, Bestas, or fishermen of dry gourds, on account of their using dry gourds to swim in water while fishing. They are Mahrattas by origin and use that language as their home tongue. They are well built, fair and tall, but the fishing section are rather slovenly in their dress, black and stunted in growth. The last Census (1901) shows them to be about 1,000 in population made up of 373 males and nearly twice as many females, but there is reason to believe that this is a result of faulty enumeration, and they form a larger section, and the disparity between the sexes cannot be so great.

Killékyáta means a mischievous imp, *Kille* (ಕಿಲ್ಲೆ, or ಕಿಲ್ಲೆ) meaning mischievous and *kyáta*, imp or a crooked fellow. Whenever they perform their shows, after the usual offering of prayers to Gaṇapati and Sarasvati, they exhibit a doll of fantastic appearance, jet black in colour, with tilted nose, dishevelled hair, flowing beard, protruding lips, pot-belly and crooked hands and legs. This figure, which is known as the Killékyáta, is accompanied by his wife Bangárakka, which is equally hideous in appearance. Both these figures represent the buffoons of the performance, and keep the audience amused with rude jests and indecent jokes. The whole exhibition has come to be known as the play of Killékyáta, and the name has thence passed to the caste itself. With reference to this profession they are also known as marionette dancers. *Bommaláṭa-vállu* (ಬొಮ್ಮಲಾಟವಾಳ್ಳು) in Telugu and *Togalu-bombeyavaru* (ತೊಗಲುಬೊಂಬೆಯವರು) in Kannada. Another section have altogether given up this trade, and taken to fishing; and they are on that account styled *Burude-Bestas* (ಬುರಡೆ ಬೆಸ್ಟರು).

They style themselves *Dátyéru*, but the origin of this term cannot be traced. In the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency they are known by the name of *Kaṭbus*.

They have no titles, but the usual honorific suffixes Appa, Ayya and Anna for males and Anma and Akka for females are used; but generally they are addressed without these suffixes by persons of higher castes.

**Language.**

Killékyátas always speak Mahratti among themselves, but they know the language of the locality where they live. One section of the caste, namely, Doddā Togalu Bombeyāṭadavaru, know how to read and write Telugu and enact their plays in that language, repeating verses from the Bhārata or Rāmāyana.

**Origin.**

Killékyátas are immigrants into the State from the Mahratta Country to which they are believed to have come from the north either from Kolhápur or Satára.\* The following appears in the Bijapur Gazetteer† about them:—"They appear to have long belonged to the district as they have no tradition of having moved from any other country. The oldest paper that has been found in their possession is a deed or *Sannad* dated the month of *Kārtik* or October-November of 930 Fasli, that is, A.D. 1520, in the reign of the second King of Bijapur. They claim descent from a Kshatriya, who is said to have followed Pāṇḍavas in their wanderings after the loss of their kingdom."

They were originally Mahratta Okkaligas following the profession of agriculture. It is said that one of their women became intimate with a man of the Goldsmith caste named Kattāre Kálāchari and had seven sons by him. They were, of course, put out of caste, and the smith taught his sons to cut out dolls out of mats, leaves and pieces of leather, and earn their living by exhibiting marionettes before village audiences. The brothers of the woman who were poor were induced to join their nephews subsequently, and they formed a separate caste by themselves, reinforced by other accessions. It was after this that they migrated from the Mahratta Country into different parts of Southern India. They must have come into Mysore in different gangs as indicated by the number of their exogamous divisions. Thus while the earliest immigrants have only five divisions, the more recent have nine or eleven and those that are living on the borders of the Dharwar District, as many as thirteen.

In token of this connection, these showmen extol the caste of the goldsmiths, soon after their invocations to the

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\* Belgaum Gazetteer, page 185.

† Pages 196-97,

gods at the commencement of their play, and say in explanation that the credit of the performance would be theirs (the goldsmiths') while only the doles collected would belong to themselves.\*

The patron caste are exempted from subscribing towards the expenses of such plays, but give some presents to the players who go to their houses the day after the performance. Killékyátas have sometimes been given inams for their profession, of which some exist in this State, though the condition of service has been removed.†

The two main divisions are doll-exhibiting Killé- Divisions.  
kyátas and fishing Killékyátas. The former are distinguished either as major or minor showmen (ದೊಡ್ಡ ಚೋಬೆಯಾಟದವರು, ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಚೋಬೆಯಾಟದವರು), and these two sections are at present showing a tendency to become separated not only in the matter of marriages but also in food. The major section have better plays borrowed from standard renderings of the Rámáyána and Bhárata, and also employ marionettes with separate joints so that the action of the play may be more effectively exhibited. They have also a better appointed stage, large enough to accommodate all the actors and musicians inside. The minor showmen composing the other division have a much cruder apparatus, and the singer of the party, generally a woman, has to sit outside the booth, her sounding instrument being a reed fixed on the back of a bell-metal eating dish with a base of wax, on which she produces a shrill monotonous sound, by the friction of both her hands. This is accompanied by a drum (ಮೇಳು). The plays enacted by these are also of very poor style, very coarse in language and sentiment.

The Killékyátas seem to have migrated into the State Exogamous divisions  
in different batches. The Bombe section came first, the minor (or Chikka) Bombe showmen being the earliest, as is indicated by their converting their old exogamous names to their local equivalents, as Aivat into Enumala, Sindhya into Gujjala. It is said that there are thirteen exogamous divisions of this caste in Bijapur District, brought about by one Hanumantarao Narasing of Haveli in Poona, who styled himself Sar Gaṇácháři of the caste.‡

\* ಬಿರದವಾಳ್ವನಿ ವಿತ್ಯಮಮಾದಿ.

† Mysore Revenue Manual, page 248.

‡ See Bijapur Gazetteer, page 197.

The Bombe section have the following exogamous divisions each carrying certain definite tribal functions, with it:—Ganácháři or Vanárası, Siváchári or Avêt, Nékhnář (corrupted into Lókhandar), Páňchangis or Ataka or Bhandári and Sindhya.

The fishing (ವಿಫಾಸು ಹಿಡಿಯುವ) section have in addition to these five divisions, returned four more, *viz.*, Sálavya, Sásanik, Moharga and Sinagána in the taluk of Shikarpur, and an additional one, namely, Dhúravya in Channagiri. Those found near Harihar have all the thirteen divisions, the three names besides those given above being Vákudás, Dôdkars and Dhamalkars.

It will thus be seen that the caste found in the Mysore State is the same as that of the Bombay Presidency, with this difference, that the Bombe Adiso section appear to have separated themselves when the caste contained only five divisions, while the other divisions appear to have lost touch with the main group at different periods in recent times.

Marriage among the members of the same division is prohibited and relationship is traced through males. The members of the same division are regarded as brothers and sisters.

**Birth ceremonies.** It is not customary as in other castes, to take the new wife to her parent's house for her first confinement. In fact, she goes but rarely to her parents after her marriage.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered unclean for seven days when she remains in a separate shed erected for her. On the fifth day she is made to set up a stone in the confinement shed and worship it under the name of Satvi or Kontemma with the object of ensuring a long life to the new-born baby. The midwife is fed and presented with a cloth. On the seventh day, the mother and the child are washed and the mother gets a change of clothes. After this cleansing, the shed in which she was confined is pulled down and another is put up for her occupation. A general dinner is given in the afternoon, and in the evening, the child is put in a cradle by an elderly woman who also gives a name to it after consulting with a soothsayer. There are no names peculiar to this caste, though Hanumanta seems to be a very popular name. They are fond of giving nicknames expressive of some

peculiar characteristic of the person, as for example *Donka* a crooked fellow and *Monda* a stubborn fellow. The giving of opprobrious names is also very common, and the object aimed at is to deceive the malignant powers.

The first hair of the child are removed either in the first or in the third year. The child, after a bath, is taken to a temple and seated in front. His maternal uncle places a handful of dates on his head, which when scattered on the floor are picked by children. He then first goes through the form of cutting the hair with a pair of leaf scissors, and then cuts it with a pair of iron scissors.\* Then the child is again bathed and is taken to the temple to get *Tirtha* and *Prasáda*. The maternal uncle is given a present of a new turban, and after the usual dinner, all return home.

Children are considered specially liable to the attacks of spirits and to avoid such misfortune are made to wear some charms. *Hanumanta Tāli* (a disk bearing the figure of *Hanumanta*), in the neck and white beads round the waist are the more common precautions.

Adoption is unknown among the fishing and the Chikka Bombe sections. They have generally little property to leave behind them. It is sometimes, though rarely, practised by the *Dodda Bombe* section when a man is childless. They may take any boy they please and of any age. It is not uncommon for a man to take a foundling or a boy from even other castes and bring him up as his own son. No particular ceremony is required. Adoption.

Infant marriages are very rare; and a woman may, if she chooses, live without marrying at all; polygamy is rather common, but polyandry is unknown. Marriage.

The three main divisions are strictly endogamous, though it is said that the fishing section give but do not bring girls from the other sections. The Chikka Bombe and *Dodda Bombe* sections were apparently one formerly, as may be inferred from the custom of their inviting each other for any important caste *panchayat*, but intermarriages between them are almost unheard of. Marriages between members belonging to the same exogamous sect are strictly prohibited and any illegal intimacy between a man and a woman belonging to such a division is punished by putting the guilty persons out of the pale of

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\* *Bijapur Gazetteer*, pages. 199-200.

caste without a chance of expiation. Such persons are not allowed to live in the caste quarters and are interdicted fire and water from the other members of the caste.

The negotiation for marriage must always begin from the male's side, unless the boy is a very near relation such as a cousin. The boy's father goes to the girl's house and settles the marriage with her father at Vilya Sástra (betel leaves ceremony). On this occasion the boy's father has to give Rs. 2 to the caste pancháyat and five quarter anna pieces to the girl's mother. The girl dressed in the Síre presented to her is seated on a Kambli in the presence of caste pancháyat and is made to put on glass bangles given to her in the name of the boy. If, after this, the contract is broken by either party, he has to pay a fine to the caste Yajaman, besides the expenses incurred by the other side.

Being a wandering community, Killékyátas do not observe any elaborate ceremonies for marriage. One of the Ganáchári section conducts the ceremony and a Brahman's presence is not required. Usually all persons of the caste living or wandering within a definite area meet together on such occasions, and perform a number of marriages together. But the tendency to copy the manners of the higher castes is asserting itself and marriages lasting for four days instead of a single day are becoming more common, and are separately celebrated for each couple.

The marriage ceremonies commence with the worship of an ant-hill. A party from the girl's house go, after bathing, to the ant-hill and after making Púja, pour some milk in the snake-hole, touch it with a Táli with a serpent engraved in it, which they afterwards tie round the girl's neck. This is known as Huttada Táli (ಹುತ್ತದ ತಾಳಿ).

The marriage pandal is raised on four pillars, of which one known as Muhúrtakamba (ಮುಹೂರ್ತಕಂಬ) or marriage post, is brought in by the girl's maternal uncle, and is set up by married women, who tie round it a package containing five kinds of grains and a Kankana. The Arivéni or sacred pots are placed within it, and some Tális with human figures engraved on them as representing ancestors, and a Kalasa are also placed near and worshipped. A pot filled with toddy is kept there, and offerings are made of cooked food and a sheep or goat is killed. A married woman is then specially selected to serve

during the whole marriage as bridesmaid (known in their language as Varme). She has to attend to the bridal pair and, whenever necessary, smear their bodies with turmeric paste, carry Kalasa, wave A'rati and render other similar services. In some places, a man also is likewise selected to attend on the bridegroom.\*

On the next day, each party is made to bathe in Male-nirut separately. The bridegroom is taken to a temple or some other place, and conducted thence in state to the marriage pandal, at the entrance of which an A'rati is waved before him. After this, the caste functionaries have each certain definite parts assigned to them in the ceremony. Thus the Sindhya spreads blankets on the bridal seats. The bride and bridegroom being led on the marriage dais, stand facing each other with a curtain between them held by the Siváchári. The Sálva, or in his absence the Sindhya recites the names of the gods and the ancestors of the bridal pair, and thereupon the curtain is removed. The bride and bridegroom place on each other's head jirige (cummin seed) and jaggory. The Néklmár ties the hems of their clothes in a knot. The Ganáchári, who is in fact the chief functionary or the Puróhit, hands over the Táli or the marriage disk to the bridegroom who ties it to the neck of the bride. Then Kankas are tied to the bridal pair. The Pánchangi distributes grains of rice to the assembled guests and the Ganachári, Siváchári and other functionaries and the rest in order place it on the heads of the couple. The couple sit in front of a large vessel, and milk is poured on their joined hands by the relatives and others. This ceremony, known as milk-pouring (ಪಾಲು ಪಾಕ), completes the gift of the girl. After being shown the star Arundhati, the two go round the milk-post and bow before the Arivéni pots. Buvva or the eating together of food by the bride and the bridegroom and their nearest relations takes place as a practical manifestation of the union of the two families.

Simbásana-Púja takes place the next day when the Ganáchári worships a heap of betel leaves and nuts and distributes to all, in a prescribed order of precedence, the number of Támbúlas they are entitled to by the recognised custom of the caste.

\* In some places, (Chitaldrug) five women are so set apart.

† See monograph on Béda caste No. 3, page 8, as to what this means.



The next day is devoted to Nágavali, and worship of the ant-hill and the pandal posts. The Kankaṇas are removed after the pot-searching ceremony, and a caste dinner is then given.

In the evening, the girl is concealed in a place, and the bridegroom with a Bháshinga tied to his forehead is made to search for her. On being discovered, she makes a pretence of refusing to go with him and is coaxed to yield. Then all proceed in state to a temple and worship the God. On their return, the bride and the bridegroom are taken up on the shoulders of two able-bodied men, and a dance takes place in the street. Towards the close of this dance, the husband carries away the newly married wife to his house but just as he reaches the threshold of his house, he is waylaid and obstructed by the wife's party, who release him on his promise to let them have the first-born daughter. This entry of the wife to her husband's house finishes the marriage ceremonies. The bride-price varies from Rs. 10 to 20 pagodas. The whole expense of the marriage, which again varies from Rs. 50 to 200, has to be borne by the father of the bridegroom, who has to spend a great deal on toddy, so that a marriage looks often like a drunken brawl.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for five days, during which period she remains in a separate shed of green leaves. She is given a bath every day and the clothes are removed as the degree of impurity lessens day by day. In some places, even the sheds are renewed each day. On the last day, some little girls are given a dinner; and for two or three days afterwards Osage is performed, at which she is exhibited before an assembly of married women. If she is already married, her husband pays the expenses of one of these shows: if not, her maternal uncle. No particular ceremony is observed at the time of the consummation. The husband presents a new cloth and she is given presents of fruits and flowers, and they begin to live together thenceforth.

Widow marriage.

Not only is widow marriage allowed and freely practised, but it is said to be compulsory in the case of childless widows. Such a woman is sent away to her parent's house after her husband's death, to be there free to choose any one she likes. The offer of a marriage to a widow has to be made to her father who, through the caste people, obtains the formal consent of the widow's previous husband's relations.

The property and the issue of her previous husband are returned to his family. In the evening of the day fixed, the intended husband with the headman and others of the caste goes to the house of the widow's father and gives to the woman presents of clothes, bangles and other things, which she puts on. The couple stand in the assembly on a black blanket. The Siváchári (Avét) applies Vibhúti (sacred ashes) to their forehead, and the husband (or a widow in some places) ties a string of black glass beads or (in some places a Táli) to her neck and the Siváchári loudly proclaims that the pair have become husband and wife. Pan-supari is distributed and a hookah is passed round the assembly beginning with the headman. This is followed by a dinner and a liberal use of toddy. Married women do not take part in the ceremony but may join the dinner. A bachelor may not marry a widow, but where there has been previous intimacy, he is married first to an Ekka plant and then to her. The bride price of a widow is half that of a virgin girl and varies between Rs. 6 and Rs. 40. A widow cannot marry her previous husband's brother.

Divorce is very easy and pretty common. If the husband and wife cannot get on together, either party may put an end to the connection by going away from the other. The separation is signalled by the husband's taking away the Táli and bangles given by him and tearing the loose end of the wife's garment. The divorced woman may marry again after payment of a small fine to the caste. They are said to be rather loose in sexual relations, and adultery especially with a person of the same or a higher caste is easily condoned. Divorce and adultery.

The fishing section do not dedicate girls as Basavis. Basavis. But the minor Bombe section set apart a girl in each family as a public woman. The dedication always takes place before puberty and the ceremony is short and simple. On an auspicious day the girl after bathing is dressed in fresh clothes and seated on a plank and a dirk (Báku) is placed by her. A Dásayya brands her with the seal of Sankha and Chakra on the back just below the right shoulder, and places in her garment lucky things such as rice, cocoanut and jaggory. After puberty, she may bestow her favours on any one she chooses. She remains in the father's house and sometimes sets up for herself a separate shed to receive her lovers.

# Death ceremonies.

The dead bodies are generally buried. Those of persons affected with such diseases as leprosy and of pregnant women are cremated ; and bodies of those meeting with unnatural death such as from wild animals are sometimes buried under stone heaps. The bodies of married persons are placed in a sitting, and those of others in a lying posture in the graves. When a Killékyáta dies, his body is washed and dressed in new clothes, and if it is a married woman, the hair is decked with flowers as for a bridal. Betel-leaves and nuts are crushed and kept in its mouth. It is placed on a quilt and is carried by four persons taking hold of the four corners, a fifth person holding up its head in position. The chief mourner carries a faggot of fire and a new earthen pot full of rice. While about half way to the burial ground, the bearers change sides, and the articles carried by the mourner are thrown away. At that place, the body is stripped of all clothing, and is placed in the grave with a bit of gold in its mouth. To retain it in a sitting posture, the head is fastened by a string to a peg driven to the side of the pit. After filling up, a stone slab is placed on the grave to mark the place of the head, and a Tulasi or a Tumbe plant is planted on the spot. The funeral party then bathe and return home to look at a lamp kept burning at the place of death. Thence they repair to a toddy shop euphemistically called Sabhá-Kachéri (meeting place) in Telugu, to drown their grief.

The family of the deceased do not cook their food on the first day, and some of their relatives send cooked food for them. On the third day, the mourners repair to the burial-ground with all the catables, cooked and uncooked, which the deceased was fond of when alive, and offer two Edés, one at the spot where the corpse had been deposited on the way to the graveyard and the other on the grave. If crows do not eat up the food, they consider that the deceased had some cause for anger against the survivors, and make vows to satisfy his soul. If, however, crows hover over the food but do not touch it, they imagine that he had some particular longing in mind and promise to fulfil his wish. Then they bathe and return home and in the evening, take their near relatives to the toddy shop for a drink. On the eleventh day they observe the Tithi ceremony. Their castemen and other relatives are sent for. They cleanse the house and all bathe and put on washed clothes

A pot is set up in the house to which offerings of new clothes and food are made. The company then feast and drink in honour of the dead man. Another feast is held after three months, and a Táli (a metal disk) on which an image of the deceased is engraved is consecrated with the sacrifice of a goat or sheep, and placed among the household gods.

There is no doubt that in this caste, real ancestor worship is practised. They say that the dead are not to be consigned wholly to the grave. (ಸತ್ತವರನ್ನು ಅಡ್ಡಿಯಪಾಲ ಮಾಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.) They believe that their deceased ancestors, especially the married among them, always remain with them. The names of the departed should be given to children in the family. Religion.

On occasions such as Dasara, Ugádi and Maháláya Amáráśya, they wash the images, burn incense near them and offer food and drink. In addition to the images of ancestors, they generally keep idols of Durgamma, Bhairava Dévaru and Anjanéya, which they worship on all festive occasions. Yallamma is another god to which they pay special reverence and celebrate Púja periodically.

On such occasions, a toddy pot to the neck of which a saffron-coloured thread is tied, is placed in the shade of a margosa tree to represent the goddess, and animals are sacrificed before it. The praises of the goddess are sung, and the festival is celebrated with great eclat by the assembled castemen of the neighbourhood. They also offer Púja to the god of small-pox, to Gangamma, the Sun, the Ásvatha tree, and generally worship all the Hindu gods. They prefer to employ as Pújaris (worshippers) young boys, who are considered to be yet uncontaminated with worldly vices.

The following description given of Killékýatas in the Bombay Presidency is more or less applicable to them in his Stato :—

“ Their two leading divinities are Mahádev and Durgavva. Mahádev is said to be found only in the houses of the head of the Gapáchá- is, but many have Durgavva in their sheds and worship her themselves. Those who have no image of Durgavva, on her great day, a Tuesday about *Mágh* full moon in January-February, make an image of real and worship it. They do not keep the sweet-basil plant or worship it. They worship their leather pictures and offer them *polis* or sugar polly-polis on *Ganesh-Cháturthi*, the bright fourth of Bhádrapad or August-September. During the first month after death on any convenient days the chief mourner kills a goat in honor of his house-gods and a brass image representing the dead is added to the gods. They

keep all the leading Hindu fasts and feasts, and a few sometimes make pilgrimages to Paragad in Belgaum and to Pandharpur in Sholapur. Their priests are Ganacharis and the head Ganachári is their spiritual teacher.\*

Killékyátas believe in omens and consult soothsayers. They believe that they can exorcise evil spirits by making the person possessed lie down near the boxes containing the pictures of their show.

Social  
status.

Killékyátas are a wandering tribe and live outside the villages in sheds constructed of arched bamboos covered with mats. Though they profess to be Kshatriyas, they are looked upon as very low in the social scale. But some of the Bombe section have on account of their education earned a respectable position and are received even by Brahmans into their houses. The showmen wander in definite areas and in some places have Inams given them on account of their proficiency in their art.

They admit recruits especially women from the higher castes, with the sanction of the Ganachári obtained after payment of a fine.

They eat the flesh of sheep, goats, deer, hares and rabbits but eschew beef and pork. Both the sexes indulge in liquor. They eat in the houses of Kurubas, Uppáras and Bestas. Mádigas and Holeyas are the only castes who eat in the houses of the Killékyátas.

They have no social disabilities in the matter of conveniences in the village. The barbers may shave them but not pare their nails; but the fishing section have usually their own washerman.

Inherit-  
ance.

It is stated that the youngest son succeeds to the property of his parents by preference. This is brought about apparently by the fact that the elder ones set up separate sheds for themselves soon after marriage, and that the youngest remaining longest with the parents has to support them in their old age.

Caste  
constitution

They have a strong caste constitution, and in some matters such as marriage, excommunication and admission of strangers into the caste, the concurrence of the caste tribunal is indispensable. The head of the caste is styled Ganachári, and there is also a chief over all the Ganacháris known as Sar Ganachári. The Ganachári presides over all meetings, directs marriage and other ceremonials and per-

\* Bijapur Gazetteer, page 199.

forms the purifying ceremony. He acts also as the Puròhit in marriages and throws the rice on the married pair. Next to him comes the Siváchári, whose duty is to apply sacred ashes to the head of the person subjected to any Práyaschitta (purification). He belongs to Avét division. The Néknár also called Patél is the head of a Kattémene, that is, a seat of subordinate jurisdiction. In marriages, he has to untie the knot, tied by the Siváchári, of the hem of the bridal pair's garments. Páchangya who is of the Aṭka division, has to distribute betel leaves and nuts in an assembly and when the next functionary Sindhya is absent, he has to spread the blanket for the caste people to sit on. Sindhya spreads the blankets on occasions of marriage and does the office of drummer. Sálavya has to bring materials for erecting the marriage booth. Sásanika puts Sáse\* to the bridal couple and Sinagána who is called the Kólkar of the caste, carries a baton in his hand, collects people of the caste and seats them in the regular order. He has also to attend the caste Pancháyati and execute the orders of the Gaṇá-chári, Siváchári and Néknár. Dhuravya is another officer who buys provisions for a marriage.

Each of these offices is hereditary and belongs to a family in a particular exogamous division. The quantity of Pan-supari and the fee to be given to each of them on ceremonial occasions are fixed definitely.† The Bombe section have only five office-bearers stopping with the Sindhya who acts as the Kólkar or servant of the caste. Whenever there is a caste dispute, all the office-holders of the caste, especially the first five of them, must join. If, however, on account of unavoidable reason any one does not appear, his function has to be carried out by the next lower; a representative of the Sindhya division, however, cannot preside at any caste deliberation. The matters of dispute that come up for settlement are such as adultery, divorce, abusing

\* *Le.*, pouring handfuls of rice on their heads.

	Betel leaves	Nuts	Money
† Gaṇá-chári	5	5	5 quarter annas.
Siváchári	4	4	4 do
Néknár	4	4	4 do
Páchangi	4	4	4 do
Sindhya	2	2	2 do
Sálavya	2	2	2 do
Sásnik	2	2	2 do
Sinagána	2	2	2 do
Dhuravya	1	1	1 do

caste people and striking some one with a shoe. In such cases the accused person has to answer the charge against him. When the charge is proved or admitted, the second official (Siváchari) who is specially invested with secular authority, settles the amount of fine which has to be paid by the culprit. After paying the fine, the latter passes round a hookah to all the members of the assembly, each of whom smokes it as a sign that the fault has been expiated. The business is finished with an entertainment of drink and dinner.

#### Occupation.

The characteristic occupations of the caste are marionette shows and fishing. They play various scenes of the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, the former being more in demand. The dolls are cut out of goatskin and painted in gaudy colours. They are made of several members cut separately and joined together with wires and various motions and postures are caused by dexterous manipulation behind the curtain with the aid of thin bamboo splits. The action of the figures are made to correspond to the story as recited by the showman in prose and doggerel. For the minor class of showmen (ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಬೊಂಬೆ ಆಡುವವರು), the stage is made of screens of kambli and white cloths borrowed of a washerman. The showman alone sits inside and uses both hands for moving the dolls. A woman sitting outside produces low shrill music with a reed sounded on the back of a flat dish of bell metal. The words of the play are crudely conceived, and often fit only for a low class audience. The stage of the Dodda Bombe A'ṭadavaru, on the other hand, is built on a raised platform and is decorated with plantain and mango leaves. It is spacious enough to accommodate within its curtains the whole troupe furnished with fiddle, drum, cymbals, etc. The text is taken from recognised books on the epics, and players including women are all literate. The women do the singing while the men show the pictures over the curtain. The play begins at about 10 P.M. and continues the whole night. The performance is enlivened by the appearance, on the scene at intervals, of the buffoons, a Kiḷḷékyáta and his wife in fantastic garb, whose part sometimes borders on indecency. When the performance is over, the whole party go to every house in the village and get presents in kind, in addition to the lump sum collected by the whole village. Besides, during the enactment of the play they

demand for and obtain presents of cloths and other articles from the spectators. It is considered auspicious for rains and crops to have these shows about the harvest time, and in certain places, Killékyátas are entitled to customary annual fees for their services. Agriculturists draw with charcoal powder rude figures of a man on each of the corners of a field when there is crop on it. The various agricultural implements are said to be the limbs of this demon who is known as Karébhanta or Killékyáta. His brother known by the name of Jókumára is invoked to bring about rains in seasons of drought. He comes to being four days after the death of Vináyaka, *i.e.*, after Vináyaka's idol is removed after Púja on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Bhádrapada every year. Lime-burners make a rude earthen image of him. A boy takes this on his head and goes to all the houses in a village, singing songs and calling upon the god of rain to send rain to the earth. He gets doles of grain and a feast is held on the full-moon day. Next day, Jókumára is said to die of choking with a bone stuck in his throat. After death, he goes to the god of rain and implores him to send rain to moisten the parched up soil and to save people from dying of famine.

The fishing section who are expert swimmers live by fishing. During high floods they tie up two gourds together with a stout rope, and ride on the water over incredible distances by sitting astride on the floating rope between the gourds, riding as if it were a horse. They say they feel more at home in water than on land where there is fear of stumbling on stones and meeting snakes and evil spirits. These last never approach them on water for fear of being caught in the meshes of their nets.

Boys begin to swim at about ten, learning the art by imitation. Their expertness is such that not one of this caste is believed to have ever been drowned. They profess to take a man through the highest floods without any danger. They let him in water up to the neck and simply lead him by the hand, always keeping his head above water. They are not afraid of crocodiles and it is said that these huge reptiles are scared away when they see their bodies reflected in the water while riding.

The women of the Killékyáta section are expert tattooers and earn money by this profession.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXIII.**

**MONDARU CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## MONDARU.

Mondaru (ಮಂಡಾರು) form a small caste low in social scale which has been erroneously included under Jógis in the Census reports. It is therefore not possible to give any estimate of their number. The caste is said to have sprung from a couple belonging to the Mandala sub-division of the Béda caste who married each other in ignorance of their belonging to the same exogamous section and were therefore put out of caste. Even now a beggar of the Mondaru caste never enters the houses of Bédas and is not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala section. General.

The caste is generally known as Mondaru and sometimes Banda in Telugu. The terms have come to denote obstinacy coupled with a lack of shame, but it is not easy to say whether the caste acquired the name on account of their character or the word its meaning as being the name of such a caste. They have no special caste titles added to their names, but they claim to belong to the Setṭi Phana, that is, the right-hand group of castes. Name.

They seem to be Telugu beggars and speak Telugu generally. They also know the language of the country they live in. They have a dialect which resembles that of the Dombars.\* In their dialect they style a man of their caste as Makárigádu (ಮಕಾರಿಗಡು). Language.

The caste which originally was one has recently become divided into four or five endogamous groups, Uru Mondaru (ಉರು ಮಂಡಾರು), Banda or Kákalu Mondaru (ಬಂಡ ಅಥವಾ ಕಾಕಲು ಮಂಡಾರು), Sikhandi Mondaru (ಸಿಖಂಡಿ ಮಂಡಾರು) and Kastúri Mondaru (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ ಮಂಡಾರು). Uru Mondaru live in villages and are a little more advanced than the others. The second lead a wandering life and are so called as they eat crow's flesh. Sikhandi Mondaru are those who lie down in the streets for begging, covering the entire face with filth and mud to attract the attention of passers-by. They are perhaps so styled (Sikhandi means a hermaphrodite) as the men often appear covered in a woman's cloth. Kastúri means musk and the term is applied ironically to this Divisions.

\* See Appendix of the Dombars Caste, Monograph XIII.

class as they smear themselves with ordure and bring it with them in a gourd while begging, to compel persons to dismiss them soon with alms.

They have exogamous divisions of which some are the following :—Salla (సల్ల), Kamādula (కమడల), Mailūru (మైలూరు), Tella Mékala (తెల్ల మేకల) Maḍḍibuṭṭa (మడ్డబుట్ట), Gavaraddi (గవరడ్డి) and Sáke (సాకె).

Birth cere-  
monies.

On the birth of a child a woman is kept in a separate hut and is unclean for three days. Their own midwife attends at the delivery and remains with her all the three days. A crow-catching net is hung at the door of the hut to ward off evil spirits. The navel cord with the afterbirth is put into an earthen vessel and placed near the woman, after smoking it with incense. On the third day the midwife offers Púja to it burning incense and breaking a coconut and buries it in a hole dug in front of the hut. The child is then bathed over this hole along with the mother. A dinner is given to the caste people and the child is named. When the child is a month old, white glass beads are tied to its neck and when it is five or seven years old, the tonsure ceremony is observed for both sexes before the temple of their god.

Marriage.

Mondaru observe the same prohibited degrees of consanguinity as the other Hindus. A man may marry his elder sister's daughter or the daughter of maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may be married either by one man or two brothers. A man may marry more than one wife but polyandry is not known. Marriages are generally adult but infant marriages are also allowed. Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the boy's family. If the girl's family consents to the match, the boy's party take betel leaves and nuts and four rupees in money to the girl's house for the ceremony of "Spreading the blanket." The girl's father is paid four rupees and a caste dinner is given. Four or five days before the day fixed for the marriage, the boy and his party go to the girl's house and there settle with the girl's father as to the number of invitations to be issued for the marriage and other important matters. On the morning of the wedding day, the pair are bathed and presented with new cloths. In the evening a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a blanket is spread. The boy and the girl are seated there facing each other with Kankas of turmeric

root tied to their wrists. Two Arivéni pots filled with rice and dhal and covered with lids are brought by married women and placed one near the bridegroom and the other near the bride. The boy and the girl are besmeared with turmeric paste and all the married women individually present the girl with rice and other articles placed in her garment. Then the couple rise with the fringes of their garments knotted together and are taken round both the Arivéni pots three times. A man of the Sáke section unties the knot and then the boy and the girl go into their huts. Then a dinner is given to the caste.

Next day in the evening, the girl puts on a white Sádi. The bridegroom and the bride are seated on a Kambli between the Arivéni pots. All the people assembled throw some rice on their heads. The couple then rise and stand facing each other. The boy takes the Tali in his hands and placing his left foot on the right foot of the girl, ties it to her neck. This finishes the marriage ceremony. Then all the assembled married pairs present pour Sásc over the married pair. Next day the father of the girl gives a dinner to all; and if the girl has already attained puberty, the consummation of marriage also takes place.

The Mondaru who have settled in villages observe the ceremonies more elaborately and put up a Pandal and pour Dháre. The ceremonies are continued for five days and either a Jangam or a Brahman is also invited to conduct the ceremony.

The amount of Tera varies between six rupees and sixteen rupees. As regards the cost of marriage, the expenses of the first two days are to be paid for by the boy's family and those of the third day by the girl's.

When a girl attains puberty she is considered impure Puberty. for five days and sits by herself in a shed of green leaves. Before putting up the shed, a cocoanut is broken on the spot selected and the maternal uncle, or in his absence, a man who is in marriageable relation to the girl procures the materials. On the fifth day, the girl is bathed and the shed is pulled down and burnt by the uncle. On the day the girl bathes, her relatives present her with dry cocoanut, jaggery and fried grain.

Widow marriage is permitted and freely practised. Widow They avoid the same prohibited degrees of relationship for marriage.



such marriages as for the regular marriages. A widow is not permitted to marry her deceased husband's brother. A fine of six rupees is paid to the caste and the Tera, which is half the amount required for a virgin marriage, is paid to the relations of the woman's deceased husband. A bachelor may marry a widow and disparity of age is no bar. The ceremony is held in the evening and no auspicious day is necessary. In the presence of the caste people, the husband presents a cloth to the woman which she wears, and ties the Tali; and it is said that married women may not only be present when the ceremony takes place, but actually assist at it.

**Divorce.** Their morals are believed to be lax and a separation may take place on very slight grounds. The party at fault may freely marry again, provided the expenses of the previous marriage are reimbursed and a fine paid to the caste. A woman suspected of adultery may have her fault condoned by either corporal punishment inflicted by the husband, or in very serious cases by payment by the husband of a fine to the caste.

**Funerals.** Mondaru dispose of dead bodies by burial. The corpse is rolled up in a new cloth and carried by hands to the burial ground where it is stripped naked and interred in the grave. The party wash their hands and feet and repair to a toddy shop, where they all drink and have a few drops of the liquid sprinkled on their heads as a mark of purification. Thence they all return to the hut of the deceased and look at a lamp kept alight on the spot where he breathed his last. On the third day or Chinna Dinam (ചിന്ന ദിനം) they cook together all such articles of food as the deceased was fond of, including crow's flesh, and place it on the grave on a plantain leaf. On the eleventh day the spot on which the deceased died is cleaned. Food is cooked there in a new earthen vessel and an Ede offered before a lamp-stand (പുലർപ്പാട) after Pūja is performed by a Dāsaiyya. Each of the deceased's relatives puts a little incense on the fire kept near the stand and prays to the ghost of the deceased for his welfare. They do not perform Srāddhas but on the Mahālaya Amāvāsyā all bathe and placing new clothes near a Kalasa, burn incense and offer cocoanuts in the names of all the deceased ancestors.

**Religion.** They worship all the Hindu gods but their favourite deities are Māramma, Kollāpuramma, Sunkalamma and other minor goddesses. Once a year, on a Tuesday or a

Friday, they set up a stone in the names of these goddesses at the foot of a margosa tree and sacrifice a pig, which they cook and eat on the spot. Gurumūrti is another god they worship, to which they offer Pūja on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Ashāḍha (July-August) month. They believe in the existence of devils and say that persons who die an unnatural death become devils and always hover on large trees and at the meeting of three paths. The spirit of a man always catches a woman and that of a woman catches a man. They resort to exorcising it with the help of a devil-searer.

Mondāru occupy a low place in the social scale. They are regarded as unclean people and are not generally touched even by non-Brahmans. They are a wandering class and live in huts pitched outside villages or under trees or in deserted temples or Mantapas. They are, however, allowed to use the common well of the village. The barber shaves them but does not pare their nails and the washerman does not touch the cloth worn by a woman during her monthly sickness. Those of them who have succeeded in attaining a better position in life than their confreres have settled down in villages and are treated socially somewhat like Bédars. They admit outsiders into their caste. They follow the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, pigs and also crows and drink toddy and other country and foreign liquor. They do not eat beef or the flesh of monkeys, kites, vultures or snakes or the leavings of other people. No other castes, not even Mádigas, eat in their houses.

They are beggars by profession but some have settled down to agriculture. Even the latter have to go out begging at least once a year. They wander about singing or rather warbling, for they utter inarticulate words, and if money or grain be not given to them they sit obstinately in front of houses and compel the owners by various practices to comply with their demand. They go about on their begging excursion almost naked and are distinguished by iron bangles worn on their forearms, a band of twisted rags on their right upper arm, and a band of human hair round their left wrist. Their object is evidently to make themselves as disgusting in appearance as possible and they add to their personal charms by cutting themselves with a blunt knife so as to draw blood and smear their limbs with it. They also vomit forcibly

or spit out gruel which they carry in a gourd for the purpose. As they approach a house, they announce their presence by making a peculiar whirring guttural sound and belching as if ready to vomit. They beg from all castes including Mádigas, but when they go to houses of Bédars, Akkasáles and Mondaru living in villages, they must receive what is voluntarily given and should not resort to annoyance for enforcing compliance.

Caste or-  
ganisation.

The caste is divided into several groups, each of which has the right to collect alms within a particular area. If any of them trespass into another's tract against his will, he will be punished with a fine by the caste Pancháyat. Each of these groups has a headman called Guḍi-gádu. They have no caste servant, but whenever any meeting of the caste is called together, the man at whose instance it is convened has to collect the people. They meet periodically to decide the more important disputes.

Miscella-  
neous.

When they are not begging, they put on the ordinary dress. Men grow their hair long and matted, which they tie round into a conical shape when begging.

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXIV.**

**KUMBĀRAS CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## KUMBÁRAS.

Kumbáras are makers of earthen pots and tiles, and form an important section of a village community. They numbered, according to the Census of 1901, 43,418, of whom 22,839 were males. The largest number of them is found in the Mysore District, the rest being scattered in the remaining districts. Owing to the reluctance of the Siváchár section among them to return themselves as Kumbáras, it is likely that their number, according to the Census, is below the mark. General.

The caste is commonly known as Kumbáras (ಕುಂಬಾರರು). Name.  
One section describe themselves as belonging to the family of Gunda Brahma (ಗುಂಡಬ್ರಹ್ಮವಂಶದವರು) or Gundábhaktaru (ಗುಂಡಾಭಕ್ತರು), while another section say they are the descendants of Sáliváhana (ಸಾಲಿವಾಹನವಂಶದವರು), the reputed originator of the Era of that name. Those that have embraced Lingáyatism are gradually disowning the name of Kumbáras, and when pressed for an answer, say that they are Lingáyats who have adopted the profession of pot-making. Kumbáras have no other names. The proper honorific suffix of their name is *Seṭṭi*; but ordinarily men add *Appa*, *Ayya* or *Anna* and women *Amma* or *Akka* to their names. Kumbára is from Sanskrit Kumbhakára, maker of pots, and the other names mentioned refer to their supposed descent from persons bearing those names.

The progenitor of the caste is said to have been one Gundayya, also styled Gundabrahma. He is believed to have sprung from Gunda or the fireplace in which the three gods of the Triad together offered sacrifice. He was appointed to make pots for the use of earthly beings. The section who style themselves as Sáliváhanas separated from the main body in course of time. They trace their origin from Sáliváhana, said to have been begotten by a Brahman on a damsel of the potter caste. A learned Brahman, while away from home, discovered that offspring impregnated at a particular moment would become a mighty king, and was hastening back to meet his wife. When he arrived at the bank of the Krishna, a storm Origin.



overtook him and he was obliged to seek shelter in the house of a potter. The lucky hour was fast approaching, and the Brahman became more and more impatient. The potter, on learning what it was that was troubling the Brahman, begged him to allow his daughter to share the luck of the auspicious moment and *Sáliváhana* was the fruit of the union.

The boy was left with his mother in the potter's house and was duly instructed in the trade. As he grew up, however, he showed an inclination to neglect his proper work and took a delight in manufacturing toy soldiers, horses and implements of war. He stored them all carefully in a room, though his grandfather would have been glad if the boy would devote his time to the more useful work of making pots. The king of the country, who had a bad reputation as an oppressor of the poor, sent his messengers to extort money ; and when they reached the old potter's house, *Sáliváhana* jeered at them and drove them away with whips. The complaint reached the king who naturally got angry and ordered a small company of men to raze the potter's house to the ground and to drag the presumptuous boy to his presence. The young man in the meanwhile had opened the door of his magazine and sprinkled holy water on the toys that he had stored there. The men and animals came to life and a fully equipped army was ready at his service. The king's men were cut to pieces and later on the whole army was utterly routed and the king himself slain. *Sáliváhana* seized the throne and ruled the country very successfully.

#### Divisions.

There are three main divisions among the Kumbáras : Telugu Kumbáras (తెలుగు కూబారರು), otherwise known as *Sajjana* Kumbáras (సజ్జన కూబారరు), *Kannada* Kumbáras (ಕನ್ನಡ కూಬಾರರು), and *Lingáyat* Kumbáras (ಲಿಂಗಾಯತ ಕೂಬಾರರು). There are said to be two more divisions styled *Kudipaitála* (ಕುದಿಪೈತಲ) and *Tamil* Kumbáras (ತಮಿಳುಕೂಬಾರರು). The former is a division found in almost all the castes, the women whereof wear their garment (*Síre*) so as to allow its loose end to fall on the right shoulder, and the latter division is linguistic and applies only to the Tamil speaking section, of whom there are few in the State.\*

\* NOTE. *Niligáras*, spoken of in the Census Report of 1901, were, it appears, a division of Kumbáras who were dyeing cloth with indigo colour. This section is scarcely found now in the State. It is also reported that some Kumbáras drew toddy and were hence called *Idiga* Kumbáras.

These divisions are not only endogamous but do not sometimes eat together. The third division who wear the Linga, are, for all practical purposes, considered as Lingáyats, following the rites and ceremonies peculiar to that sect and having a Jangama as their priest.

There is little doubt that the Lingáyat section are recent converts from the main body. Some, however, namely, the Sajjana section, state that they were all Lingáyats originally but lost rank by taking to drinking and flesh-eating. It is said that one of them who was possessed of extraordinary powers was put out of caste for indulging himself in these forbidden practices. To revenge himself he sent plague and pestilence amongst them and would not relent till most of his castemen joined and partook of the forbidden food and drink. Only a few who had fled from their homes remained as Lingáyats.

Kannada Kumbáras have a large number of exogamous divisions, but many, especially those in the Mysore District, have forgotten them. The names, as usual, represent some material object, such as a plant or an animal, and the members of a division observe the usual prohibitions against eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing that division. The following are a few of them :—Kastúri (ಕಸ್ಟೂರಿ musk) kula, Sámantigé (ಸ್ಯಾಮಂತಿಕೆ crysanthemum) kula, Nágara (ನಾಗರ cobra) kula, Kendávare (ಕಂದಾವರೆ red lotus) kula, and Rávaḷa (ರಾವಳಿ a drug) kula.

The Sajjana Kumbáras had, they say, one hundred and eight divisions formerly, but many of them having subsequently become Lingáyats, the number has been reduced to sixteen. Some of them bear the names of material objects to which they show the usual respect, while most of them bear territorial names.

The Lingáyat Kumbáras are also said to have similar exogamous divisions but those of them who live in towns give out, like other Lingáyats, five gótras named after Rúpuka, Dáruka, Gajakarṇa, Ghantakarṇa and Visvakarṇa.

A woman is considered impure for ten days on giving birth to a child. During this period of pollution, the woman is confined in a room at the door of which are placed an old shoe and a crowbar to scare away the evil spirits. Old rags are received from the neighbours for the child's bed. On the eleventh day, the mother and the

Birth ceremonies.

child are bathed and the mother is given some stimulating drugs to keep warm. For the purification ceremony, the Kannaḍa Kumbáras invite a Brahman, while the others have their own priests. The child is named and put into a cradle in the evening. In some cases either an astrologer or a soothsayer is consulted as to the name.

Unlike the other Lingáyats, the Lingáyat Kumbáras observe birth pollution for ten days, but the ceremonies connected with the birth are the same as those among other Lingáyats. On the day of the birth of the child, a Jangama priest is called. His feet are washed and a drop of this water is put into the child's mouth. On the eleventh day, after the bath, a Linga is given to the child which the mother keeps with her till he is old enough to take charge of it.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. Mópúrappa may be taken as a name very commonly used among them. Opprobrious names are given, and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames such as Gidda (dwarf), Kariya (black), Kempa (red) are also common.

The confined woman becomes fully purified only at the end of the third month, when she offers Púja to Ganga at a well and visits a temple in the evening. The tonsure ceremony to the child takes place generally in the third year and in the case of Lingáyat Kumbáras, Diksha or the ceremony of initiation into the mysteries of the Lingáyat cult, takes place when the child is about ten years of age.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is allowed and practised when a man has no natural-born son alive. A brother's son or a boy belonging to the same division, is preferred; but if no such boy is available an outsider may be taken. A man may adopt his daughter's or sister's son, but cannot adopt his own brother. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes of a similar status.

#### Marriage.

Marriages may be infant or adult; but of late, owing to the influence of higher castes, such as Brahmans, infant marriage is becoming very popular among the well-to-do people and those living in towns. As already observed, they have both endogamous and exogamous divisions and there is nothing peculiar to the caste in the matter of prohibited relationships for marriages. Exchange of daughters is allowed but is not common. Polygamy is permitted and is practised only when the first wife either has no children or is afflicted with an incurable disease. But polyandry is unknown.

For settling the marriage, the bridegroom's party go to the girl's house announcing that they wish "to eat sweets." The Oppu Vilya, (ಒಪ್ಪು ವೀಲ್ಯ) or agreement by exchange of Tambúla, then takes place and some presents are given to the girl.

The marriage proper may take place either in the boy's or in the girl's house. The first day is devoted to the worship of their family god (god's feast) and to the propitiation of the deceased ancestors by the offerings of clothes and food, before a Kalasa installed in their name. On the evening of that day, a pandal is erected on twelve pillars, one of which, the milk-post, is brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle of either party and set up by married women. In the same night, Arivéni (or sacred pots) are brought from another Kumbára's house.

Next day early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom get their nails pared and bathe in Malenra. After presenting some bangles to married women, the girl is made to put on new bangles, and new clothes and ornaments. This is styled Banna Bangára Sástra (ಬನ್ನ ಬಂಗಾರಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) ceremony of clothing and ornamenting). The bridegroom, in the meanwhile, is dressed in new clothes and conducted to the temple. After a short stay there, when the clothes, jewels, turmeric and other articles are sent to the girl's house, he is taken to the marriage pandal by his parents-in-law, with a Bháshinga tied to the forehead, and a dagger in his hand. An Arati is waved before him at the entrance and then he goes and stands on the dais facing the west. The bride is brought there by her maternal uncle and made to stand opposite to him with a screen dividing the two.

Then the throwing of cummin seed and jaggory on each other's head at the appointed time, pouring of Dháre water, tying of the Táli and Kankanas and other items take place in the usual course as in other castes. After going round the "Milk-post" and worshipping the Arundhati star, the couple bow before the Arivéni pots, get the Bháshingas removed by the maternal uncle and eat the common meal served in dishes before the Arivéni pots.

Among the Sajjana Kumbáras, the Púja of their tribal deity Gunda Brahma is held the next day. All bathe and put on Maḍi (washed) clothes. The image of the god is brought from their Kattémanc for the occasion and the

Púja is done by a man of the Dévara sub-division. After worship, the idol is taken in procession through all the Kumbára streets. On return to the house, the bridal pair make their offerings to the god. Then Tírtha and Prasáda are distributed to all.

The Nágavali takes place the next day, in which the chief events are the bringing of ant-hill earth, worshipping pandal posts and the worship of Simhásana in the evening. The Sajjana Kumbáras are very punctilious in the matter of distribution of Tábúlas. For example, fourteen Tábúlas must be given for Gauda division, eight Tábúlas for each of Dévara and Chaudri divisions and six Tábúlas for Madanapu division. Tábúlas are also set apart on this occasion for other sections of Kumbáras. This night "Milk-post" is loosened and the next day the bride and the bridegroom, with some of their relatives, go to the bridegroom's village, and after a sojourn of a few days there, the bride returns to her father's house.

Some of them get a Brahman to regulate their ceremonies while others perform them under the direction of their own Gowḍa.

The bride price varies from twenty-five rupees to fifty rupees. A widower has not to pay anything more but, as a matter of fact, an additional jewel styled Savati Bangára (ಸವತಿಬಂಗಾರ co-wife's gold) is generally demanded.

If the girl has already come of age, the couple are generally allowed to live together from any subsequent auspicious day, without any further ceremony, but some observe the custom of having a separate ceremonial for it. In such a case, the ceremony begins on a Thursday and ends on a Saturday. It is the custom in some places to allow a period of three months to elapse between the marriage and the consummation ceremony.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, when she is made to live in a shed of green leaves. The usual precautions against the attacks of evil spirits are taken and an elderly woman sleeps with the girl during the nights. She bathes on the fourth day, but is not admitted into the inner part of the house till the sixteenth day has passed, when she is taken to a river and does Gangápúja. If the girl has been already married, the Osage ceremony takes place this day. In the case of unmarried girls, Osage is not observed now but is put off to some day before the ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence.

Widow marriage is generally allowed, but is not popular with some sections, especially that of Sajjana Kumbáras, though some of them seem anxious to reintroduce the practice. Widow marriage.

The remarried widow labours, as in other castes of a similar status, under such disadvantages as not entering the marriage pandal and her offspring forming a separate line at least for three generations. The bride-price is Rs. 12½. No regularly married woman takes part in the ceremonies and in some places they do not see the face of the remarried widow for three days.

Divorce is not popular, and takes place only among the more backward portion of the caste living in villages. The divorced woman may not marry a second time. If the divorce is brought about by the adultery of the woman with a man of the same caste, the latter has to pay the aggrieved husband his marriage expenses. Adultery with a man of the same caste may be condoned on payment of a small fine. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste may be married to him in the lower form of marriage styled Kúḍaváli (union). Divorce.

Except in the case of lepers or persons who meet with an unnatural death, by wild beasts or otherwise, the corpses of Kumbáras are buried. All carry the dead body in a lying posture, except the Lingáyats, who carry it in a sitting posture and bury it according to the ceremonies observed by other Lingáyats. Among the Sajjana Kumbáras persons carrying the corpse put on a Janivára (sacred thread) and also invest the dead body with one. These threads are removed and thrown into the grave while filling it up. If a widow survives, she is made to exchange Tumbúla with the dead body, as indicating a final farewell. After interment all go to a well or a river, bathe and return to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. Death ceremony.

The third and eleventh day ceremonies take place as in other castes, such as Okkaligas. They observe pollution for ten days for the nearest agnates, and three days for more distant ones. For the death of a daughter's son, they simply bathe over head to get rid of the pollution. They do not observe Sráddhas, but on the Mahálaya New-moon day, they offer rice doles and money to Brahmans to propitiate all the deceased ancestors.

Kumbáras worship both Siva and Vishnu as well as the ordinary local deities. Even the Lingáyats among Religion.

them, reverence Vishnu and sometimes bear Vaishnava names. Their tribal god is known by the name of Kumbhésvara (god of pots) to whom the non-Lingáyat Kumbáras offer animal sacrifice. At Minakanagurki, in the Goribidnur Taluk, there is a temple dedicated to one Kondappa who had been an Avadhúta during his life-time. An annual Játra is held at this spot and they generally take advantage of the occasion to settle their caste disputes.

They worship also the implements of their profession, such as the kiln, Chakra or the wheel, Kòlu or the stick with which they turn the wheel, and the stone used for beating and finally giving shape to the vessels. They hold a grand worship of their tribal god during marriages on the day after the Dháre.

Mópúri Bhairava is another of their special deities of which they often keep an image in their houses for worship.

Occupation.

Kumbáras have generally adhered to their original industry, that is, making of pots and tiles. They used to dye cloths formerly, but that profession has almost completely gone out of use now. The potter is one of the recognised village functionaries, and in places still under the influence of the old customary régime, he gets his yearly fees in kind and supplies earthen pots free to the raiyats. He was also bound to supply pots required for communal purposes, such as Púja of the village deity or common feeding. He ranks higher than the washerman and the barber.

The Kumbára works with the most rudimentary tools. He gets his earth out of a field set apart for the purpose, or digs it out of the bed of a tank. The clay is well mixed by being trodden on, and is generally transported in carts to the place of work. The wheel is made of twigs and leaves bound together on two cross twigs and plastered over with mud mixed with hair or other similar binding material. It turns on a pivot (an iron peg or nail) fixed on a pedestal of mud. He turns it about deftly with a long stick which helps him to do work without bending his back.

The tiles and pots are turned out with considerable speed and they are all dried in the sun and afterwards baked in a round oven in which the articles are placed.

Social  
status.

Kumbáras are regarded as pretty high among the Súdra classes and come next only to Okkaligas and Kurubas. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The Kannada section of the Kumbáras, it is said, admit persons of higher castes into their own, but the other division strictly prohibit

such conversion. But all sections readmit persons thrown out of their caste, the usual ceremony, such as procuring them Tírtha and Prasáda, slightly burning the tongue with a gold bit or a margosa twig, being observed. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas and Kurubas, and Bestas, Agasas and Bédas eat in their houses. Kumbáras are flesh eaters, but abstain from liquor. They belong to the Eighteen Phanas and their caste sign, namely, the wheel, is shown on the spoon and the ladle, the insignia of the Eighteen Phanas, and they are served by the Chalavádi, the servant of their Phana group.

Kumbáras are a well-organised body and each section has its own caste government, but it is said that whenever an important question affecting the whole caste has to be considered, the headmen of all these divisions join together. During marriages not only are the heads of their own groups respected, but those of other divisions are given Maryáda Tábúlas. Thus, it is said, that when a marriage takes place in the house of a Kumbára of the Lingáyat persuasion, Tábúlas are given or sent to the headmen of the non-Lingáyat Kumbára group.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. The women of the Sajjana Kumbára section do not put on the nose screw; and when questioned as to the origin of the custom, they say that the man who went to fetch it during a marriage did not return in time and the marriage had to be performed without it. Hence the women could not wear the ornament afterwards. Kumbára women get tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty, with such ordinary designs as a plantain tree, and a bunch of glass bangles (ಬಳ್ಳೆಮೆಲಾ ರ).

Tribal  
organiza-  
tion.

Miscellane-  
ous.





(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**III.**

**BEDA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## BEDAS.

The Bédas ಬೇಡರು called Bōyi ಬೋಯಿ in Telugu and Vēdan ವೇಡನ್ in Tamil number according to the latest Census 244,990, comprising 123,345 males and 121,645 females. Of these about three-tenths are in the Chitaldrug District and three-tenths in the Kolar and Tumkur Districts together, the rest being in the remaining five districts. Number.

The name *Nāyaka* (ನಾಯಕ chief) or *Nāyakanamakkaṇ* (ನಾಯಕನ ಮಕ್ಕಳು chief's children) is sometimes applied to this caste. They also style themselves as the members of Valmiki's family or members of Kannayya's caste. *Gurikara* (ಗುರಿಕಾರ a marksman) and *Kirala* (ಕಿರಾಲ the cruel) are often given as their nicknames. Names.

*Bēda* (ಬೇಡ) sometimes written *Biḡada* (ಬಿಬಡ) is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Vyādha* (ವ್ಯಾಧ) meaning a hunter and shows what the original occupation of the caste was. They call themselves in Telugu *Dora-biḡada* (king's children) and occasionally as *Pāyegars*, the latter appellation being appropriated as many of these who gathered a larger band of predatory followers than usual around them, succeeded in setting themselves up in the troublous days of the common dissolution of authority during the two or three centuries preceding the last, as Palyegars or chiefs of a *Palga* (ಪಾಲ್ಗ) or a settlement.

The connection with Valmiki is founded on a tradition that the great author of the epic Ramayana was of this caste before his conversion. He was a highway robber of more than usual rapacity, and when he attacked the Sage Vasishta, the latter showed him the sin of his bad life and proved its worthlessness even in a worldly sense, when his own wife for whom he had been undergoing all this risk, declined to share the accountability

for his sins. The man was so ignorant that he could not pronounce the holy name of Rama and the teacher had to adopt the expedient of making him repeat *mara* (a tree in Kannada) in rapid succession, to make him meditate about *Rama*. As a result of his long meditation, the repenting hunter and robber got divine wisdom, and was able to compose the grand epic that has obtained such renown in the world. He subsequently had twelve sons who are claimed to be the progenitors of the present caste. It is hardly necessary to add that all this has no support in the Ramayana itself. Perhaps its germ is to be found in the statement therein, that, being induced by Nārada and Brahma to compose the immortal epic, the Rishi Valmiki threw himself into *Yoga-Samādhi*, when all the facts of Rama's earthly career became as clear to him as a fruit held in his palm or in his hand, and enabled him to compass his end.

Another ingenious explanation is given of the term Vālmīkaru as applied to Bēḷas, which says that they are so called because during the first rains of the year they dig ant-hills, take out winged ants therein and eat them.

Origin and  
history.

As some of the names of the caste unmistakably indicate, the Bēḷas were originally a wild tribe living in jungles and mountains and supporting themselves by hunting. They used to infest the highways for robbery and were considered fit instruments for all acts of rapine and cruelty. Hence they were known as *Kirāḷas* (ಕಿರಾಲೆ the cruel). A story of Kannayya, an eponymous leader of this caste, is of some significance as showing the original occupation of the caste or at any rate its ideal. He was a devotee of Siva and was finding fault with the usual form of worship in which the worshipper placed a dish of food before his god but subsequently ate it himself. When, in order to test him, God Siva surprised him in an inaccessible jungle in the guise of a hungry guest and asked for food, he was offered some meat of an animal killed in the jungle, and when after a while the guest was in danger of losing an eye from disease, Kannayya plucked out his own and offered to replace the poor wayfarer's lost organ. Siva was of course gratified and offered the devotee some boon. But he was quite content with his lot and would have none of it. He had all that he wanted, a gruel in an earthen pot, children round a common earthen eating plate, a burning faggot for light and a highway for robbery, what more needed he?

Their early habits well fitted them for the army of which in later times they became a most important element. They were largely employed in the rank and file of the armies of Vijayanagar Empire. They gradually spread to the south, and by the time of Hyder Ali, they not only constituted the pick of his army, but many of the caste had set themselves up as petty chiefs known as Palyegars who had also men of the same caste in their armies. Buchanan writing in 1800 says of them :—

Throughout these hills (*near Magadi, Bangalore District*), which extend northward from *Capuladurga*, are many cultivated spots in which during *Tippoo's* government were settled many *Bagdaru* or hunters who received twelve *pagodas* (£ 1-5s) a year and served as irregular troops whenever required. Being accustomed to pursue tigers and deer in the woods, they were excellent marksmen with their matchlocks, and indefatigable in following their prey ; which in the time of war, was the life and property of every helpless creature that came in their way. During the wars of *Hyder* and his son, these men were chief instruments in the terrible depredations committed in the lower Carnatic. They were also frequently employed with success against the *Polygars*, whose followers were men of a similar description. At present, as they receive no pay, they are obliged to apply more closely to agriculture ; for in that way they always employed their leisure ; and there is a prospect of their becoming a quiet and industrious people although they still retain their arms and an anxious desire for plunder.

With the advent of more peaceful times, this expectation about the habits and occupation of these people has been fully realized. Many of them are employed as village watchmen or *Tataris*, and also find employment as peons in the Police and Revenue Departments of Government.

They seem to be originally a Telugu speaking people, but after long settlement, those of the Kannada districts have adopted that language as their mother tongue. Language.

The following endogamous divisions are found in the caste :—

Endoga-  
mous divi-  
sions.

*Uru Bédas* (ಉರು ಬೇಡರು) called in Telugu, *Chinna Boyis* (ಚಿನ್ನ ಬೋಯಿ ನಾಂಡು).

*Myāsa Bédas* (ಮ್ಯಾಸ ಬೇಡರು) Sometimes called *Pellda Boyis* (ಪೆಡ್ಡ ಬೋಯಿ ನಾಂಡು) and *Chenchûs* (ಚೆಂಚುಲು).

*Gudisi* or *gudlu Bédas* (ಗುಡು ಬೇಡರು) called also *ಗುಂತಬೋಯಿ ನಾಂಡು* and nicknamed (ಅಡ್ಡ ಚೇತೈಲವಾಳ್ಳು) (cross-handed).

*Māremmāna Bédas* (ಮಾರೆಮ್ಮನ ಬೇಡರು) also called *Mutylamma* or *Urume Bédas* (ಮುತ್ಯಾಲಮ್ಮ ಅಥವಾ ಉರುಮೆ ಬೇಡರು) and *Sadara Bédas* (ಸದರ ಬೇಡರು).



*Halu Bédas* (ಹಾಲು ಬೇಡರು).

*Monda Bédas* (ಮೊಂಡ ಬೇಡರು).

There are a few more divisions such as those named *Bārīka* (ಬಾರಿಕ), *Goliga* (ಗೋಲಿಗ), *Gadlulabala* (ಗದ್ದಲಬಾಲ), *Muddalu* (ಮುದ್ದಲು) and *Patra* (ಪಟ್ರ) which are returned as endogamous.

It is, however, probable that they are nothing but synonyms of one or another of the divisions already mentioned.

Uru Bedas are by far the largest division of the caste, and are so called because of their residence in towns and villages, unlike, for example, Monda Bedas, a wandering tribe, who are beggars by profession.

Myasa Bedas are found mostly in the Chitaldrug District. They profess to derive their name from *mesha* (ಮೇಷ), a goat, the name of the first sign of the Zodiac, Aries. They form an interesting division and have some peculiar customs such as circumcision, and abstaining from eating fowls and pigs. They lived mostly in jungles till recently; many have since taken to living in towns and villages. It deserves to be ascertained how far their customs have been moulded by Mussulman influences. They seem to be the same as the forest tribe known as Chenchus.

Gudisi or gudlu Bedas (ಗುಡಿಸಿ, ಗುಡ್ಲು ಬೇಡರು) are so called on account of their living in *gudlu* or temporary huts. They are an inferior division.

The significance of the term Sadara Bēda could not be ascertained. The appellation of Halu Bedas (*i.e.* milk Bedas) is used to indicate their superiority to other divisions.

Monda\* Bedas are said to be the descendants of a man of the Mandala (ಮಂಡಲ) exogamous section, who through ignorance married a girl of the same section. This was discovered too late and the couple were expelled from the village and were made to live outside,—eking out their living by beggary. Even now persons of this division never enter the houses of the other Bedas, and they are not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala section.

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\* Monda (ಮೊಂಡ) means in Kannada, an indolent or rude or obstinate fellow

The caste is divided into a number of exogamous divisions, and their integrity is kept up with the utmost scrupulousness. The tradition regarding the origin of these divisions is as follows :—

Exogamous divisions.

The descendants of *Valmiki* by his twelve sons fell out with one another and had a fight amongst themselves, in the course of which many lives were lost. The eldest of these sons called Mandala-Manibattu-Razu (ಮಂಡಲಮನಿಬತ್ತು ರಾಜ) hearing of the carnage, went to the scene of the quarrel to reprimand them. The combatants were afraid of meeting him and fleeing from the place hid themselves in various places. After a search they were discovered, some hiding under washerman's tubs, some in ant-hills, some in hills and such other places. The chief divided them into separate groups, distinguished each by the hiding place of its representatives, himself becoming the head of the Manda division. Even now on marriage and other occasions, a *timbuta* is given in the name of Mandakamani-batta Razu and sometimes in that of his servant also who belonged to the Aukila section. Some of the exogamous divisions are named in the appendix.

There are said to be altogether 101 such divisions, but the names of all of them could not be ascertained. Most of them are apparently totemistic and as usual bear the names of plants and animals. But except in a few instances,—not however, quite authenticated, no special regard seems to be paid to the particular *totem* in any respect.

There are no hypergamous divisions.

The names of children are generally taken either from those of their household gods or of their ancestors. In some families on the 5th or the 7th day of the birth of a child, an elderly woman consults a Koramma woman, professing to be a soothsayer, as to the name to be given to the child. The Koramma woman, after consulting her signs in her usual manner, gives out the name, which generally happens to be the name of the family god or of an ancestor of the child's parents. Only one name is given, but sometimes an additional name is tacked on just before marriage if a match otherwise agreeable to all parties, is found not to answer the tests of astrological calculation.

Superstitions in names.

There are no names specially appropriated by this caste; the following are given as examples of common names occurring therein :—

Male	Female
<i>Kadiriga</i> (ಕದರಿಗ)	<i>Kadiri</i> (ಕದರಿ)
<i>Sanjica</i> (ಸಂಜೀವ)	<i>Sanjiri</i> (ಸಂಜೀವಿ)
<i>Māra</i> (ಮಾರ)	<i>Bommi</i> (ಬೊಮ್ಮಿ)
<i>Bāra</i> (ಬೋರ)	<i>O'bi</i> (ಒಬಿ)
<i>Nāga</i> (ನಾಗ)	<i>Yerri</i> (ಯರಿ)
<i>Konda</i> (ಕೊಂಡ)	<i>Chaudamma</i> (ಚೌಡಮ್ಮ)

Nicknames are given either to denote occupation or to describe size and appearance, such as *Leula Vādu* a cowherd; *Gorralodu* (ಗೊರ್ರಲೋಡು) sheep tender; *Chevvulodu* (ಚವ್ವಲೋಡು) long eared; *Mótodu* (ಮೋಟೋಡು) dwarf.

A child born after the parents have successively lost a number of children in childhood, is thrown on a manure heap placed on a sieve and taken back. Sometimes it is thrown on its face. Its right nostril is bored and a nose screw put on.

Names like the following are given to such children :—*Tippa* (ತಿಪ್ಪ); *Tippi* (ತಿಪ್ಪಿ) a manure heap; *Bārta* (ಬಾರ್ತ) *Bārti* (ಬಾರ್ತಿ) thrown on the face; *Gunda* (ಗುಂಡ) *Gundi* (ಗುಂಡಿ) round stone; *Pullākulodu* (ಪುಲ್ಲಾಕುಲೋಡು) thrown-out leaves; *Paradēs'i* (ಪರದೇಸಿ) foreigner; *Pāresi* (ಪಾರೇಸಿ) one cast out; *Adari* (ಅಡವಿ) jungle; *Kalla* (ಕಲ್ಲ) stone; *Gilaga* (ಗಿಡಗ) hawk; *Kaṭiga* (ಕಾಟಗ) a man of the desert; *Jararāya* (ಜವರಾಯ) or Yama, the god of death; *Sachchēvādu* (ಸಚ್ಚೇವಾಡು) one likely to die.

When an unusual number of girls are born in succession, the last born child is given the name of *Santamma* (ಶಾಂತಮ್ಮ) or *Sakamma* (ಸಾಕಮ್ಮ), these names meaning that the female children are enough and are no more needed. The belief is that thereafter no female children would be born, and if the mother gives birth to any children at all, they would all be male ones. The saying is “ಸಾಕು ಸಾಕು ಶಾಂತಮ್ಮ ಬೇಕು ಬೇಕು ಬೆನವಣ್ಣ” which means that *Santammas* (denoting female children) are enough and *Benavannas* (standing for males) are wanted.

Marriage.

Polygamy is allowed though as a matter of fact, it is rarely resorted to except when such reasons as barrenness, or incurable disease, of the first wife exist. Polyandry is unknown.

A marriage is either regular or irregular, the latter is held somewhat in lower repute and is variously known as *Kudike* (ಕೂಡಿಕೆ union), *Sirudike* (ಸಿರುಡಿಕೆ, the giving of a woman's garment as a present by the man).

Marriage in the section to which either one's own mother, paternal grandmother or maternal grandmother belongs, is allowed, provided this section is different from that of the person. The only other formula not covered by the rule of exogamy is that the boy and the girl should not be related to each other either by affinity or by analogy as brother and sister or parent and child. Two sisters may be married by one man, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is sanctioned, but one may marry a younger sister's daughter only when inevitable, as when a widower cannot procure any other girl to marry. A sister's daughter may be married to a man's son, in which case the man himself cannot marry another daughter of the same sister.

Marriage is generally of adults, though infants are often so united. A woman may remain without marriage all through her life, though few or none do so by choice. A woman dying without marriage is carried by men without a bier and interred with the face downwards, no funeral ceremonies being observed.

The negotiations for a regular marriage are carried on by the parents or guardians of the parties, the initiative being generally taken by the male's side. The astrologer is consulted and where the horoscopes are wanting, the stars corresponding to the first letters of the names of the parties according to a settled convention, are taken as representing the nativity of the parties. If they are pronounced to be suitable, a day is fixed by him and the contracting parties exchange betel-leaves with nuts as an earnest of their agreement, in the presence of the elders. The girl is given a present of a cloth and a feast is generally held. After this the girl cannot be given in marriage to another without the consent of the other party. This preliminary event is however non-essential and is often omitted or considerably shortened.

Ceremonies  
of marriage

The ceremonies of marriage proper begin with *Devanuta* or god's feast. Five new earthen pots painted red and white are brought from the potter's house and some date fruits, uncooked rice, and *dhall*, glass bangles and some other articles are placed in each of them, with an oil light in

each of the earthen dishes covering them as lids. These pots with a *katasu* (i.e. a small metallic vessel with a coconut over it) are placed in a room set apart for the purpose and worshipped as representing the marriage deity. A dinner also is given, sheep or goats being specially killed for the occasion.

On the second day, *chappara* or marriage booth is constructed. This should have twelve posts of which one is called the *milk post* or marriage pillar and should be green wood of the mango or *Hilucina* tree. In the night, the bride's party repair to a place outside the town, where on a spot washed with cowdung water, they place cooked food on three plantain leaves as an offering, and consecrate it with water dyed red with saffron and lime, and return home without looking back.

On the third day, the bride and bridegroom are bathed in their respective houses. They are seated on plank seats and are besmeared with saffron, and the ceremony is known as ಅರಣಿ ಪಾಸು or the saffron ceremony or ಮದವಣಿಗೆ ಪಾಸು or bride or bridegroom ceremony.

The fourth is the chief day of the ceremony. Early in the morning the bridegroom is brought to the bride's house. He is made to sit by the side of the bride. The village barber comes and pares the nails of the bride and bridegroom. Then the couple are given a bath called *malé niru* in Kannada and *bôla nîrû* in Telugu. They stand one stooping over the other, and some married women pour water from four vessels. After this the bridegroom is sent out with a party to a place outside the village and sits under a tree. From there a procession of the people of his party go to the bride's house, taking with them in a bamboo box jewels and cloths intended for her and other sundry articles such as rice, fruit and other edible articles, which they present to the bride. Then her party go in procession led by a married woman carrying a *katasu* in her hand. They in their turn bring to the bridegroom cloths, toe-rings, *blushings* or the marriage coronet and other presents. The bridegroom puts on all these things and holding a dagger is taken to the marriage booth. The two parties meet near the marriage pavilions and a show of resistance is offered by each party throwing ball-pounded rice (called ಎದುರಕ್ಕಿ) at the other. The bridegroom is conducted to the marriage dais and is made to stand there. In the meantime the bride is

decorated and is brought to the pandal with the *bhāshinga* and placed standing opposite the bridegroom with a cloth held as a screen between them. The *Purohit* is then called in, and the bride and bridegroom throw on each other's head some cummin seed and jaggory, the girl if small in stature being held up by her maternal uncle or other near relative.

The *tali*\* is touched by all those present, and the bridegroom with the countenance and blessing of the men assembled, ties it round the neck of the bride. Both the bride and the bridegroom tie the *kankana*† to their wrists and stand facing each other. Their hands are joined together and hold a coconut on which milk is poured first by the parents of the bride, and then by those of the bridegroom, and then by the whole assembly.

The married couple then sit side by side with the fringes of their cloths tied together. Some elderly married women besmear them with saffron and put over them *sése*, that is rice from both their hands first on the knees, then on the shoulders and then on the heads of the happy couple. The assembly then disperses after the distribution of *Pan-supari*.

In the evening the couple are shown the star called Arundhati.‡

Another ceremony that takes place that day, is that of partaking of *ಬಸ್ಯ* or common meal. Two or three persons from both sides sit together and eat food from a common dish to indicate the union of both the parties.

On the last day called the *Nagavali* day, the *kankana* or wrist thread is taken off and *pūja* is made to what is called *Simhasana* (or seat) and to a heap of arecanut and betel-leaves and the latter articles distributed to the assembly. A certain order is observed in *tambula*-giving: Kamayya (the eponymous hero), Valmiki and the household deity are named first and then the local caste head (*Katte Mane Yajaman*) and the convener (or headle), and then the others of the assembly get the leaves in turn.

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\* The small gold disc worn by a married woman as a symbol of the married state.

† This is a twisted thread of black and white wool, with a turmeric root and an iron-ring tied to it.

‡ Arundhati is the wife of Vasishtha, the sage, and is believed to be in the constellation of stars known as the Great Bear.

The next two days are employed in complimentary visits and feasting among the two parties.

#### Expenses.

The bride's price or *tera* in Kannada, and *oli* (ಒಲಿ) in Telugu, is Rs. 12. But a discount of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Rs. is allowed if asked for, except when a widower marries a maid, when the full amount of *tera* namely Rs. 12, and sometimes even a *Mādu* (ಮಾಡು) of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Rs. more is levied.

Marriage expenses in a family of moderate means amount to the bride's party to Rs. 30 ; the bridegroom's party incur about Rs. 100, to be spent on jewels, *tera* and feeding expenses. There is no particular feeling that the present expenditure is in any way exorbitant ; and no movement in favor of reduction is discernible or indeed called for.

#### Puberty.

When a girl first shows signs of womanhood, she is considered impure for three days, and does not come in contact with the other members of the family. She cannot use the metal plate for eating her meal which is placed on leaves for her. She bathes on the fourth day and the washerman supplies her with a fresh washed cloth. A shed of green leaves (generally of Margosa), is put up on an auspicious day, in which the girl remains apart for three nights getting a particularly rich food consisting of cocoanut, gingelly, pulses and jaggory, the while. She is exhibited in the evenings seated, dressed and decorated, in the company of married women who congregate for the show. Songs are sung and saffron and *kunkuma* and *pan-supari* are distributed to all the visitors. During this period the girl is kept awake at nights and is allowed to sleep only in day time, for fear that some evil spirit (which prowls about only in the dark) might take hold of her.

Intimation of the event is sent by the village washerman to the parents of the husband of such girl if she is already married, and it is considered the correct thing for the husband and wife beginning to live together within sixteen days. If the girl should happen to be unmarried, they try to get her married within the year of her attaining this age. They have a saying that a third head should not appear in the year of marriage, and so where the girl that is married is already of an age to live in her husband's company, the common living is put off for at least three months.

Widow marriage is allowed and generally practised but the form differs considerably from the regular marriage, and is styled union or *kudike* or the giving of a cloth to wear (ಕೀರಲಡಿಕ್) or the tying of a tali. Widow marriage.

The ceremony is simple and generally comes off in the evening. The match as may be expected is as a rule settled by the consent of the parties and in most cases is preceded by a *de facto* union. The head and others of the caste assemble in front of the woman's house who comes out after having had a bath. The new husband presents her with a new cloth which she puts on. The Yajman to whom their intention is formally announced gives his sanction to the union. Thereafter the husband ties the *tali* which is the essential and the binding portion of the ceremony. A fine called *Kannayyana Kanike* (ಕನ್ನಯ್ಯನ ಕಾಣಿಕೆ) is levied from the man. *Pan-supari* is distributed and a feast is held afterwards. The same form is observed in the case of divorced women remarrying, and of an unmarried girl who has clandestinely conceived being married to her lover; sometimes this form is also resorted to in preference to the more regular one to save expense.

A woman married in this form has certain disabilities. She is not allowed to take part in the ceremonies of a regular marriage and is not, allowed even to enter the marriage *pandal*. She cannot carry the *kalasa* on any auspicious day. Her issue for two or three generations at least are deprived of the privileges of regular marriage. The *kudike* marriage section is kept separate, and in some places becomes so defined that these disabilities continue to attach to it for generations together.

With regard to the right of inheritance, as soon as a widow is remarried, she becomes divested of her rights to the previous husband's property and even her children continue in his family. This is of course compensated for by the acquisition of title to her second husband's property.

A widow cannot marry any one belonging to her first husband's *gotra* or division; much less therefore his elder or younger brother.

Loss of caste and adultery are good grounds for divorce. The aggrieved party, generally the husband, complains to the caste Yajman regarding the conduct of his partner and obtains his sanction for divorce in Divorce.



the caste assembly who fully enter into the details and find out which party is to blame. If the charge is made out against the wife, the husband tears her *tali* in token of separation and gets back the jewels which he might have given her during their conjugal life. He has to pay a fine to the caste.

The woman thus divorced is married in *kudike* form, to another (generally her paramour) who pays to the previous husband, the *tera* amount and the expenses of the marriage, and has also to pay a fine to the caste and stand the expense of feeding the castemen. It is said that adultery on the part of the husband is also a good reason for divorce and the husband in this case gets back neither the *tera* amount nor the marriage expenses.

#### Adultery.

If the married woman is guilty of adultery with a man of the same or a higher caste it can be expiated for at the option of the husband by payment of a small fine to the caste.

#### Dedication of Basavis.

The practice of making '*Basavis*'\* of women obtains in this caste. The reasons that lead a parent to take this step are generally one of the following:—When there are no male children, the eldest daughter may be converted to a *Basavi*, when she remains permanently in her father's house, inherits the property and in all possible respects takes the place of a son. This may be done in accordance with a vow taken when the girl is afflicted with any dangerous illness, this conversion into a *Basavi* being, in opposition to all civilized notions, regarded as a dedication to God's service.

The dedication of *Basavi* is made by a ceremony which, as far as possible, resembles a marriage. The *Chappara* (marriage pavilion) with 12 pillars is erected, a procession goes to a temple where the girl is seated by the side of a dagger and the *tali* (marriage emblem) tied to her by the *Purohit* or by a maternal uncle or maternal uncle's son. A feast is given to the castemen; and after three days the girl is free to take to her bed any man who is not of a lower caste than her own. The first person who receives

\* Near Kurubatti Mailari (ಕುರುಬತ್ತಿ ಮೈಲಾರಿ) temple, it is said that *Basavis* are dedicated in a large number on the day of God's marriage. (ಗೌರೀನಾಥನ ದಿನ). The ceremony is very simple. Girls are brought to the temple after bathing and in front of it *kankanas* and *talis* are tied to them. They have to sleep that night in the temple.

her favors has generally to pay her father the expenses incurred by him for making her a Basavi. Her issue become legitimate and are entitled to a share of their grandfather's property. For purposes of marriage, the issue of such Basavi are as eligible as those of the regular marriage division.

Besides these, who are known as born Basavis (*puttu basari*, ಪುಟ್ಟಬಸವಿ), there is yet another class of public women called Kulam Biddalu (ಕುಲಂಬಿಡ್ಡಲು) or children of the caste who are dedicated as follows:—

A widow even with issue and a divorced woman may be made children of the caste after paying a fine to the caste and standing the expense of a feast according to her means. She asks for permission formally at the meeting of the caste men, who as a token of consent give her a handful of the food prepared for the feast which she partakes of along with them. She has thereafter the license to share her bed with strangers (not of an inferior caste) as a *Basari* has. The chief distinction between the two is that the issue of a *Basari* are regarded as legitimate for all purposes while those of a daughter of the caste, though legitimate, rank only as the issue of a '*Kudike*' or conventional marriage.

From the above, it may be inferred that sexual license before marriage is not visited with any condign punishment. When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will be married to her paramour in *kudike* form if he is of the same caste. If he would not have her or is of a higher caste, a fine will be levied and she will be made a child of the caste, but if the paramour is of lower caste she loses her caste.

In cases of regular marriages no courtship is known, and the parents of the parties bring about the connection. But the *kudike* marriages are as a rule by courtship and consent of the parties. The average age of the boy to marry may be taken as about eighteen.

The dead among them are buried except such as are afflicted with leprosy or other incurable cutaneous diseases, whose bodies are burnt.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

On the death of a person, the body is washed and wrapped up in a new cloth. Two new earthen pots are brought, and in one of them a small quantity of rice is

cooked in front of the house. But this ceremony is very often dispensed with. The body is placed on a bier made of bamboo or *Kalli* (*Euphorbia Tirukalli*). Betel-leaves and nuts are crushed and the paste is put in the mouth of the dead body. The relatives and friends of the deceased put rice in the eyes of the deceased's body and sometimes beat their mouths. After this, the body is carried by four persons to the burial ground, the chief mourner heading the procession with fire in one hand and the pot with the cooked rice in the other. As soon as the carriers and mourners pass away, a woman in the house, if present, a widow, sprinkles cowdung water on the place where the body had been kept and cleans it. Half the way, the body is kept on the ground and balls of cooked rice are thrown around the body. It is then carried straight to the burial ground. By this time, a *Mádiga* of the village will have dug a grave ready, for which labor a small fee is paid. The body is carried round the grave three times and is then lowered into it. The bier is taken out, together with any jewels which the deceased might have worn at the time of death. The body is then laid on the back with the head to the South and the grave is closed in. A small mound is raised on the ground, and four quarter-anna pieces are buried, on the four corners of it. Another anna is placed on the grave for *kádupapa* (ಕಾಡುಪಾಪ) and is intended to be the price of the ground taken up for the grave, and this is taken by the *Holeya* of the village. Thereafter the chief mourner, with an earthen pot filled with water, is made to go round the grave three times, and at the end of each turn, a stone is thrown at the vessel by some by-stander, so as to make a hole. With the water thus leaking he comes three rounds and then breaks the vessel on the grave with his back turned towards it and goes away without looking back. The chief mourner and the persons that carried the body wash themselves in a tank or river and return home in wet cloths. By this time, the house has been cleaned and on the spot where the deceased expired, has been kept a light on a winnow (ವೊರ) and an *Yakku* twig, which the party must see before they go to their houses.

If the deceased is only a child or unmarried girl, no ceremony is observed and the body is carried in the arms to the burial place and interred.

On the third day, a ceremony called ಕೂಳಿನಿರುಹಾಕುವದು— (putting food and water to the deceased) takes place. The chief mourner with other castemen takes some rice and

vegetables to the burial ground and serves them on the grave in a plantain leaf. The party withdraw to a distance expecting the crows to come and eat the food. When the crows have eaten it, they go to the tank or river, bathe and return home.

No further ceremony is observed till the 12th day. On that day the whole house is whitewashed. The chief mourner as well as all the *Dayadas* (agnates) have a bath.

A Brahman Purohit is called for purifying the house with holy water. Then a party go to the burial ground and on the grave are served up various dishes of food prepared for the purpose. The chief mourner gets his head shaved. After bathing in the river, the party go to the temple and return home. All the agnate and other relations are invited and treated to a feast. This day gifts of cows, shoes, umbrellas and other things are given in charity to Brahmans, their number depending upon the means of the family.

In the case of the death of an unmarried girl or a child, on the 3rd day some milk and edibles are placed on the ground and no further ceremony is observed.

The period of pollution, in the case of adults, is 12 days and in the case of children, 3 days. During this period, the near agnates do not put on the caste mark, or eat any sweet substance or drink milk. They should not enter other's houses, much less touch them.

These men do not perform *śrāddhas*; but on the new-moon day in the month of *Bhadrapada* and on the new year's day, they make *pūja* in the names of their deceased ancestors. They instal a *Kalasa* in the house, place near it new cloths, burn frankincense and offer prayers to it. They invite their castemen to a dinner.

Outsiders belonging to any recognized higher castes are, though of course rarely, admitted into the Beda caste, a formal ceremony being observed for the purpose. The headmen of two or three *Kaltemanes* or caste guilds as well as other castemen are assembled, due notice being given of the purpose of the meeting. Then the person who wishes to be admitted comes to the assembly and prostrating himself before it, begs that he be admitted into the caste. A consultation is held and is sometimes prolonged for two or three days during which time, the members are fed at the expense of the applicant. A fine together with

Admission  
of outsiders.

a *hana* or 4 annas as Kannayya's tax (devoted to the temple of that idol) is levied from the neophyte who is purified with the five products of the cow, his tongue being slightly branded with heated gold. He is also made to drink holy water from a temple. Then the castemen sit down to a feast given at his expense, at which he has to receive a morsel from each of the elders before the feeding begins and partake of the food thus collected with the permission of the assembly which is given in a set formula that there is no longer any impediment (*dōsha*).

Such perversion from higher castes is generally due to the man having illicit relation with some woman of the caste. Such a recruit becomes a member of the caste for all practical purposes, and marries the woman, however, in an inferior marriage, the stigma of which may stick on to his descendants for two or three generations.

**Law of inheritance.**

They follow ordinarily the Hindu Law of inheritance. *Ulātam* (*Mancūpatana* in Kannada) or affiliation of the son-in-law is practised—and such son-in-law gets a share equal to that of a son. A Basavi daughter also gets an equal share with her brothers, and when she dies, if the family is undivided, her sons step into her place and are entitled to her share. A destitute sister is generally given a cow and a cloth every year.

**Social status.**

The Bédas are generally considered as low caste people, and therefore Brahmans and other *Dvija* or twice-born classes do not touch them. But they can draw water in the village well, the village barber shaves them and pares their nails and the washerman washes their clothes.

**Food.**

In the matter of eating meat, they are allowed great latitude. Even jackals and some of the lizard tribe are allowed to them; and though beef is permitted and indeed cannot be refused when offered at a feast, many of them seem to draw a line there, and do not eat cows and buffaloes. The lowest well-known caste with which the Bedas eat is Kuruba and only Agasa (washerman) Madiga (village cobbler) and Holeyas eat in Beda's houses.

They employ Brahmans for auspicious ceremonies such as marriage, and these Brahmans do not suffer in their status by such employment. But for funeral or minor ceremonies, Dasaris and Satanis are called in. But on the 12th day after death, the Brahman *purohit* has to

cleanse the house with water purified by the recitation of holy words.

The Bedas belong to what is called *Nine Phanas* or left hand section. They have a caste council at which their tribal disputes are settled. It is presided over by a headman, who has under him a servant or a beadle known as *Koudigadu* (ಕೂಡಿಗಾಡು). The jurisdiction of a headman is called *Kattemane*, and any matter affecting the caste such as admission of an outsider, *kudike* marriage, dedication of a girl as a Basavi or a *Kulambidde* comes before him for settlement. Any transgression of the caste rules is punished by him. And for all this service, he receives *maryade* (ಮರ್ಯಾದೆ) or the conventional fee and a special *timbila*. When however a dispute of a very serious nature affecting not only one *Kattemane* but several, has to be settled, *Yajmanas* of several *Kattemanes* are collected. There is at the head of several *Kattemanes*, a *Dora* or chief whose presence is necessary only in cases of great importance. In marriage and other occasions, the *Dora* or chief, also gets a *timbila* with a small fee.

Tribal constitution.

They are Vaishnavas and worship Vishnu under the different names of Venkataramana, Cheunaraya, Narasimha and others. Some of them have also Siva as their family God and go on pilgrimage to Nanjangud, the chief place of Siva worship in the State. Their *guru* or spiritual leader, is a Srivaishnava Brahmin who pays occasional visits, gives them *Chakrankilam* (branding) and holy water and receives his fees. Among the minor goddesses worshipped by Bedas are Gangamma, Mariamma, Kavellemma, Lakkaamma, Payamma, Odisilamma, Mariganamma, Duramma, and Challapuramma.

Religion.

Gangamma (river or water God) is generally worshipped either at the riverside or near a tank or other reservoir of water. A place is selected and cleaned with water. Three or five or seven stones are set up on which saffron is put on. Incense is burnt, a new cloth is kept near the images, and coconut is broken. After the worship, the cloth may be worn by any female member in the house. This worship is specially confined to women, and no bloody sacrifices are offered. The other Goddesses are worshipped some in groves, and some in temples, permanently dedicated to them. Sacrifices of sheep, goats and fowls are very freely offered and partaken of by the

devotees. Fridays and Tuesdays are the days set apart for the worship, but the worship of Gangamma is always confined to a Monday.

To Māri, the village Goddess, a he-buffalo is sacrificed. This worship, though performed by this caste, is done at the instance of the whole village. In the central portion of the village, a temporary shed is erected and in it an image generally of some grotesque or hideous form is installed. The whole village population, except Brahmans, Jains and Lingayats, carry their offerings to the Goddess and the more superstitious of these excepted persons also sometimes send votive offerings. In the night, a he-buffalo is sacrificed. The remains of the animal are then divided among the 12 members comprising the village corporation. As most of them however do not eat buffalo flesh, their shares are taken by the village cobbler or Madiga.

*Munisvara* (ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ) is another object of common worship, not only among the Bedas, but also among other lower castes. He is believed to be the soul of a saint who lived at a time beyond memory and is said to reside in trees. Under a tree, which is said to be the dwelling place of this spirit, a small temple, hardly big enough for one to get in, is built and two or three stones installed therein in the name of this spirit. Sometimes bells are tied to the branches, and when they are shaken by the wind, the sounds are attributed to the sylvan deity. He is considered as an evil spirit and as always waiting for an opportunity to enter the body of persons passing near and bring on sickness to the victim. He is much dreaded and to propitiate him, occasional offerings of sheep, goats, fowls and cooked articles, are made. The animals sacrificed are eaten by the votaries but other articles such as cooked rice, plantains, &c., are left under the tree. They also name their children after this deity.

The spirits of such diseases as, cholera and smallpox, are also worshipped. Serpent worship is also common among them, the belief being that by this skin disease and the diseases of the eye, ulceration in the ear, are cured.

Omens.

In common with the other castes of similar status, they believe in omens\*, and the following are a few of them.

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\* Omens are not a specially 'caste' institution. They are a matter of general belief and observance with persons who have not passed a certain stage of mental culture.

Good omens—A crow, a bird called *hálu-hakki* (ಹಾಲುಹಕ್ಕಿ) or a crow pheasant (ಸಂಜಾರಕಾಳಿ) passing from left to right when starting on a journey ; a kite (*garuḍa* or Brahmin kite) passing from right to left ; toddy pots, dead body, or flowers being carried, or a married woman coming, from the opposite direction.

Among bad Omens may be mentioned, the crossing of the birds named above in a contrary direction, a serpent crossing the path, or the meeting with a barber or a carrier of fire-wood when setting out on any business.

Belief in oracles and witchcraft is general.

They follow their original profession of hunting in the jungles only nominally, and have settled down to agriculture as their chief occupation. As is the case with all agricultural classes in the State, many are petty raiyatwari occupants of lands, paying revenue direct to Government ; while many cultivate the lands of others as tenants on "*vāra*," generally paying half the produce to the superior holder. The system of joint-ownership of village lands is not in force anywhere in the State. Some who are village watchmen known as *Talaris* have some free lands (service inam) or get a recognized quantity of grain from each raiyat at the harvest time. Several of them are landless day labourers, earning wages varying from two to five annas a day. There are no nomadic cultivators in the caste. Occupation.

They have many beliefs, some superstitious and some empirical, in regard to the agricultural operations, which however are common to almost all of the cultivating classes in the State, and which are embodied in popular sayings, such for example as the following. The first ploughing of the season must be commenced on a Sunday or a Thursday. No ploughing should be done on Mondays. Seed should not be sown on Mondays and Tuesdays. There are some popular sayings about the efficacy of rains in certain specified seasons. Agricultural superstitious.

A scare crow (generally an old earthen pot with eyes and other marks of the face roughly daubed over) placed on the top of cross sticks dressed with rags, is often set up in fields with the double object of frightening away birds and beasts, and averting the evil eye.

When undertaking any important work such as the sinking of a well or building a house, it is usual to worship



'*Ganesh*' made of cowdung, in the form of a cone. Sometimes a goat or sheep or a fowl is sacrificed on such occasions.

If an eclipse of the Sun or the Moon occurs when the crops are standing, sometimes the owners of the fields bathe and sacrifice a sheep or goat to the field. Boiled rice is mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal and scattered all over the field.

Dress.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Men generally put on short drawers reaching to the knees sometimes only a loin cloth. Their women wear *Sire* like other Sudras without dividing the skirt, but such of them as are not Basavis do not wear bodices. In the larger places, there is however an improvement and family women also use this article of dress.

## APPENDIX

### (Names of *Kulas*)

- 1 *Mandala* (ಮಂಡಲ)=Herd of cattle
- 2 *Yanumala* (ಯನುಮಲ)=Buffalo
- 3 *Muchchata* (ಮುಚ್ಚಲ)
- 4 *Sákéla* (ಸಾಕೇಲ)
- 5 *Kámagétula* (ಕಾಮಗೇತುಲ)
- 6 *Chinnamagala* (ಚಿನ್ನಮಗಲ)
- 7 *Manegala* (ಮನೆಗಲ)
- 8 *Pegadupótula* (ಪೆಗಡಪೋತುಲ)
- 9 *Chinnamákila* (ಚಿನ್ನಮಾಕಿಲ)
- 10 *Peddumákila* (ಪೆದ್ದಮಾಕಿಲ)
- 11 *Chímala* (ಚೀಮಲ) Ants
- 12 *Gujjala* (ಗುಜ್ಜಲ)
- 13 *Sibbila* (ಸಿಬ್ಬಿಲ)
- 14 *Équ kondala* (ಏಕುಕೊಂಡಲ)=Seven hills
- 15 *Gangaváramu* (ಗಂಗವಾರಮು)- Name of a place
- 16 *Purralu gampalu* (ಪುರ್ವಲ ಗಂಪಲ)=Flower baskets
- 17 *Pótula* (ಪೋತುಲ)=He-buffaloes
- 18 *Mallelu* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲ)=Jasamin
- 19 *Ankéla* (ಅಂಕೇಲ)
- 20 *Settila* (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಲ)
- 21 *Muchchatla* (ಮುಚ್ಚಟ್ಟಲ)
- 22 *Nallula* (ನಲ್ಲಲ)=Bugs
- 23 *Minugala* (ಮಿನುಗಲ)
- 24 *Paggala* (ಪಯ್ಯಲ)
- 25 *Gútamu* (ಗೂಟಮು)=Pegs
- 26 *Jemmuqu* (ಜಮ್ಮುಕು)
- 27 *Yeddula* (ಯದ್ದುಲ)=Oxen
- 28 *Jerrébotula* (ಜೆರೇ ಪೋತುಲ)=A centipede
- 29 *Sérya* (ಸೂರ್ಯ)=The Sun
- 30 *Chandra* (ಚಂದ್ರ)=The Moon
- 31 *Bangáru* (ಬಂಗಾರು)=Gold

- 32 *Bhúcha kra* (ಭೂಚಕ್ರ) The Globe  
 33 *Káchi kadla* (ಕಾಚಿಕ್ಡಲ್) = A kind of grass  
 34 *Huráhi* (ಹುರಳಿ) = Horse gram  
 35 *Navápe* (ನವಪೆ) = Italian millet  
 36 *Gannérta* (ಗನ್ನೇರ್ಲ್) = Sweet-scented oleander  
 37 *Maddala* (ಮದ್ದಲ)  
 38 *Mungala* (ಮುಂಗಲ)  
 39 *Gaddabárla* (ಗಡ್ಡಬಾರ್ಲ್) = Crowbar  
 40 *Gajjala* (ಗಜ್ಜಲ)  
 41 *Jánamala* (ಜಾನಮಲ)
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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**V.**

**BESTHA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## BESTAS.

The Besta (ಬೆಸ್ತ) caste has, according to the last Census, Number. a population 153,174 persons, of whom 73,107 were males and 77,067 females. They live scattered all over the State, but are found in large numbers in the river districts of Shimoga and Mysore.

The name of the caste is derived from the Kannada Name and word *besada* (ಬೆಸವೆ), thrown. Some curiously derive it from its origin. *Betta-hasta* or *Vetra-hasta*, meaning one holding a cane, and this fanciful etymology is based on the following legend. Once upon a time Varuna invited the *Sapta* Rishis to attend a sacrifice he was celebrating. They agreed to go if he would expel the disturbers of their penance, the land and the aquatic animals from the face of the earth. He worshipped and sought the help of God Iswara who sent Ganga from whom were sprung Suparnaraju, Guharaju and Suta with thirty-two weapons in their hands. One of the weapons was a cane or stick, and descent is traced for this caste from these semi-divine personages.

Several other legends are given, each giving the origin of the whole or a sub-division of the caste. One legend tells that *Sutaru* or *Sutakuladuraru* (ಸೂತರು, ಸೂತ ಕುಲದವರು) are sprung from a person who, when Varuna came out of Ganga, carried him over in a boat and landed him. Another legend is to the effect that Santana *Chakravarti* had connection with Satyavati, a low caste boatman's girl, who thus became the step-mother of Bhishma who was his son by his other wife Ganga. Since Bhishma, otherwise called Gangasuta, was a Besta, being in a way the son of Satyavati whose children were all Bestas, the latter got the appellation of Gangasutas or in Kannada *Gangamukkalu* (ಗಂಗೆಮಕ್ಕಳು) like Bhishma.

The attendants of Varuna have given to their descendants the name of *Paricaradavaru* (ಪರಿವಾರದವರು), meaning retinue of serving men.



The less usual names, as given by Nanjangud informants, are Dushyanta, Nishada or Parasava, Dasa or Margava. According to Manu, a Dushyantha is the son of a Kshatriya father and a Brahman mother. A Nishada, who is to live by fishing and snaring animals, is born of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother. Lastly a Dasa or Margava who is to subsist by working as a boatman is the son of a Nishada father and an *Ayogutta* mother. These names are not in vogue, and were apparently suggested for the occasion, by some Brahman instructor, as high-sounding titles.

All these attempts have merely arisen from the motive of making out a superior origin for the caste which, as its main occupation is boating and fishing in the waters, has adopted the name of *Gangaputras* or *Gangenakulu*, children of water, which furnishes them with their means of livelihood. It may be noted that in Northern India, some inferior Brahmans who worship the Ganga at holy places call themselves Gangaputras.

**Exogamous  
Divisions.**

The following names are given as denoting the exogamous divisions or *Kulas* existing in this community: viz., the *Kulas* of *Chinna* (gold), *Belli* (silver), *Surya* (sun) *Chandra* (moon), *Devi* (goddess), *Sata* (charioteer), *Mugila* (cloud), *Bhashinga* (marriage chaplet), *Mutta* (pearl), *Ratna* (precious stone), *Kasturi* (musk), *Harala* (coral bead) and *Mallige* (jasmine). There are two others called *Manjiravalla* and *Kadinavalla*, but the significance of the terms cannot be made out.

It is said that silver ornaments are not worn by those of the *Belli Kula* except during marriages.

Kasyapa and Kaundinya *gotras*, called after the *Rishi* Kasyapa and Kaundinya, are said to be found in all the endogamous divisions. These *gotras* do not stand in the way of marriages within themselves as they do with Brahmans, and seem to have come into existence from a desire on the part of this caste to raise themselves in the social scale.

**Names.**

Raju, Nayaka and Boyi are the titles usually affixed to the names of male persons.

There is no peculiarity in the names adopted in this caste. Generally ancestral names and the names of

family deities are given to persons. *Tayamma* and *Puttasami* may be given as examples of terms of endearment. Opprobrious names are sometimes given to children born after loss of other children, such as *Kadamma* (jungle), *Tippamma* (dunghill) and *Javaraya* (god of death).

This caste admits persons of superior castes in the social scale, after the following ceremony. The elders and the representatives of the Besta families gather together in a garden. The aspirant for admission bathes after getting shaved and goes to a temple, where he receives the holy water given by the priest, which he drinks and sprinkles over his head. He is then smeared with ashes all over the body by the caste headman. A feast is given to the caste men at which he collects a morsel from each and partakes of the meal along with the others. Thenceforth he is reckoned as a member of the caste.

Caste constitution.

The elders of the caste are the *Dodda Yajman* (Senior Elder), *Chikka Yajman* (Junior Elder) and *Desa Setti*. The *Dodda Yajman* has the power of enquiring into and awarding punishment of excommunication or fine for breaches of caste customs. The *Chikka Yajman* is his personal assistant and is also called *Kolkar* (literally, stick bearer), because he carries a stick as the symbol of his authority. His duties are to collect caste people to join in the funerals or to form a caste council or *Panchayat* to discuss, when necessary, and judge questions relating to the caste. Punishments awarded by the Council or *Dodda Yajman* are to be proclaimed by the *Kolkar*.

The *Desa Setti* is the local head of the section. He gets the first *marpada tambula* consisting of two coconuts, plantains, betel-leaves and money about eight annas, in all ceremonies. The Senior *Yajman* gets a double *tambula*.

Adoption of a son is recognized. A boy belonging to the section of the adopting father is more generally selected than one belonging to other sections. A younger brother is prohibited from being adopted by his elder brother. The adopted boy is disabled from marrying within the prohibited degrees of relationship of either the adoptive or his natural family.

Adoption.

The marriage should be confined within the same sub-division and those of the same *kula* cannot marry each other. The same rules of restriction on account of blood

Marriage.

relationship as in other castes have to be observed. Two sisters cannot be simultaneously married to the same person. They may be married to two brothers, the elder marrying the elder sister, the younger marrying the younger sister. A man belonging to a family following the profession of agriculture does not give his daughter to a person following the profession of fishing, or *vice versa*. Similarly with palanquin-bearers neither the former nor the latter make marriage alliances.

If a marriage take place outside the endogamous circle, the parties lose caste and are regarded as among the half-caste persons, such as those of illegitimate birth.

**Age of marriage.**

A Besta girl may remain unmarried. The practice of dedicating Basavis, though it exists, is getting into disfavour. Exchange of daughters is in vogue.

Both infant and adult marriages are allowed to take place. In the case of the former, a girl is married at the age of about twelve years. She lives with her parents till the consummation of the marriage takes place. Girls are not married to trees, swords, or other inanimate objects. Adult marriages take place generally within the first year after puberty. If a young woman is left unmarried for a long time after that, her chastity is questioned and thereafter only marriage by *Kudike* form is allowed to her.

If a girl has become pregnant before marriage by a man of her caste, she is allowed to marry her lover in the *Kudike* form. If he does not take her in marriage, he will be put out of caste, and she may join any other man in marriage, and her children, if any, will be affiliated to him. If she has lived with a man of another caste, she will be outcasted.

**Marriage ceremonies.**

Marriages are generally settled by the parents or guardians. The proposal comes from the father of the boy, who with a few friends goes to the house of the intended bride at an auspicious hour with cocoanuts, turmeric, red and yellow, betel-leaves and nuts. If consent is given by the other party, a letter of invitation and agreement is written then and there. A priest is called in to fix the day of marriage. The letters of invitation are worshipped by both the parties, and each party presents his letter to the other in a formal manner.

Three, five or seven days before *Chappara* or Pandal ceremony, the intended bride and bridegroom are made to exhibit themselves at a gathering of friends and relatives and an *arati*\* takes place.

The day previous to *Chappara* earthen vessels are newly brought to the house, and Dasaris and Jogis are fed there.

The construction of the *Chappara* or the Pandal is the first of the important ceremonies of marriage. It consists of twelve pillars of which one must be of juicy *kalli* wood in the case of Kannada Bestas, and in the case of others, of *Nerale* or *Kondamara* tree. This post is known as *halu kambha* (milk post) or *mahurta kambha* (marriage post). The *Chikka Yajman* of the caste attended with drums and gongs, goes to the tree with married women to bring the milk post. He worships the tree and cuts a branch of it. It is brought home and fixed in a pit already formed and spread with milk and ghee at the bottom. A cloth package containing seven kinds of grain is tied to it; and it is sprinkled over with water in which coral and gold are washed, and painted with red and white stripes.

In the evening, a *kankani* consisting of white woollen thread to which are tied a piece of turmeric root and an iron ring, is tied to the bridegroom's hand.

On the second day, water is brought from a pond in vessels by married women. The Dasari worships the pond and idols. The bridegroom's sister brings one of the *Kalasa* pots (styled ಒಡಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಗಡಿಗೆ or sister's pot) decorated with *hombale* (arccanut flower). They come back in procession, walking over cloths spread in the street by a washerman (ನಡೆಮಡಿ), and with *nutresere* (ಮಣೀಸೇವೆ) at intervals. The latter is described as follows :—

As the procession is moving, they spread a cloth on the ground in front, and place on it in six places, a small quantity of fruit *rasayana*.† Then the Dasayyas blowing the conch and beating gong with cries of ah ! ah ! ah ! go round and round the cloth three times,

\* Arati is the ceremony of waving over the bride and bridegroom a platter containing coloured water.

† *Rasayana* is a sweet compound, generally made by mixing together plantains, coconut, and jaggery with cardamoms or pepper as spices, the whole mashed together.

and eat up the sweet stuff picking it up with their lips. This is repeated a number of times before they reach the marriage house. Two Dasayyas will hold the idols in their hands, and walk in front without taking part in the *manesere*. These are followed by the *Odakuttidagadige* (ಒಡಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಗಡಿಗೆ) bearer. The idols and the water pot are placed in a room and worshipped till the marriage is over.

Among Saivas instead of *manesere* (ಮನೇಸೇವೆ), the Jogayya worships Trisula (ತ್ರಿಶೂಲ), and brings home the water vessel.

Muhurtha or Dhare takes place on the third day. A *Nerale* (Jambolana) branch is taken to a Peepul tree and puja offered to it, and it is then brought home and again worshipped. The bridegroom furnished with a spear or dagger is led in procession to a temple, where the relatives and friends of the bridal parties are gathered by invitation. The bride in the meanwhile comes into the marriage house and takes her seat on the plank. The bridegroom comes back from the temple holding a dagger in his right hand, and sits facing the bride while a screen separates the two. The names of the immediate ancestors of both the parties are repeated. The parents pour *dhare niru* \* on the united hands of the bridegroom and the bride. The screen is taken off and the *tali*, a golden disc, the symbol of the marriage bond, is tied round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom. Rice newly prepared out of paddy for the occasion is poured in plenty on the bridal party. The ends of the cloths of the newly united couple are tied together, and they prostrate themselves before their seniors who bless them in return with wishes of a long and happy married life.

The fourth day is the last day of the marriage. The *kankana* is untied by the married ladies and placed in a plate containing jaggery and rice. Then takes place the *Kamba Sastra* or 'Pillar' ceremony. At this, the newly married couple place a handful of cooked rice on a wet cloth in front of each pillar and do puja. After the procession through the village is over, the milk post is

\* Dhare Niru means water in drops. When any gift is made in a solemn religious manner, a few drops of water with a few Tolasi (Basil) leaves and sometimes a small coin is put into the hands of the recipient by the donor. The water falls in *dhara* or drops, and the gift of a girl in marriage being one of the most solemn of such acts, the ceremony is commonly denoted by the single word 'dhare'.

worshipped and in the end it is smeared over with ashes. This is the final act of the ceremony.

The bride-price is Rs. 12. This goes to the bride's family, father, mother or brother. It is given in the presence of all during the '*dhare*.' The price of the bride married for the second time is six rupees. Bride price.

The marriage expenses come to about fifty rupees, of which the major portion goes for feasting.

In a marriage by *Kudike*, it is the male members only and not married women that attend the ceremony. Women who are thus married are not allowed to take part in marriage and other auspicious occasions. Kudike.

A girl attains her age of puberty at about her sixteenth year. She is kept in a shed for three days, during which period she is considered impure. Soon after the signs are observed, she is made to sit on a plank, married women wave the *arati* or coloured water before her, and on the fourth day she bathes. Till the eleventh day after the bath, married women gather round her and make *arati* in the evenings. On the sixteenth day, consummation of marriage generally takes place. The shed in which the girl was lodged at the time of her first *menses*, is burnt up. Puberty.

During the ordinary monthly periods, a woman bathes on the first day only, and remains in a portion of the house for three days, during which period she does not enter the kitchen but does other household duties.

When a girl is for the first time sent to her husband after the consummation of marriage, she is presented with new cloths and *madalakki* (ಮಡಲಕ್ಕಿ), i.e., rice placed in her tying cloth, with jaggory, cocoanut, some fruits, betel-leaves and nuts.

When a child-birth takes place, the mother is kept in a separate room, at the door of which a hatchet, margosa leaves, an old shoe and a broomstick are placed to keep off evil spirits. The period of ten days from the day of the birth of a child is one of pollution. On the eleventh day, a bath is given to the mother and child.

Adultery within the caste is tolerated ; but the woman and her lover will be compelled to pay her husband's marriage expenses in case she wants to live permanently with her lover. Sometimes it is settled by a small fine paid to Adultery and divorce.

the caste, and the money is used for a general feast of the caste people.

Divorce is allowed on the ground of unchastity on the part of the wife. She may marry again in the *Kudike* form after divorce. One-half of the first husband's marriage expenses must be refunded by the new husband, in return for which the former unties the *tali* and renounces his matrimonial rights over her.

Remar-  
riage.

The remarriage of widows is permitted if the widow and her new husband pay to the caste a fine of rupees six and rupees eight, respectively. A widow may marry her husband's elder brother but such marriages are rare. The caste in such cases demands an additional fine of a few rupees.

Children of a widow by her second husband cannot claim the property of their mother's first husband. Similarly sons by her first husband cannot succeed to the property of her second husband. If a man has children both by his legal wife and his concubine and if they all live together, the children of the concubine can claim shares in the property of their natural father.

Polygamy  
and poly-  
andry.

Polyandry is unknown but polygamy is freely practised. Barrenness, defect in body or mind and unchastity on the part of the first wife are the principal reasons for one to take another wife. The first wife's sister is generally preferred as a second wife.

Inheritance.

A son-in-law remaining with his father-in-law, is stated to be entitled to inherit the property of his father-in-law, provided he performs the latter's obsequies. In other respects, the members of the caste follow the general Hindu law of inheritance.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

The dead body is generally buried, but when the person has died very old or has otherwise been held in great esteem, his corpse is burnt. During the last moments of a man, all the relatives and caste people gather to take part in the funerals. A few grains of rice are put in the mouth of the defunct person by all the relatives and friends as a last mark of regard for him. The widowed wife worships the body and exchanges betel-leaves with it. If a married woman dies before her husband, her body is laid in a litter constructed of green leaves and flowers and smeared with turmeric powder.

The dead body is generally carried in a frame of bamboo, and where the parties can afford the expense, the frame is decorated with flowers. It is placed on the ground somewhere while half way towards the burial ground, where the son or other person officiating as the chief mourner goes round it with a pot of boiled rice in his hands and smashes the pot on the ground, nearest the head of the corpse.

The dead are buried with their head turned to the South. A new cloth, a plantain leaf and a small copper coin stuck in the dead man's nose are the only things interred with him. This custom has given rise to a proverb in Kannada, which means "Though you earned so much, pity you are left without a pie in your nose."\* A new cloth, rice, betel-leaves and a few coins are laid on the grave and the *toti* of the village is bid to take them as his fees and price for the ground. Before the earth is thrown over the body, a vessel containing some boiled rice is again taken round the grave three times and smashed. If the body is burned, its remains and ashes are thrown in a pond or river on the third day. Milk and ghee are poured on the grave. If it is the husband that is dead, the woman takes off her bangles, *tali*, etc., and throws them on the grave. Henceforward she ceases to paint herself with turmeric paste.

The period of mourning lasts for ten days. On the eleventh day, the caste people are fed. A temple is visited by the chief mourner and coconuts are presented to the god and broken in his name. This ceremony is meant to open the gates of heaven more easily for the entry of the departed soul. During the period of mourning, no festivities are observed. Milk and sugar are not used for food and caste marks are not put on the face. The whole period of mourning is considered to be one of pollution.

Agnate relations observe the full period of mourning for the death of an adult, while they do not observe any mourning for the death of a child. The parents observe three days of mourning for the death of their infant children.

For the propitiation of the ancestors in general, a *yade* (ಯಡೆ) consisting of all the articles of food and plantain

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\* ಇಷ್ಟು ಸಂಪಾದನೆವೂಡಿ ಮೂಗಿನೊಳಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ಕಾಸಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಹೋದೆಯಾ.



leaves and coins, is presented to a Purohit on the Mahalaya day. Religious mendicants such as Dasayyas are fed. Ceremonies for deceased individuals are not performed periodically.

Brahmans are not required to assist at the funeral ceremonies which are carried on with the aid of the caste men alone, who may be instructed what to do by the Brahmans.

#### Religion.

These are Hindus by religion and worship the ordinary divinities, and have both Saivas and Vaishnavas \* among them. The Saivas worship Siddappaji and Rajappaji.

There are two religious mendicant orders in this caste called *Jogis* (ಜೋಗಿಗಳು) and *Pasaris* (ದಾಸರಿಗಳು). The *Jogis* are Saivas and are the devotees of *Chunchunagiri Baire Deraru* (ಚುಂಚುನಗಿರಿ ಬೈರೇದೇವರು). They carry a horn (ಶಿಂಗ) which emits a shrill sound and *Kamakshi mudra* (ಕಾಮಾಕ್ಷಿ ಮುದ್ರೆ); and they annually send an offering of money to *Baire Deraru* (ಬೈರೇದೇವರು). This god they worship on Sundays if not daily. The *Pasaris* are worshippers of Vishnu and followers of Ramanujacharya. Their principal god is Ranganatha on the Biligiri Rangan hill. Both these mendicant orders eat animal food and drink alcoholic liquors. The other Bestas can intermarry with them.

Tolasamma (ತೊಲಸಮ್ಮ), wife of Biligiri Ranga, Maramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ), Uttanadehyamma, (ಉತ್ತನದೇಹಮ್ಮ), Patalamma (ಪಟಾಲಮ್ಮ), and Palamma (ಕಾಳಮ್ಮ), are their deities. These have jurisdiction within certain limits of territory, and are to be annually propitiated for the welfare of the locality by holding *jalras* or festivals, on which occasions buffaloes, sheep and fowls, are often sacrificed. The remains of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice are partaken of by the people. The carcasses of buffaloes are given away to Madigas. Individual offerings are given after every recovery from a bad disease such as small-pox and cholera. During epidemic seasons, special offerings are made to the local deities to induce them to turn out the intruding goddesses of the prevailing epidemic.

Pujaris of this caste worship these deities daily in the temples built for them. At the annual festivities in front

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\* Worshipers of Siva and Vishnu respectively as their supreme deity.

of the temple of Maramma, a *Sidi* (ಸಿಡಿ) is played. A perpendicular beam of about fifteen feet supports and acts as a pivot to another horizontal beam. To the free end of the latter, a devotee who has made a vow suspends himself by getting the hook passed through the flesh at the back. The beam is turned round and when it completes one turn, the devotee is taken down and he falls prostrate before the deity. The priest then gives him *Prasada* (ಪ್ರಸಾದ).

Near the *Sidi*, 'fire-treading' takes place. A pit about 9 feet by 3 feet with a depth of 4 feet is filled with burning cinders. The devotees tread the fire and walk the whole length without wincing.

Natural objects are revered and are accorded the ranks of gods and goddesses. Thus streams in high floods are worshipped. A new cloth, turmeric powder, and a pair of new bamboo winnows are thrown in and floated away with the current. Snakes and ant-hills are no less important as objects of reverence. On *Nagara chauti* day, *pooja* is made with flowers and incense to serpent holes, and milk is poured for the snakes to drink. The snake idols, cut in stone and enshrined under *Peepul* and *Acacia* trees, are visited with reverence. Lakshmi-devi, the goddess of wealth, is the principal deity of the caste, and they observe a yearly festival in her honour.

On the *Mahantatant* day, fishermen worship their nets, and cultivators their plough.

This caste has a comparatively low status. Their main occupations have been fishing, lime burning and palanquin-bearing and cultivation. Of late the profession of fishing is not looked upon as a respectable one, since it leads to the killing of many living beings. Serving as grooms, sweepers, and elephant drivers is also condemned.

Nets are prepared by them in the old fashion and they never purchase them in the bazaar or use those not made by themselves. The principal instruments they use for fishing are a cane with a long line, to which are attached a hook and bait at the end. The husks or outer meal of grains well boiled in water and formed into balls are used as bait. These balls are stuck to the ground and a stick waving on water indicates their position. The smell of the balls attracts fish and the fishermen make a sweep

of them with their net where they get themselves entangled. Earth worms are used for the cane lines as bait.

**Superstitions.**

In their caste assemblies, an accused person or a witness is said to have sworn when he merely goes round the gathering three times. They do not usually touch the fire, or any other objects to take the oath. They believe in omens, oracles and sorcery.

The sight of a jackal and that of a toddy pot are among those regarded as auspicious omens. When any sickness visits a house, they consult Koracha soothsayers, to know whether the ailment is one sent by God or the effect of an evil eye. A new born child is given a name suggested by the soothsayer. In all cases, children's diseases are diagnosed by the soothsayer, and his prescription regarding diseases caused by spirits is followed in detail. For oracles, they go to temples to consult the presiding deity. He is asked to give flowers, and if a flower drops down to the right of the idol, it is taken as a favourable response, while flowers dropped to the left are the reverse. If the deity is reluctant to give any definite indication, he is coaxed by promises of offerings of animals and money. It is believed by them that no devotee supplicating with a faithful spirit, has been disappointed till the present day.

They tie talismans of copper sheet beaten thin with some writing thereon, called *gutra* (ಗುತ್ರೆ), round their arms as preventives against attacks of the spirits. Sometimes talismans serve to procure for the wearers children or success in important undertakings.

**Food.**

The flesh of the following animals are allowed to be used as food:—fowl, sheep, goat, crane, rabbit, crocodile and tortoise. They never eat fowls, sheep, goats, cranes, or other higher order of animals without first offering them to their gods; and they indulge in such luxuries chiefly during festivals. They consider it a virtue to abstain from animal food.

**Privileges.**

They are entitled to use, at their marriages, a red cloth canopy and palanquin and umbrella. Horses may be ridden by them. Some Bestas of Nanjangud do not use a palanquin, as once upon a time when a bride and bridegroom were going in it in a marriage procession, it accidentally took fire and was burnt.

They belong to the eighteen *Phanas* which are said to be a remnant of the old trade guilds. They do not dine with any of the nine *Phanas* who are their rivals.

In caste status, these are higher than Vaddas and Korachas. They do not take food with Waddas, Korachas, Barbers and Agasas, though all these latter eat in the houses of Bestas.

Bestas are the usual *Pujaris* of Yellamma and Maramma.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XI.  
YADDA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## VADDAS.

The caste of Vaddas contains a population, according to the Census of 1901, of 134,664, of whom 68,681 are men and 65,983 women. They are found in considerable numbers in the districts of Kolar, Chitaldurg and Bangalore. Population.

The name of the caste is Vadda (ವಡ್ಡ), said to mean the people of Ōdra Country (ಓಡ್ರದೇಶ), which is identified with Orissa. The titles appended to their names are *Rāzu* (ರಾಜು a chieftain), *Bōgi* (ಬೋಯಿ a carrier) and *Gauḍa* (ಗೌಡ a head man), the latter being less common and applied chiefly by the men of the Kallu Vadda (ಕಲ್ಲುವಡ್ಡ) section to their headman. Name.

Their home language is Telugu which they speak with an intonation that is uncouth and characteristic. As a whole, they are rude and illiterate and rarely know any other vernaculars of the people amidst whom they settle. They are strong, muscular and of fine size and proportion. In common parlance a Vadda denotes an uncommonly heavy-looking, rude and uncivilized person. \* Language.

No reliable information is available about their origin. They are said to have originally immigrated into the Mysore State from Orissa, Ōdra-Désa. They tell a story which gives them a divine origin. Párvati and Paramésvara were on a sultry day rambling on the earth and got very thirsty. They looked round for a well to drink water and quench their thirst, and finding none, Siva created a man and a woman out of the drops of perspiration which fell from his body. These were provided with implements necessary to dig, namely, a crow-bar, a pickaxe, and a basket and were asked to dig a well and procure water. Origin.

\* A Vadda is so very noisy even in his sober conversation that any loud and disorderly talk is known as Vadda's secret conversation. (ವಡ್ಡವಾಂಡ ಪಿಕಾಂತವು).

The command was immediately obeyed and cool water was given to the gods to quench their thirst. The latter were extremely gratified and asked the new-born pair what boon they would have for their labour. But the demand made by these people was so very excessive and out of all proportion to their labour, that Siva disgusted at their cupidity, ordained that thenceforth they and their children should earn their bread only by digging wells and tanks.

Divisions.

The caste is made up of (1) *Kallu* (ಕಲ್ಲು) or *Uru* (ಉರು) or *Bandi* (ಬಂಡಿ) *Vaddas*, (2) *Manṇu* (ಮಣ್ಣು) or *Bailu* (ಬೈಲು) or *Désadu* (ದೇಸಡ) *Vaddas* and (3) *Uppu* (ಉಪ್ಪು) *Vaddas*. The names are suggestive of their professions and the manner of their living, which are detailed further. These three divisions are endogamous. *Kallu Vaddas* who quarry stone are acknowledged to be superior to the other classes and do not eat with them. *Manṇu Vaddas* follow the profession of doing earthwork to tanks or digging in gardens or elsewhere for wages. They lead a wandering life. The *Uppu Vaddas* are persons who are employed as sweepers in municipal towns. These rank as the lowest in the scale and the other divisions do not eat with them. By changing the line of their work into that of stone, earth (or *Manṇu*) *Vaddas* may be allowed to marry a girl of the *Kallu Vadda* section.

The caste contains a large\* number of exogamous divisions, in some of which such as *Pūla-vāḷḷu* (ಪೂಲವಾಳ್ಳು, flower-men) *Mallelu-vāḷḷu* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲವಾಳ್ಳು, Jasmine flower-men), the members exhibit some special regard for the object which gives the name to the division. A list of exogamous divisions is given in the Appendix.

They have no hypergamous divisions in the caste.

Birth ceremonies.

During the pregnancy of the wife, a *Vadda* does not breach a tank or carry a corpse. The birth ceremonies observed by them are extremely simple. It is not an uncommon thing that a *Vadda* woman of the *Manṇu* section gives birth to a child even when she is doing her daily work as a cooly. As soon as signs of delivery appear, she retires under the shade of a tree, some women of the caste attending to her. A little while after the delivery is over, she

\* Their common saying is ವಡ್ಡಿವಾಳ್ಳು ಗೋತ್ರಾಲುನೂ ಇಸಕನೂ ಎಂಜೆಡಾ ನಿಕಿ ಅವುನಾ; that is, 'Is it possible to count the *gotras* of the *Vaddas* and the grains of sand?'

is led back to her hut with her waist bandaged and a cloth tied round her head. The ease with which Vadda women bring forth their children is proverbial and is probably accounted for by the exercise they take in the open air, while doing their cooly work, though the unsophisticated Vaddas themselves attribute this to some sort of curse (ಶಾಪ) which they received from one of their Gurus.\*

This description applies fully to the case of wandering Vaddas. But those that have settled down in towns observe the ceremonies of the people amidst whom they live. The mother and the child are bathed on the 5th, the 7th or the 9th day, when a dinner is given to the caste, and the child is put into a cradle and given a name in the usual fashion.

The following may be given as typical names. :—

Names.

Males		Female	
Yella Bóyi	(ಯಲ್ಲಾಬೋಯಿ).	Yellamma	(ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ)
Guruva Bóyi	(ಗುರುವಾಬೋಯಿ)	Guruvi	(ಗುರುವಿ)
Hanuma Bóyi	(ಹನುಮಾಬೋಯಿ).	Hanumi	(ಹನುಮಿ)
Dása Bóyi	(ದಾಸಾಬೋಯಿ).	Timmi	(ತಿಮ್ಮಿ)
Ganga Bóyi	(ಗಂಗಾಬೋಯಿ).	Gangamma	(ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ)

A childless man may adopt a son from among his agnatic relations ; but on account of the general poverty of the caste, adoptions rarely take place. The ceremony observed is the one usual in similar castes. Adoption.

Polygamy is somewhat common, as an additional wife is taken either to help the family in work or for want of children. The first wife's consent is always obtained, and it is generally considered a mark of affluence to have more than one wife. Marriage.

Marriages before puberty are not compulsory, but they take place often. No age limit is prescribed and a woman can contract marriage at any period of life ; but she will be considered to have lost in status if she is not married at all. An unmarried woman's dead body is carried only by the hands and consigned to the pit without any formal burial ceremonies.

\* It is said that when a pregnant woman does work (carrying earth), she gets an extra share, the additional share being intended for her child in the womb. (ಕಡುಪುಲೋ ವುಂಡೇಬಿಡ್ಡ ಕು ಪಾಲು ಇವ್ವುಮಾನಿ ಮಾಗು ರುವು ಶಾಪಂ.)

The general prohibition of marriage within the exogamous circle is observed as in other castes. For marriage, preference is given to a near relation such as a daughter of a paternal aunt or maternal uncle, or of an elder sister. Marriage is not contracted between persons who are related as mother's sister's children or children of agnatic cousins. Two sisters are not given in marriage simultaneously to one person. Exchange of daughters is not considered objectionable, though only rarely practised.

The proposal for the marriage comes from the boy's parents or friends, who after consulting an astrologer as to the agreement of the stars representing the names of the bridal pair, repair to the house of the girl's father on an appointed day, and make the proposal by presenting him with the amount of the "bride price," one measure of rice, a small measure of ghee, and some betel-leaves and nuts. The elders of the caste and other friends of the girl's father are invited to witness the ceremony, which is known as the *Vimbāla* of agreement (ನಿಷ್ಕಾಂಖಲಮಾ). The father receives the gifts and the proposal is thereupon considered to be accepted.

The marriage takes place on a subsequent day fixed by the parties. It is celebrated in the house of the bridegroom, and generally lasts four days.

The first day is known as *Tolipusuppu* (ತೊಲಿಪಸುಪ್ಪು) that is "the first saffron," on which the bride and the bridegroom are anointed and bathed, and turmeric paste is smeared over their bodies. The new clothes to be used for the marriage occasion are dedicated to the ancestors, and fruits and cocoanuts are offered to an idol in a temple.

The second day is known as *Muyyipusuppu* (ಮುಯ್ಯಿಪಸುಪ್ಪು), *i. e.*, "the return saffron."

On the third day, the *Airane*, that is, the sacred pots are installed in their place. That evening, the party of the bride arrive, and are met by that of the bridegroom. As a mark of respect, the latter entertain the former with toddy, a considerable quantity of which is consumed. A company of married women go to a well and washing the new pots, bring them back in state to the pandal of green leaves set up for the marriage. A wooden pestle wrapped round with a yellow turban and crowned with leaves of the Jambolana (ಜೇರಳ) tree is fixed in front of the marriage

booth, to serve as what is styled the "milk post" by other castes; and *pūja* with incense and fruits and flowers is offered to it.

The bride and bridegroom are then seated in the booth and new clothes are presented to them, and rice poured into their hands joined together, by the elders of the caste. The bridegroom then ties a string of black beads or a palm leaf round the neck of the bride, and leads her round the post three times.

The sacred pots are then visited by the couple who make *pūja* to them. They then light up a lamp placed near these pots, and it is considered an evil sign if this lamp should go out by any accident, and so it is tended with anxious care.

The *muhurta* or the real marriage takes place on the fourth day. A betel-leaf is shaped as a funnel and some married women first pour milk or water through it into the hands of the couple joined together, and then the latter pour milk into each other's hands, while the *Buddhicaṇṭa* (ಬೃಹ್ಮವಂಶ the caste elder man) repeats the formula "ಛೇದನಮಾ, ಛೇದ ತಪ್ಪು" (The word is given; do not go back on the word). After this ceremony the couple are taken in state to a temple to offer prayers to the deity.

The same evening, the bride and her party with the bridegroom leave the house of the latter, and go to the bride's house, and it is said that the lamp lit in the bridegroom's house should not be seen that night by the bride and her party. Next morning all return to the bridegroom's house where a general dinner is given to the caste. After dinner the usual *Siṃhasana*\* (ಸಿಂಹಾಸನ) is worshipped and betel-leaves and areca nuts in the heap formed for *pūja* are distributed in the prescribed order of precedence.

The principal item of expenditure in a marriage is liquor supplied to the guests on a liberal scale, and the total amounts to more than Rs. 100 in ordinary cases. The expenses are mostly borne by the bridegroom's party and the customary presents given to the head of the caste and other functionaries are subscribed for by both parties, the bridegroom's contribution being double that of the bride's party.

Traditions regarding capture of wives are not found in this caste.

\* See account of Bēda caste, p. 9.

Tera.

*Tera*, *Vóli* (ಬಲಿ) or bride-price is Rs. 7 and sometimes varies up to Rs. 15 according to family custom. A widower when he marries a spinster has to pay Rs. 25 as bride-price in addition to the *Savuti-honnu* (ಸಾವತಿ ಹೊನ್ನು, co-wife's money).

It is said that Rs. 101 was the amount of *tera* formerly fixed, but as it was too heavy to be borne, many could not marry. One of their headmen (Nayaks ನಾಯಕರು) observing that most of his gang wore long beards, being unmarried, realised the oppressive nature of the tax, and reduced it to the present amount together with 101 nuts. Even this may now be compounded for, by the bridegroom agreeing to serve his father-in-law, till he begets a female child and presents her to his brother-in-law.

Peculiar  
observances

These men have certain peculiar observances. The bridegroom grows his beard until marriage and removes it at that time. Drums and music are not allowed, but in their place, a metal plate is sounded during marriage processions. *Bhāṣṭhīya* (ಭಾಷಿಂಗ-*marriage chaplet*) and flowers are not used.\*

Puberty.

A woman during her menses is considered to be in pollution, which is observed with more than ordinary rigour for seven days on the first occasion. She is prohibited from entering the kitchen and touching utensils used for household work and is given a separate dish for eating. Green leaves of *Ankóle* (ಅಂಕೋಲೆ) tree are kept as a charm in the shed erected separately for her. In the evenings her relatives present her with jaggory, cocoanut, *pan-supari* and turmeric. She is not allowed to sleep at night and her mother and other female relatives keep on talking to her to keep her awake. She bathes on the eighth day and after touching the *Tangadi* (ತಂಗಡಿ) plant, is allowed to enter the inner parts of the house. If the girl is already married, the consummation of marriage may take place any day after this event without any further ceremony. If she is not married, the consummation

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\* These rules have become almost obsolete, only the wandering section still adhering to them. The Vaddas who have settled down, have to a large extent been imitating the customs of Vakkaligas as regards marriage and eat in the pipers for music and use *Bhāṣṭhīya* and do not grow beards till marriage. But all the sections use a pestle (ವನಿಕೆ) as the 'milk post.'

takes place some day after the regular marriage ceremonies are over, when the husband has to give an additional dinner to the caste and regale them with drink. Girls married before puberty remain with their parents till the time of consummation ; boys are not generally married till they are able to work and earn for themselves.

Remarriage of widows is allowed, and it is stated that a woman may not marry more than seven times,\* a restriction not certainly onerous to the weaker sex. She may not marry a brother, but may consort with any of the cousins of her deceased husband. She should eschew those belonging to her father's *kula*. The binding portion of this union which is regarded as somewhat an inferior kind of marriage, is the tying of the black beads round the neck of the woman by the suitor, or by a widowed woman. Widow marriage.

The caste people demand Rs. 4 for effecting unions of widows with their partners. The husband pays to the parents of the woman a sum equal to only half the value of the proper *tera*.

It is said that a widow may transmit the property inherited from her former husband (if sonless) to her issue by a subsequent marriage, but it is doubtful whether such a custom even if proved to exist will be recognised by the Courts.

The marriage tie may be dissolved at the instance of either of the parties. A husband can divorce his wife for adultery, but has to pay to the caste a fine of Rs. 6 which is spent for drink. But when a wife leaves her husband, she has to return the symbol of the marriage tie to him. If she subsequently marries another man, the latter has to refund to the first husband his marriage expenses, and the *tera* amount, besides returning the jewels given to the woman. In some places, however, the *tera* is not refunded. The second husband has also to pay a fine of Rs. 5 to the caste. Parents do not receive into their family a daughter who has deserted her husband or has been divorced by him. If they do so, they are required to pay a penalty of Rs. 12 to the caste. Divorce.

\* A proverb which expresses this license given to a Vadda woman runs thus :--*ಏಳುಮನುವುಲ ಪೈಯ್ಯಿಂದಿ ಪೆದ್ದಬೇಯಿಸಾನ್ನಿ*, and means that a woman who has consorted with seven men is a respectable Boyi (i.e., a Vadda) matron.



## Adultery.

Adultery is not abhorred and may be condoned by payment of a small fine to the caste and the infliction of corporal punishment on the guilty party. If a charge of adultery is made good against a man, he is made to crawl round their settlement on all fours carrying one or two persons on his back. A woman similarly convicted has to force herself into a basket and tumble about with weights in another basket placed on her head. Sometimes she is laid on a bed of thorns thinly spread on the ground with weights loaded on her. These modes of punishment formerly in vogue, have probably almost gone out of practice. If they are ever practised at all now, it may be among the primitive section of the wandering Vādḍas.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated as a matter of course, but if the girl is discovered to have erred with one of her own caste, the fault is condoned by marriage with him. If he is within prohibited degrees or is of a different but higher caste, the girl is fined five to ten Rupees by the caste headman. After payment of the fine, she may be given over to any other in marriage. If the lover should decline to marry her when marriage is permissible, he is put out of caste, and she is free to marry any other person.

## Basavis.

If an adult female cannot get any one to marry her, she may be dedicated to a free life in the name of Yallamma. She is bathed and smeared with saffron, and is seated on a blanket in the temple of this goddess, in the presence of the headman and others of the caste. Married women give her turmeric and the *pūjāri* of the temple makes *pūja* to the goddess and ties a *tāli* (with an effigy of the goddess) round her neck, with an invocation to the deity to protect the girl as her child. The castemen who attend at the ceremony are fed at the father's expense. The girl has to spend the first night at the temple. Thenceforth she may live with any person of her own or of a superior caste, but may not entertain one of a lower caste, without forfeiting her own. Her children if born to a man of the same caste rank as legitimate members, while those born to men of higher castes are regarded as forming a separate *sālu* or line. Such a daughter is regarded as equal to the son of her father, and her children are entitled to inherit property along with their grandfather's male issue.

The dead are buried in the ground, but in the case of those who meet with an unnatural death such as from bites of wild animals, or of pregnant women or of lepers, the dead body is generally burnt, and in some parts of the State, it is placed by the side of a boulder or a stump of a decayed tree and covered over with stones heaped up. This practice which goes by the name of *Kallu Séve* (ಕಲ್ಲು ಸೇವೆ—stone-service) is probably the relic of a very archaic age. Women dying without a marriage or childless are buried without funeral ceremonies among Kallu Vaddas. The body is muffled up in a blanket and carried by hands to the graveyard where it is buried with its head turned to the south.

Death and funeral ceremonies.

The funeral ceremonies observed by the people of this caste are the same as those observed by Kurubas and other similar classes. The section of Vaddas who are *Tirumádháris* (ತಿರುಮಾಧಾರಿಗಳು)\* invite Sâtánis to officiate at the funerals.

The period of mourning is twelve days for the death of adult agnates and five days for that of young children and daughter's sons. In Tumkur and parts of Pavagada, however, Kallu Vaddas observe a period of twelve days also for the death of daughter's sons. They show their grief by abstaining from flesh and spirituous liquors and by not taking part in auspicious festivities during the period of mourning (*Sátaka* ಸೂತಕ). Ordinarily a body is buried with no accompaniments, but that of a person dying on Friday is buried with a live chicken.

They believe in the survival of the ghost after death. Sráddhas are not observed by them but once a year new clothes are dedicated in honour of the dead and worn with devotion. Brahmans do not officiate as priests for these people, but Sâtánis conduct their ceremonies on the last day of the pollution.

Kallu Vaddas may be said to have settled down to ordinary village life, while some Mannu Vaddas are still nomadic in habits, wandering from place to place and encamping temporarily in the outskirts of villages or tanks near their work. Once in every two or three years they attend the *Jálra* festival of their tutelary deity. Their temporary settlements consist of fifty to one hundred families according to the quantity of work found in the

Social status and habits.

\* Worshippers of Vishnu, wearing the Vaishnava mark on the forehead, the inner line being of reddish or yellow saffron, and the rest white.

neighbourhood. As they have to move out for fresh work, they travel with all their goods and watch dogs, even the materials of huts being transported on donkeys or bullocks. Though they cannot be set down as professional thieves, they seldom miss an opportunity for replenishing their scanty riches by means of highway robbery or petty larceny.

Dwellings.

The dwellings of the wandering Vaddas consist of huts made of split bamboo mats and rounded like the covering of a country cart, without any separate apartments. Kallu Vaddas and others who have settled in villages build houses of a permanent nature. While the itinerant Vaddas pitch their huts either outside the villages or near the places where they work, the settled Vaddas have their houses along with those of others in the village.

Admission into the caste.

They take into their caste a Kuruba (ಕುರುಬ) or a Golla (ಗೋಲ) or a man of any other higher caste than their own. Female members, it is said, can be taken from among the inferior castes, but such recruits are regarded as half caste. The aspirant has to spend a considerable amount in supplying food and drink to the caste before his admission, and the headman touches his tongue with a heated needle besides procuring for him *tirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and victuals) from the temple of their tribal goddess, Yallamma.

Food.

Their daily food consists of ragi bread and balls, with vegetables and dhall. They eat almost any animal food except beef. Sheep, goats, pigs, squirrels, wild cats, lizards and mice are equally welcome to them. Both the sexes indulge in immoderate drinking and even children are not free from this vice. They do not fish and do not catch big game, but are adepts in snaring field rats and squirrels, and men, women, and children armed with sticks join with considerable zest in hunting for such vermin by the aid of dogs. This indeed is one of their keenest sports.

Idiga is the lowest caste in whose houses Vaddas eat. Madigas, Malas (Holeyas) and Korachas eat in the houses of Vaddas.\*

Village washermen wash their clothes and the barber pares their nails, but it is said these two classes do

\*Vadda women are said not to eat in the houses of Vakkaligas (ವಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) as the latter touch night soil when manuring the fields.

not render their services to the Vaddas during marriages. A Vadda can draw water from the common village well and his approach is not regarded as polluting by anybody.

Earth and stone work is their characteristic occupation, and tank-digging, well-sinking, road-making and quarrying stone are mostly done by men of this caste. They also carry on trade in salt in out-of-the-way places. The Salt Vaddas (ಉಪ್ಪು ವಡ್ಡರು) at Bangalore, Kolar, and other municipal towns are employed as street sweepers and they are regarded as outcasts by the main body. There are a few among them who are cultivators possessing lands of their own. Some stone Vaddas also go about villages and towns in search of jobs of roughening the surfaces of grinding stone mills.\*

Occupation.

Vaddas have earned a bad reputation as thieves. †

Though they cannot be properly classed among the professional criminal tribes, many of those detected in the commission of highway robberies, are found to be Vaddas, especially of the itinerant and immigrant classes. The indigenous Vaddas whether of the Kallu or of the Manu section have mostly settled down to peaceful habits.

Another prominent characteristic in the wandering Vaddas is their persistent and insatiable demand for money from their employers. They always have an advance owing to their employer equal at least to twice as much as their work is worth, and it is not uncommon that when the advance accumulates to a tolerably large amount they desert their employer and decamp without any previous notice. The Vaddas work in gangs under contractors who are often put to much loss on this account.

The Vaddas believe themselves to be raised above others of the same craft, if they do not engage themselves in

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\* Most houses possess stone mills for grinding rice and ragi. A circular stone is imbedded in the ground or placed loose, and on a wooden pivot driven through its center another round stone with a stake fixed as a handle near its rim, is made to revolve driven by women squatting on the floor. There is a cup-like receptacle on the upper stone where it takes the pivot and grain is put in through it. The mechanism is crude, but it is very effective. The grinding surfaces of the two stones get worn out by use, and then the surface has to be made rough again by the chisel of these Vaddas. They get about an anna for the work which is done in an hour's time.

† Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency by Mr. P. Mullaly.

plastering walls with cowdung or red earth or in sweeping the streets.

#### Inheritance

In the matter of inheritance, they follow the Hindu Law as administered in the State. The property of the father is on his death distributed among all the sons, the eldest of them getting an extra share. The unmarried sons at the time of partition are allowed their marriage expenses from the common property in addition to their shares; the daughters and the sisters are given some portion, either a field or some cattle or a jewel. One peculiarity in their partition, is said to be that a pregnant woman gets also a share for her unborn child. *Illātum* the affiliation of a son-in-law, is practised in this caste.

#### Caste assembly.

They have caste *panchayats* which consist of the *Yajaman* (headman) and a few old men known as *Buddhivantulu* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತಲು or wise men), with a beadle called *Kondigadu* (ಕೊಂಡಿಗಾಡು). They take cognizance of disputes between the members of a family or different families and offences relating to the violation of caste rules in the matters of eating, drinking, adultery, etc. In an enquiry at such an assembly, the complainant and the accused swear by placing a twig in the hands of the foreman of the council to promise to abide by the decision arrived at by the assembly. They have also to deposit a certain sum as the probable cost of feeding the caste and supplying them with liquor, as a preliminary condition of enquiry. A witness called before the assembly has to go round them holding in his hands a little twig presented to him by the party who has called him to testify. He then says “ನಾತಲ್ಲಿತಂಡಿ ಆಣವಿಾದ, ಕನಿನಮಾಟ ಅಬದ್ಧಮು ಚಪ್ಪೇದಿಲೇದು” that is, “Upon my parents’ word, I shall not tell a lie as to what I know.” Thereupon he breaks the twig into two and begins his statement. This is equivalent to his swearing that he separates the truth from falsehood in his testimony, as pieces into which the twig is broken \* are separated from each other. If the witnesses decline to swear in this manner, the party who called them loses his case. The contesting parties are then advised to come to terms. If, however, they are obdurate, the losing person is made to bear the weight of a grinding stone on his head as a penalty.

\* When it is meant to say that a man’s word is the exact truth, it is said that he speaks as if a twig had been broken and handed over by him (ಕಡ್ಡೆ ಮುರಿದು ಕೈಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಹಾಗೆ).

The panchayat may award, either a fine, or corporal punishment. If it is a fine, half of it goes to the Yajamān (headman) and the other half to the rest of the people of the caste assembled. The maximum fine for abusive language is one rupee for a male person and higher if it is a female that is abused. A daughter-in-law abusing her mother-in-law is more severely dealt with, as she will have to carry on her head a grinding stone three times round their settlement of huts. For the offence of adultery, a fine of ten rupees is ordinarily levied.

They are Hindus by religion and are the worshippers of *Saktis* and Vishnu in his several representations. Religion. Venkataramana of Tirupati is the principal object of their veneration. The principal goddess is Yallamma and is worshipped under one or the other of the following names, Sunkalamma (ಸುಂಕಲಮ್ಮ), Chaudamma (ಚೌಡಮ್ಮ), Māramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ), Sidubamma (ಸಿಡುಬಮ್ಮ), Kariyamma (ಕರಿಯಮ್ಮ), Gangamma (ಗಂಗೆಮ್ಮ) or Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ).

Goddesses are worshipped on Tuesdays and Fridays with the help of a priest belonging to one of the lower castes. On other days, any devotee can break coconuts, and burn camphor in front of the temple dedicated to any of these goddesses, without the help of the priest or *pūjari*. Annual festivals are held in their honour and on such occasions large collections of people take part in the festivities.

Kariyamma (ಕರಿಯಮ್ಮ) at Sira, in the Tumkur District, is an important goddess worshipped by this caste, in whose honour a *Jātra*, i.e., an annual festival, is held on the New Year's Day (ಉಗಾದಿ). Buffaloes are sacrificed to this goddess during the festival. Sidde Dévaru (ಸಿದ್ಧೇದೇವರು) is the male god installed near the temple of Kariyamma. A man of the Vadda caste is its priest. Animal sacrifices are not made to this god but only vegetable food is offered (ಚೋಕ್ಷ ಭೋಜನ).

They have a belief that children after they depart from this earth live in the shape of spirits known as Iraru or Iragāvaru (ಈರರು ಅಥವಾ ಈರಗಾರರು), which visit people in their dreams and cry for help. To propitiate such spirits *Irakallus* (ಈರಕಲ್ಲುಗಳು) that is, stones having male figures cut in them, are planted outside the village and occasional worship is made to them.

When a settlement of Vaddas is suffering from the ravages of an epidemic, such as small-pox, Sidabamma (ಸಿದಾಬಮ್ಮ), i.e., the goddess of small-pox is installed on a bed made of green margosa leaves and worshipped in the usual style, curds and cooked rice mixed together forming an important item of the offerings. After due propitiation, the goddess is transported beyond the borders of their village or settlement and left at the confines of another village, the people of which with due ceremony pass her on further. This transportation from place to place goes on, till the goddess misses her way in the jungles or becomes innocuous after the monsoons have well set in.

Dress and  
ornaments.

Their women do not wear bodice cloths, or tie their hair into a knot, or dress it with oil. A woman that shows even a slight inclination to neatness and trespasses the limits of custom in the matter of dressing herself and her hair, is looked down upon as transgressing the rules of conventional propriety. They wear glass bangles on their left hands and brass ones on the right. Toe rings are used by married women only. A big nose-screw is the characteristic ornament of a Vadda woman who also puts on a large number of strings of white and black beads round her neck. They are however slowly changing in these respects imitating the more refined neighbours, Uppu Vaddas being the most conservative among them.

A Vadda man is not supposed to shave his head or beard, but this prohibition has become obsolete except among the Uppu Vaddas, who still refrain from shaving their heads, though their beards may be removed.

Other cus-  
toms.

The Vaddas have no spiritual head or *guru*. They say that long ago they had a *guru* or *razu*, who was of ascetic habits and eschewed meat and sugar. They were also vegetarians in those days. Once when they visited their *razu* in one of his periodical tours to give them *tirtha* and *prasāda* and receive their contributions, he supplied them with rice and other provisions and sent them to a pond to cook and eat their food. The sight of fish in the clear water of the stream was too tempting to be resisted, and they caught and cooked it for themselves. Their *guru* cursed them to remain flesh-eaters for all time and forsook them, and they have never again ventured to raise another to that position.

Another peculiar custom is that Vaddas never eat a tortoise. They call it their grandmother (ಅಜ್ಜ) and say that formerly it did them some service and in recognition of this, they do not kill it. If a Vadda sees anybody carrying a live tortoise for eating it, he buys it from him and takes it to a well or tank and leaves it there in the water.



## APPENDIX.

## List of Exogamous Divisions (Gótras).

		Meanings (if any)
<i>Pandiprthavarāṇṇu</i>	(ಪಂದಿಪಟ್ಟ ವಾಳು)	Pig
<i>Jarapala</i>	(ಜರಪಲ)	
<i>Alukuntala</i>	(ಆಲುಕುಂಟಲ)	
<i>Manjara</i>	(ಮಂಜರ)	
<i>Piṭala</i>	(ಪಿಟಲ)	Plank
<i>Gógala</i>	(ಗೋಗಲ)	
<i>Yannumala</i>	(ಯನುಮಲ)	Buffaloe
<i>Uppala</i>	(ಉಪ್ಪಲ)	Salt
<i>Gunjala</i>	(ಗುಂಜಲ)	
<i>Mullela</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲೆಲ)	Jasmine flower
<i>Mallepala</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲೆ ಪಲ)	
<i>Dydrangala</i>	(ದ್ರ್ಯರಂಗಲ)	
<i>Santakuppala</i>	(ಸಂತಕುಪ್ಪಲ)	Salt seller in week- ly fairs
<i>Judipila</i>	(ಜಡಿಪಿಲ)	
<i>Kunjigala</i>	(ಕುಂಜಿಗಲ)	
<i>Súrigala</i>	(ಸೂರಿಗಲ)	
<i>Boorasala</i>	(ಬೂರಸಲ)	
<i>Manjala</i>	(ಮಂಜಲ)	
<i>Sallala</i>	(ಸಲ್ಲಲ)	
<i>Pallepala</i>	(ಪಲ್ಲೆ ಪಲ)	
<i>Yidugatta</i>	(ಯಿಡುಗಟ್ಟ)	
<i>Rólu</i>	(ರೋಲು)	Mortar
<i>Dudugala</i>	(ದುದುಗಲ)	
<i>Sítala</i>	(ಸಾತಲ)	
<i>Gujjala</i>	(ಗುಜ್ಜಲ)	
<i>Battala</i>	(ಬತ್ತಲ)	
<i>Banḍi</i>	(ಬಂಡಿ)	Cart
<i>Chinna Banḍi</i>	(ಚಿನ್ನ ಬಂಡಿ)	Little cart
<i>Vayasa</i>	(ವೇರಸ)	
<i>Dandugala</i>	(ದಂಡಗಲ)	

<i>Duṇḍagaḷa</i>	(ದುಂಡಗಲ)	
<i>Gāyanaṭṭala</i>	(ಗಾಯನಾತ್ಮಲ)	
<i>Sāḍigaḷa</i>	(ಸಾಡಿಗಲ)	
<i>Rājula</i>	(ರಾಜಲ)	
<i>Baḥchukallala</i>	(ಬಚ್ಚು ಕಲ್ಲಲ)	
<i>Tyāpala</i>	(ತ್ಯಾಪಲ)	
<i>Seṭṭi</i>	(ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ)	Headman
<i>Yarra</i>	(ಯರೆ)	Red
<i>Yācala</i>	(ಯಾನಲ)	
<i>Bosidi</i>	(ಬೊಸಿರಿ)	
<i>Ganṇala</i>	(ಗಂನಲ)	Basket
<i>Yāpala</i>	(ಯಾಪಲ)	Margosa
<i>Baṇṭala</i>	(ಬಾಂತಲ)	Quilt of rags
<i>Chimpiri</i>	(ಚಿಮಿರಿ)	Dishvelled or curly-haired
<i>Uṇḍili</i>	(ಉಂಡಿಲಿ)	Spark
<i>Komaṭa</i>	(ಕೊಮಾಟ)	Dried cocconut
<i>Pārāḷa</i>	(ಪಾರಾಳು)	Flower
<i>Ryāpanāṇṇala</i>	(ರಯಾನಾಣ್ಣಲ)	

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XII  
NAYINDA CASTE.**

BY  
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## NĀYINDAS.

Nāyindas numbered according to the Census of 1901, Population.  
38,179, of whom 19,420 were males. They are found in  
largest numbers in the Districts of Bangalore, Mysore and  
Kolar.

The general name is *Nāyinda* (ನಾಯಿಂದ) in Kannada, Name.  
*Mangala* (ಮಂಗಳ) in Telugu, and *Ammattan* in Tamil. The  
Hindustani term *Hajām* (ಹಜಾಮ) is also very commonly  
employed. The term Nāyinda is said to be derived from  
the Sanskrit term Nāpita (ನಾಪಿತ) which means a barber,  
of which a shorter form *Nai* seems to be employed as  
the name of a similar caste in Northern India. The term  
*Mangala* (ಮಂಗಳ) auspicious) is applied to them, as they are  
called to assist at auspicious ceremonies in various ways.

Their profession of shaving is generally regarded as  
inauspicious, and the proper name of the caste is not pro-  
nounced especially by married women of the upper classes.  
They call him one not to be thought of or named (ನೆನೆಯ  
ಬಾರದವ or ಚಪ್ಪರಾನಿವಾಡು) especially when his name has to be  
mentioned at nights.

He is also known by his profession as *Kshaurika*  
(ಕ್ಷೌರಿಕ *Sansk.* one who shaves), *Kelasi* (ಕೆಲಸಿ *Kan.* one  
doing the work, *i. e.*, of shaving) and *Bhajantri* or *Mēṭṭagāra*  
(ಭಜಂತ್ರಿ, ಮೇಳಗಾರ, musician).

The members of this caste prefer to call themselves by  
this last name or *Angārakas* or *Nayana kshatris*. It is diffi-  
cult to discover why they adopted the name Angārakas.  
Angāraka is also known as Mangala, the planet giving the  
name to Tuesday, and as these men are styled Mangalis in  
Telugu, some one must have jocularly applied the equivalent  
of Mangala to them. Probably the name was adopted as it  
was more euphonious than their ordinary vernacular names.



\*They even say that Mars (Angáraka) is the barber for the Dévas, a statement for which there is no warrant in any of the accepted Mythological authorities.

They profess to have been born originally out of the eye of God Siva, and so they call themselves Nayana Kshatriis ("eye" Kshatriyas). Once upon a time, it is said, Párvatí seeing Siva unkempt and unshaven in the face, gave a gentle hint that her consort might with advantage pay more attention to his toilet. Siva thereupon created from his left eye a person who came out armed ready with a case of shaving implements. He pleased the god that created him with his services, and was given as a reward a set of musical instruments. He was the progenitor of the barbers, who have always added the profession of playing on wind instruments to that of shaving men.

They also refer to two persons Khandoji and Timmoji (ಖಂಡೋಜಿ, ತಿಮ್ಮೋಜಿ) as men of blessed memory (ಸಿದ್ಧ ಪುರುಷರು). But who they were, and what connection they had with this caste and the profession of shaving and music, there are no means of ascertaining. On some occasions, *tímbúlas* are taken out in their names and given over to the headman of the caste (ಕಾಲಪೆದ್ದ).

Language.

In the Districts of Kolar and Bangalore, Telugu is spoken by the majority of this caste, Kannada being their prevailing language in other places. Recent immigrants from the Telugu districts of Madras especially from Cuddapah, speak Telugu even in the city of Mysore, although they have settled there for some generations.

Divisions.

The caste has, according to the language spoken by the members, two main divisions, each of which has further sub-divisions. All these divisions and sub-divisions are said to be endogamous.

The Kannada (speaking) Náyindas are comprised of Morasu, Uppina and Silavanta (ಮೊರಸು, ಉಪ್ಪಿನ, ಶಿಲವಂತ) sub-divisions. The term *Morasu* probably indicates the country of origin being the eastern part of Mysore with the bordering British territory, and is used as a distinguishing appellation to sub-divisions of other castes also, such as Holeyas and Vokkaligas, and Morasu-Náid among Sri-Vaishnava Brahmans. *Uppina* means 'of salt' and it cannot be explained why this appellation has been given. *Silavanta* (ಶಿಲವಂತ) is either one carrying a stone (or *linga*) or *Silavanta* (ಶಿಲವಂತ), 'one of (good) character,' and is the

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\* Madras Census Report, 1891. Page 282, foot-note.

name of those who are of the Lingáyata faith. They are strict vegetarians, and do not touch liquor.

The Telugu-speaking Náyindas have four sub-divisions, Nádigaru (నాదిగారు), Radḍi-bhúmi (రడ్డి భూమి), Gundla-jáḡaṭa (గుండ్ల జాగట్ల) and Kuḍi-paiṭa (కుడిపైట్ల). Nádigaru means people of the country, but it is not known which country is meant. They are probably indigenous to Mysore. Radḍi-bhúmi (land of the Radḍis) denotes that they originally came from Bellary, Cuddapah and other Telugu tracts of the Madras Presidency. Kuḍi-paiṭa denotes that the women of this section wear their garment so that the loose end of it passes over the right shoulder from the front and hangs over the left shoulder, a fashion which is the reverse of what is generally adopted. This exceptional mode of dressing is in vogue in some other castes also, and indicates that they have all preserved some local usage, which is different from that prevailing in the place of their later settlement. The exact import of the appellation Gundla-jáḡaṭa (a round cymbal) is not known.

The Telugu Náyindas have some exogamous divisions named after plants, flowers, animals and other objects, with the usual prohibition against killing, cutting or using them. The Kannada-speaking men have not returned any such sections and have probably none existing. Some of them have returned *gótras*, connected with the name of some Rishi. There are twenty-five of them arranged in groups of five each, and marriages are prohibited between members belonging to the same group.\*

There are no hypergamous divisions in this caste.

There are few caste peculiarities in regard to ceremonies observed about the time of child-birth. As usual in most castes, the young woman goes to the house of her parents for her first accouchement. On some day either in the fifth or the seventh month of pregnancy, a feast is observed and she is given various sweet dishes to partake according to her taste and presented by her father with a wearing garment and a *racike* cloth. The husband is also generally invited, and in some places, he pays her father a sum of three rupees for expenses on account of delivery.

Birth ceremonies.

During the wife's pregnancy, the husband has to abstain from killing any animal, carrying a corpse, or putting

\* See the names given in the Appendix.

on the roof of a house. He cannot take part also in such auspicious acts as smearing the bridal pair at a marriage with turmeric powder or pouring coloured rice over their heads; nor should he touch the *milk pot* or the *bláshinga*. Certain practices are observed in case it should happen that the pains are unusually prolonged or the labour otherwise difficult. Indeed, these prohibitions and practices are common to all the castes of a similar intellectual status and have nothing to do with any particular caste. The midwife\* mutters charms over some castor oil and gives it to the patient to drink or smear over the navel. A bangle of brass or silver, preferably one with some charm or other inscribed on it, is washed in cow's urine and smoked with incense, and given to her to wear on the wrist. A *Ráma séluce* is made, *i. e.*, a number of persons standing in a row pass on a vessel of water, over which some *mantra* has been uttered from hand to hand, and the last person, generally a woman, either sprinkles the patient with the water or makes her drink a little of it.

For the same object, the husband may perform certain acts, such as pulling down the cross slab of stone planted by the side of the road over two upright slabs for resting the head loads of weary wayfarers, or running naked at night to a water course and pushing out the washing slab of washermen there, or cutting the ropes tying together the rafters of a thatch roof, or firing off a gun with blank powder near the patient's room.

The child is washed soon after birth, and the navel chord which is cut is sometimes preserved, as it is considered to make barren women who swallow it fruitful. At the threshold of the confinement room, an old winnow and a broomstick are kept, and a bunch of margosa leaves stuck to the door frame.

The mother and child are bathed on the ninth or eleventh day after *áratí*. A dinner is given to some members of the caste, and those of the Vaishnava faith invite a Sātáni priest to give *tirtha* and *prasáda* to the mother. The child is put into a cradle for the first time that evening, and a name given to it as suggested by an elderly member or by a soothsayer. Some of these men who live in towns are more ambitious and follow or profess to follow all the practices of the higher castes such as Brahmans and Komatis,

\* A midwife is generally called *Mantra-Sāni* (ಮಂತ್ರಸಾನಿ) which means an adept in *mantras* or charms.

which they have ample opportunities of observing, when they are called in to serve as musicians on such occasions.

They have no peculiarities in the names that they give to their children. Names.

It is stated that a sister's son cannot be adopted, and though he may be brought up as a foster-son, he does not obtain either the rights or incur the disabilities of an adopted son. The daughter of the foster-father may be given in marriage to such a foster-son. It is said that the affiliation of a son-in-law (*illāṇam*) does not obtain in this caste. Adoption.

Adoption must take place when the boy is young, at any rate before he is married. The ceremonies are the same as in other non-Brahman castes, *i.e.*, a caste dinner, bathing the boy and cutting off his waist-thread and putting on a new one, and sometimes giving him a new name.

A feast is observed when the male child's hair is shaved for the first time. This is done generally before the temple of the family god, and a barber of another family is employed and paid a customary fee of a *haya* for the service.

Polygamy is allowed but seldom indulged in, and polyandry is unknown. The common prohibition against marrying agnatic relations is strictly observed. Marriage is permissible with an elder sister's daughter or the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt, the first of these relations being the most popular. Only in cases of extreme necessity such as a widower not being able to procure an eligible mate, is marriage with a younger sister's daughter tolerated. \* If two families each contract a marriage with a third family, it is said that they thereby become brother families, and no marriage can take place between their members. It would follow from this rule that one cannot marry a girl from the family of one's grandmother, though it may not be the same as his own. There is no prohibition against two sisters marrying the same man either simultaneously or successively though simultaneous marriage rarely takes place; and two brothers may marry two sisters. When a man has married a daughter of his sister, his son is not allowed to marry Marriage

\* The popular saying to this effect is ಚಡಿ ಚೆಲೆಲು ಜಿಡ್ಡನು ಚೆಸುಕೊ, — an adage whose chief virtue perhaps lies in the alliteration of its principal terms.

either a daughter of that sister or of other sisters, for though before the father's marriage, they were eligible as his paternal aunt's daughters, they become the equals of his mother's sisters after that event. Exchange of daughters in marriage between two families is allowed but there is a belief that only one of them will result in a happy union.

Some persons of the caste who have risen to any position of wealth and independence have long given up shaving as their profession, and restricting themselves to acting as pipers, have changed the name of the caste to Balajiga. \* Such persons are not willing to give their daughters in marriage to those who continue to be barbers by profession.

A woman may be married at any age or may remain unmarried altogether; but it is said that an unmarried woman cannot take part in marriage ceremonies such as carrying the *kalasa* or smearing the bride with turmeric powder, and when she dies, full obsequial rites are not performed. The husband must always be older than the wife. The first proposal for marriage emanates from the father of the young man, who repairs to the bride's house with the auspicious articles, † and moots the subject in the presence of a caste assembly. These things together with a new cloth and sometimes a sum of three rupees towards expenses of the marriage are presented to the bride after her father expresses his formal consent. A Brahman astrologer fixes the proper day, and a dinner is given to the caste. After this *Vilva* or *Vakkaku sāstra* (ceremony of betel-leaves), the contract is complete, and the party that breaks it will have to pay the expenditure incurred by the other.

The marriage festivities last five days, and the ceremonies are more or less the same as in the ordinary Sudra castes. The *dérarāta* (god's feast) or the offerings to ancestors (ಪದ್ವಲಕುಪಟ್ಟೇದಿ) takes place on the first day, when the eldest male member of the house and the party to be married eat only one meal and make *pūja* to a *kalasa* set up in

\* Balajiga with its caste termination Nāydu seems to be the favourite refuge of various nondescript Telugu speaking castes, when they desire to raise their social rank so as to be in keeping with any augmentation of their material status.

† ಮಂಗಳವಸ್ತು such as turmeric powder, red saffron, areca nuts, betel-leaves, flowers, fruits, etc.

the names of the family god and the departed ancestors. The bride and the bridegroom are smeared over with turmeric powder and the young man puts on silver toe-rings. On the second day, the pandal is erected on twelve posts, of which the 'milk' post is of green *Nérale* or *Atti* (Indian fig), a twig of which has been cut for the purpose by the maternal uncle. The bride and her party arrive at the village of the bridegroom that evening and are received and duly lodged in a separate house. Five married women of both the parties go to the potter and bring the sacred pots, which should be four large ones, four smaller ones, four lamp stands, four dishes and four small goglets, which have been painted over with chunam lines. They are placed in a room on a bed of manure collected from five houses with nine kinds of grains spread over, and the lamps are lighted and kept burning all the remaining days of the marriage.

The principal ceremony takes place the next day. Early in the morning a party of men and women go to a temple and bring a *Nérale* twig back which they bind to the 'milk' post together with a *kankana*. The nails of both are pared, and after bathing, the man dressed in wedding clothes goes out to a temple, where he is seated on a blanket and married women smear his face and limbs with turmeric; and sometimes he eats a little rice behind a screen in company with his best man (ಜೋಡು ಮದವಣಿಗೆ). The bride in the meanwhile sits on a plank in the house, and a procession passes between them thrice, each time carrying some presents, and on the third time, the bridegroom also going with them, holding a dagger rolled up in a red handkerchief. After the mock resistance of pelting each other with half-husked rice, and the waving of *druti*, the bridegroom is made to stand on the dais facing the bride with a screen between them. This is presently removed, and the bridegroom ties the *tali* to the neck of the girl, while the *purohit* repeats some benedictory verses. The parents of the bride and others of the assembled people pour milk on the joined hands of the couple through a funnel of a betel-leaf, which act completes the gift of the girl to her husband. After pouring handfuls of rice over each other's head, they sit together, the girl being on the right side, and tie *kankana* on their wrists. Five women then paint their limbs with saffron, and put on *Sāse* \* and bless them. After the distribution of

\* For meaning, see account of the Koracha caste, page 10.

*tāmbūla* to the assembly, the couple have the fringes of their garments knotted together and walk round the milk post thrice and go to worship the sacred pots, their passage into the room being barred by youngsters who get a promise of a daughter in marriage and hear the husband naming his wife. After this, the newly married pair with some other married couples of both parties sit round a common dish and partake of the bridal dinner (*Bīma* ಭಿಮೆ).

On the next day called the *Nāgarali* (ನಾಗವಲಿ), the married couple go to an ant-hill with a procession, and after making *pūja* to it, the bridegroom digs some earth out of it, which the bride carries in a basket on her head. On their return to the house, twelve balls are made of this earth and one placed near each of the pillars of the pandal.

They both get their nails pared and bathe, and with wet clothes on go to the sacred pots in company with their maternal uncles, and perform *pūja* to them. Then they put on fresh clothes and perform *pūja* to the pillars, burning incense and placing offerings of cooked rice and sweet cakes before each of them. In some places, they also perform after this a ceremony which they style *asi dēranu* (ಅಸಿ ದೇವರು), for which eleven lamps made of ragi flour are filled with castor oil and kept lighted in the pandal, and worshipped by the couple. After the pot-searching ceremony,\* the *Kankana* or wrist bands are untied.

The *pūja* of *Sinhāsana* † takes place that afternoon, an elderly man of the caste and not the *purohit*, directing the ceremony. The betel-leaves and nuts taken out of the heap are distributed, the first *tāmbūla* going to the family god, the second to the progenitors of the caste Khandoji and Timnoji. The Kattēmanes or caste guilds are next honoured and then the Yajman and the Kolkar, these two getting an additional *tāmbūla* for their official position.

Some married women make *pūja* to the sacred pots, and taking them to a well, empty the contents therein together with the manure and the grains (which have probably sprouted) which formed the bed on which these pots had been placed. The vessels are distributed among the relatives, some being given to the bride's party as souvenirs of the marriage. That night, they have a dinner at the bride's house, which is styled *tūnrafi* (ತುರುವಳಿ). The next day the festivities come to a close with a return dinner (ಮರುವಳಿ)

\* See the account of the Korachia caste, page 10

† For a description of this ceremony, see the account of the Beda caste, page 9.

given to the bride's party and the caste members generally at the bridegroom's house.

The *tera* (bride price) varies between twelve and sixteen rupees and goes to the parents, who, if in good circumstances, purchase some jewel for the girl out of it. No additional sum is demanded of a widower. Nothing is by custom paid to the bridegroom. The expenses of a marriage may be roughly estimated at a hundred rupees for the male's and at a fourth of that sum for the female candidate's party. Poor men cut short the expenditure by finishing all the ceremonies in a single day, celebrating the marriage in a temple, and reducing the feeding expenses to a minimum.

Expenditure.

On attaining puberty, a girl is considered impure and kept at a distance for three days. A hut of *lakkali* (ಲಕ್ಕಲಿ) or margosa leaves is erected, and she is decked in festive dress and exhibited in state in the evenings for three or four days. The husband bears the expenses of all this show. A dinner is given to the caste on a day fixed, and the husband and wife live together thenceforth. The ceremony is done in simpler style for an unmarried girl, and when marriage subsequently takes place, the husband and wife may live together from the fourth day of the marriage. In some places,\* however, they seem to imitate some of the higher castes in putting off the cohabitation for three months after the marriage.

...

Remarriage of women is prohibited in some sections of this caste, while the majority allow it. A widow may not marry her deceased husband's brother, elder or younger. After announcing their intention to marry before an assembly of castemen, the man ties a *titi* after obtaining the headman's permission. The ceremony generally takes place in the evening and is followed by a dinner. Regularly married women take no part in it. The bride price is usually half the amount due for a virgin marriage. The general rules of law are recognised about her losing her rights over the property and the issue of her previous husband. A remarried woman has the usual social disabilities of being denied any prominent part in marriage and similar festivities. Such marriages are said to be looked upon with disfavour, a sure sign of a desire on the part of these men to raise themselves in the social scale. It is said that the amount of bride price is diminished by half for every successive marriage, though cases of more

Widow-marriage.

\* E.g., Hassan.



than two marriages are very rare. There is no time prescribed within which a widow should not remarry after her husband's death.

#### Divorce.

Those who allow widow marriage are, as may be expected, more lax in the way in which they look upon divorce and disregard of marital obligations. Among them, if an unmarried girl associates with a man of the caste, she may be married to him in *kudike* form. A man who seduces a married woman, may marry her subsequently on paying the marriage expenses of her husband, and giving a dinner and paying a fine to the caste. Either the husband or the wife may get a divorce if they agree, and marry again in the *kúlike* form. The fault of adultery in a woman may be condoned by the caste headman, if she undergoes an expiatory ceremony, after which the husband may take her into his house.

They do not celebrate any mock marriages with trees or swords when real husbands cannot be found, nor do they dedicate girls to temples.

#### Death ceremonies.

The *Silavanta* Náyindas observe the same ceremonies as Lingáyatas for burying the dead body. The Jangama or the Lingáyata priest is invited to consecrate the body with the water in which his feet have been washed; the body is carried in a *vimána* in a sitting posture and lowered into the pit in a sitting posture with a *linga* in its hand. After the grave is filled up, the *Jangama* is worshipped standing on it, and assures the mourners that the deceased reached Kailása (the heaven of Siva).

Those who wear *náma* marks, invite the Vaishnava (Sátáni) priest. After washing the body and putting *námás* on it, the priest worships a *chakra* (discus) near it with offerings of food and liquor, of which afterwards he partakes a little and distributes the remainder as *tírtha* and *prasáda*. The body is buried in a lying posture.

Those who belong to neither of these cults bury the dead body in the same manner as Vakkaligas or Kurubas and with similar ceremonies.

On the third day, the chief mourner and the bearers of the corpse purify themselves with a shave, and a bath after the shoulders which bore the dead body are anointed with oil. They offer food and water at the grave for the ghost of the deceased. The pollution (*sútaka*)\* is removed on the eleventh day. Tirunánadháris (Vaishnavas)

worship the *chakra* (discus) again on the grave with ceremonies as in the first day on a larger scale. After they return home, they continue their eating and drinking sometimes far into the night under the lead of their *Sátáni* priest, those who are not *Námadhárís* being altogether excluded on such occasions.

They go to a temple the next day to get the gate of heaven opened for the entry of the departed soul. The deceased man's son shies a lump of butter at the image, and repeats the formula that if the deceased had thrown stones, he now throws butter;\* and prays that god may preserve the survivors safely, though it pleased him to take away the deceased †

Before the end of the month, the *Lingáyata Náyindas* feast the *Agas* or priests in memory of the deceased (ಗಣಾರಾಧನೆ).

For children or unmarried persons dying, only the third day ceremony is performed, fried grains, plantains and milk being placed on the grave instead of cooked food.

Their period of *sútaka* is ten days for agnates, and three days for children. They do not observe any pollution for the death of daughter's children. During such period, they eschew the use of luxuries such as milk and sweet cakes, and do not go to play music in temples.

They do not perform annual *śráddhas* for deceased ancestors. On the *Mahálaya* New Moonday, they worship a *kaṭasa* in memory of all their ancestors, offering new clothes and food before it. A second wife sometimes performs such ceremonies intended to propitiate the spirit of her deceased predecessor.

The bodies of persons meeting with unnatural death are also buried with the same ceremonies as those of others. Except the wrapping shroud, nothing is buried with any corpse. A three pie piece is placed on the grave when filled up, and the *Holeyá* of the place takes it as his perquisite.

It is a disputed point between the *Agasas* and *Náyindas* as to which caste is entitled to precedence. On public

Social position and habits.

\* ಸತ್ತವನು ಕಲ್ಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹೂಡಿದಿದ್ದರೆ ಈಗ ಬೆಣ್ಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೂಡಿಯುತ್ತಾನೆ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ.

The idea is that of expiation for the evil deeds of the departed man.

† ಹೋದವರು ಹೋಗಲಾಗಿ ಇರುವವರನ್ನು ತಣ್ಣಗೆ ಕಾಪಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಾ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ.

occasions such as distribution of *prasāda* in a temple, discord is avoided by doing the thing simultaneously to both of them. Agasas do not supply the canopy cloth for pandals; or hold torches during processions at the marriages of Náyindas. The latter in retaliation decline to act as musicians or pare the nails of the parties to marriages in Agasa families. On ordinary occasions, however, each caste has no objection to perform its professional services for members of the other.

The touch of a Náyinda is considered to defile a Brahman, a Kómati and men of some other similar castes. All Hindus consider it absolutely necessary to purify themselves by bathing the whole of their bodies and washing all the clothes they had on after getting a shave. The hairs are all carefully picked and removed, and the spot where the operation was done, is washed with cow-dung and water. Shaving is considered an inauspicious operation, on account of its association with the unfortunate widows of higher castes, and so women shrink from the touch of the barber caste though men have to undergo tonsure for many an auspicious ceremony also. On the whole, the men of this caste are held in lower estimation than Agasas chiefly on this account.

They are a settled people and live in the same quarters as other non-Brahmins in the village, and own the same kind of houses in accordance with their means, many in town living in tiled houses of substantial construction.

#### Admission of strangers

In some parts of the State such as Kolar and Mysore Districts, the Náyindas admit persons of a higher caste as members. If the recruit is a child under one year, he is taken as a member of the caste without any disabilities. But others and their issue are generally regarded as forming a distinct section with whom one may dine in company, but intermarriage is interdicted. It is doubtful, however, if this distinction is kept up for more than a short period, till the origin is forgotten. For taking a new man into the caste, the tongue is slightly touched with heated gold, and *tirtha* and *prasāda* obtained from a temple for him, and a fine has to be paid and a dinner given to the caste. In Bangalore, they say that no recruitment is thus allowed; and even if a woman of a higher caste associates with one of this class, the latter will not be permitted to eat food cooked by her without losing his caste. It is, however, likely that this is an exaggerated statement of persons who wish to prove that they are as exclusive as the higher

castes. The social rank of Náyindas is somewhere near that of Agasas and Bedas. Perhaps their profession as musicians, and the greater opportunities of observing more intimately the manners and customs of the higher castes on religious and ceremonial occasions, have given them certain advantages and made them imitate somewhat more extensively such customs and usages. They also make a better show in the matter of education, the Census returns showing that 2·1 per cent of them know how to read and write, while the percentage for the whole population is only 4·8.

They do not shave Holeyas and Mádigas who have their own barbers, and do not play at the marriages of these castes, and also of Agasas, Korachas and Vaddas. They may live in the same quarters as other (non-Brahman) castes, and draw water from a common well.

The chief occupation of this caste is that of barbers; Occupation and they are also professional musicians. They were formerly also village surgeons, for dressing wounds and setting broken limbs, but this part of their work has almost disappeared, as after the spread of hospitals and dispensaries, very few care to avail themselves of their services. Women of this caste were employed as midwives, and many in remote villages have still that vocation. A Náyinda is a recognized member of the village service, and as such, he has to play at the services in the village temple. Where there are a number of them in a village, they perform such service in turns. For barber's service also, they have recognized families of customers, and one of them does not encroach within the circle of another.

They carry the instruments of their trade always with them in a leather pouch which is hung under their left shoulder, and a barber is readily recognized by the bulging in the left side within his upper garment. The contents of this bag are razors, scissors, a small hone, a leather strop, a nail parer, a looking glass and a cup for water. The instruments are all cheap and crude, made in the country, but they are kept sharp, and many barbers are experts in shaving very clean, without using any soap or brush. It has become common, especially in the larger towns to use razors of European manufacture together with soap and brush for shaving; and in Bangalore, there are one or two whose trade is so flourishing as to need a bicycle for swift locomotion.

Their musical instruments are various, and some Ná-yindas attain considerable proficiency in this art. The wind instruments are three or four classes of pipes, the *Sruti* (ಸೃತಿ) used as an accompaniment to the more important *Nāgasara* (ನಾಗಸರ), the former giving a continuous monotonous sound, and the latter playing the different tunes. These two are played on all important occasions. They have also smaller flutes and pipes sounded in a lower key, for what they style the *Sanna Mēla* (ಸಣ್ಣ ಮೇಳ). They have small drums of two or three kinds and also cymbals for tāla (ತಾಲ). In larger places, they have organised bands of European music which they imitate with more or less success. A few of them play on the fiddle, but they do not touch *vina* or the *lambūri*, which rank as a higher class of musical instruments in India.

The necessity of this service (of music especially) in connection with many solemn celebrations of all classes of Hindus is so great, that a Ná-yinda is also known as a 'Mangalavāṇu' (ಮಂಗಳವಾಡು) in Telugu, *i.e.* 'an auspicious man,' though curiously enough his profession is so connected with the unfortunate disfigurement of widows in some of the higher castes, that he is at the same time regarded with some aversion, and that the very name of his caste should not be mentioned by married woman, especially in the night time. Before taking part as musicians in connection with religious ceremonies in temples and elsewhere, the chief man of the group so engaged, shaves himself and bathes for purification. The profession of music being the higher of the two, men of this caste as they grow prosperous in life give up shaving, and assume the name of Telugu Balajis as their caste. They decline to have marriage relations with those who still continue in the barber's occupation. Similarly Ná-yindas who are Lingá-yatas in religion are not allowed to have social relations on terms of equality with other Lingá-yatas.

The remuneration of barbers is regulated by custom in the rural parts of the State. For an ordinary family having three or four male members, five Kolagas \* of grain

\* A *Kolaga* (ಕೊಳಗ) is a measure of capacity for grain, being a twentieth part of a *Khandaga* (ಖಂಡಗ) or *Putti* (ಪುಟ್ಟು). The quantity going to a *Khandaga* varies very widely, being only 50 seers in some places and so much as 3,200 seers in some other places. The standard *Khandaga* for the State known as Krishnaraja Khandaga is 160 seers, and it is this that is meant when the term is not qualified to denote some local variety.

with a winnowful of paddy or other grain (ಮೊಬತ್ತ) and a bundle of straw (ಹೊಕ್ಕುಲು) at the threshing floor, are the annual allowance. On days on which he goes to render service, the barber is fed at the house of the customer, and on feast days, the Náýinda like other *Ayagáras* (ಆಯಗಾರ) or persons remunerated by customary fees in kind, gets loles of cooked food at the houses of the chief village families. On special occasions, such as the first tonsure of a child, or shaving on the occasion of *upanayana*, the barber is given a fee of a *hana* (4 As. 8 p.) in cash, raw rice and other provisions, and a cloth, generally the one worn by the person shaved.

In larger towns, the practice of yearly payments is not in vogue, and money wages are paid generally for each operation, varying according to the position of the patient and the skill of the barber. The usual fee for adults is one anna in small, and two annas in larger towns. The Náýindas are also paid separately for playing as musicians, the rates varying according to the demand at the particular season of the year, from 1 or 2 rupees to 10 or 12 rupees for a band of four or six individuals. The fee paid in villages for attendance at marriages is generally fixed at Rs. 2.

There are quite a number of them now who have taken to agriculture either owning the lands they cultivate, or being tenants on *Vāra*\* or other terms. This is generally an addition to their caste occupation, which in the villages is not sufficiently remunerative, but there are many families which have altogether ceased to follow their customary trades and in fact have altogether forgotten them. Náýindas are not hunters by profession, but they have no objection to join parties organised by others. There are also some carpenters and bricklayers among them. Very few have found a place in the higher walks of life such as Government service, though one of them is known to have risen as high as a Subordinate Judge in the Bombay Presidency.

These worship both Siva and Visnu. Those known as *Silavantas* are *Lingáyatas* and worship only Siva, while *Tirunámadháris* who profess the Vaishnava faith also reverence Siva. Each family worships some special deity as its patron god. There is no particular god regarded as entitled to the distinctive allegiance of the

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\* *Vāra* (ವಾರ) is a lease on the condition of paying a defined share of the produce, generally a half, in kind to the landlord,

whole caste. The other deities worshipped are Munísvara (ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ), *Akkagúru* (ಅಕ್ಕಗಾರು the sisters), who are regarded as spirits of the woods and trees, Gangamma (ಗಂಗೆಮ್ಮ water-god) and the *Grímadéete* (ಗ್ರಾಮದೇವತೆ) such as Máramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ) and Sidubamma (small-pox spirit). Fowls and sheep are sacrificed to these goddesses and eaten afterwards by the devotees. Pújaris may or may not be employed to conduct this worship.

The *Akkagúru* have no temples generally. On a Tuesday or a Friday, a small shed of green leaves of Honge (ಹೊಂಗೆ), *Pongamia glabra* is put up outside the village in a grove or near a well or a river, and seven small stones to represent seven sisters are installed therein, with one stone in front to represent Munísvara. A lamp is lit, and púja made by offerings of turmeric, *Kunkuma*, flowers and fruits and the burning of incense. A fowl or a sheep is sacrificed, and is afterwards cooked and eaten up on the spot, no part of it being brought home. They give a *támbúla* in honour of some departed worthies of their caste Khandoji and Timmoji, but there are no shrines answering to these names.

Those who are Lingáyatas employ Jangamas or other Lingáyatas as their priests. Others employ during marriages, Brahmans, who, though they do not enter the houses, have no objection to go into the marriage pandals of these men, and are not on that account subjected to any social ban on the part of other Brahmans. Sātáni men act as priests in connection with death and funeral ceremonies of the Náýindas bearing the Nāma marks. The *gurus* of this caste are Srí-Vaishnava Brahmans who pay periodical visits for the purpose of giving them *tirtha* and *prasāda*, and collecting the customary fees.

#### Feasts.

They observe as feasts, the Yugádi (New-year's-day) Gauri festival, the Mahánavami, Dipávālī and Sankránti. The implements of their trade are worshipped at the Gauri festival and Mahánavami during the Dasara. They worship the serpent in the ant-hills on Nágara Panchami day, and take only one meal. They also take only one full meal on the Saturdays of the Srávana month in honour of the god of Tirupati, and on the Sivarátri and the chief Ékádasi (the 11th day of the first fortnight of Asháḍha). They give *cāra* (ಎಡೆ), i.e., uncooked provisions to *Dāsaris* on Saturday in Sravana and to Jangamas on Sivarátri day.

There are no peculiarities in the rules of inheritance. It is said that a larger share is sometimes given at the partition to the eldest brother, but the usage is apparently not wide-spread enough to be recognised as enforceable. Inheritance

Náyindas belong to the Eighteen Phanás. They have a number of *Katté-mané* (ಕಟ್ಟೆಮನೆ) each with a Yajman at the head ; and four or five of these *Katté-mané* are under a Setti. Dēsa-setti, who is generally a Lingáyata Banajiga, has jurisdiction over the whole caste within his area. Each Yajman has a *kolkar* (beadle) under him. The disputes that arise for settlement in their caste assemblies relate generally to adultery or transgression of caste rules. When any matter of more than usual importance crops up, the Dēsa-setti, caste Setti, and the several Yajmans with their *kolkars* have to be present along with castemen. The Setti and other office-bearers are paid some fees according to a prescribed scale, and all the expenses of such meetings are borne by the persons at whose instance they have been convened. Caste organization.

Náyindas are allowed to eat meat and drink spirituous liquors, both toddy and arrack. They cannot touch beef ; and the meat of such animals as monkeys and snakes which are eschewed by all respectable castes is also prohibited. Bestas are the lowest caste in whose houses they are allowed to take food. Holeyas and Mádigas seem to be the only castes who eat food cooked by them. Food.

They have the usual belief of the uncultured in omens, oracles, magic and sorcery and occasionally consult soothsayers ; and such belief is, as may be expected, more in evidence in villages than in towns. They have no peculiar games, but take part as musicians in the exhibitions of strolling players known as Dombí Dásaru (ದೊಂಬಿ ದಾಸರು), contributing the musical parts of the performance. In dress and ornaments, they are exactly like other castes of similar status such as Bédas and Agasas. Women and occasionally men before they are twenty, get tattooed by Koracha women, with the object of improving their personal appearance. Miscellaneous.



## APPENDIX.

## List of Exogamous Divisions or Gótras.

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*Chiplu* (ಚಿಪ್ಪು) Name of a tree which they neither cut nor burn.

*Gurram* (ಗುರ್ರಂ), Horse. They do not ride a horse.

*Gautalu* (ಗೌತಲು)

*Jambu* (ಜಂಬು) a kind of reed which they do not cut.

*Kánagula* (ಕಾನಗುಲ) or *Honge* (ಹೊಂಗೆ) *Pongamia glabra*. They do not cut this tree nor burn this fuel nor the oil of this seed.

*Káru* (ಕಾರು) a tree which they never cut.

*Mallela* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲ) Jessamine. They do not use this flower.

*Mutyála* (ಮುತ್ಯಾಲ) Pearl.

*Navilu* (ನವಿಲು) Pea-cock. They do not eat this bird.

*Pálu* (ಪಾಲು) a herb known as *Pálu mullangi* (ಪಾಲು ಮುಲ್ಲಂಗಿ), which they do not eat.

*Pasupu* (ಪಸುಪು) Turmeric. They do not raise turmeric crop.

*Sámanti* (ಸಾಮಂತಿ) *Chrysanthemum*. They do not use this flower.

*Uttarēni* (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ) a plant. *Achryranthes aspera*, which they neither cut nor touch.

Some have returned gótras named after certain Rishis.

Prastanapa

(ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾನಪ)

Puharuna

(ಪುಹರುನ)

Vástuka

(ವಾಸ್ತುಕ)

Visvabhadra

(ವಿಶ್ವಭದ್ರ)

Sasvara

(ಸಸ್ರವ)

1st Group.

Ruchidatta

(ರುಚಿದತ್ತ)

Lókahéti

(ಲೋಕಹೇತಿ)

Indraséna

(ಇಂದ್ರಸೇನ)

Bhadra

(ಭದ್ರ)

Kólapála

(ಕೋಲಪಾಲ)

2nd Group.

Vástupati

(ವಾಸ್ತುಪತಿ)

Chitrakamánu

(ಚಿತ್ರಕಮಾನು)

Giridharma

(ಗಿರಿಧರ್ಮ)

Dévabhadr

(ದೇವಭದ್ರ)

Rájadharmā

(ರಾಜಧರ್ಮ)

3rd Group.

Kausala

(ಕೌಸಲ)

Sahasrabhíru

(ಸಹಸ್ರಭೀರು)

Vasudharma

(ವಸುಧರ್ಮ)

Vyanjaka

(ವ್ಯಂಜಕ)

Bhúktavyaya

(ಭೂಕ್ತವ್ಯಯ)

4th Group.

Sanabhasa

(ಸನಭಸ)

Désakamānu

(ದೇಶಕಮಾನು)

Vajrachéta

(ವಜ್ರಚೇತ)

Prabhūtavanu

(ಪ್ರಭೂತವನು)

Yājñamati

(ಯಾಜ್ಞಮತಿ)

5th Group.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XVI**

**SANYASI CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**



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## S A N Y A S I S.

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Sanyâsis form a caste of itinerant mendicants of the Saiva order known generally as Sanyâsis and are found thinly spread in the districts of Kolar, Hassan and Mysore. Name of the caste.

The only resemblance they have to Brahman Sanyâsis is wearing orange coloured clothes, and living by begging to which they are initiated by a Lingayet priest. They are known as Jangama Kâpulu. Sometimes they are identified with Sudugâdu Siddas in Hassan and Mysore as being like them the devotees of Siva, the lord of the burial ground. They are hereditary claimants of *Neludâga*, the fees of the burial ground, though a Kulavadi generally receives the amount, a portion of the collections being given over to them whenever a claim is made. In contradistinction from Lingayet Jangams they call themselves as Ghantâ Jangams as they carry a bell with them to announce their arrival at a new place for alms.

Their home language is Telugu though they have picked up Kannada, the language of their adopted country.

They believe they are the descendants of the Jangams (the Lingayet priests) who had taken a vow of celibacy and mendicancy, but unable to observe them, lived with Telugu Kâpu or Gangadikâr women. In accordance with this reputed origin, their status is much lower than that of the Lingayet Jangams. Origin of the caste

Telugu and Kannada Sanyâsis, Sudugâdu Siddas, Honnûru Bâbaiya Jangams and Pûsalu or Sanchalu Jangams form their chief endogamous divisions. They generally do not go out of their division for brides but Telugu Sanyâsis seem to have no objection to intermarry with Kannada Sanyâsis. Honnur Bâbaiya Jangamalu remain entirely separate either for marriage alliances or partaking of food, as their religious beliefs are tinged with traces of Mohammadanism. Endogamous Divisions

Exogamous Divisions are found in the appendix arranged according as they are related as consanguinous Exogamous Divisions



brothers or marriageable relations with each other. The names of these divisions are traced to their original territory situated in the Telugu country.

**Personal names** Personal names are selected from those of their tutelary deities. Names as Póṭla, (buffalo or a male animal) and Tippa (manure heap) are sometimes used; but such names are only rarely given.

**General rules of marriage** A girl may be married before she attains puberty but it is more common to celebrate the marriage later. Very often, the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house until he becomes a father of two or three children before he settles elsewhere. There is no harm if a woman remains unmarried, but generally all women are married within five or six years of their attaining the age of womanhood. Males are generally married after they are twenty years of age.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated except to the extent that a woman who is seduced by a man of the same caste may become his *Kúṭige* wife. He has to pay a fine of seven rupees to the caste. If he is already married and does not wish to encumber himself further, he will have to recompense her by paying some money and a few *pallas* of ragi that she may maintain herself till she can find some one, to give her the status of a *Kúṭige* wife. Children of such unions are married to such as stand in a similar position.

**Marriage relations** An elder sister's daughter is preferred to any other to be taken in marriage, and a paternal aunt's and maternal uncle's daughter comes next. There is no objection to marrying two sisters at the same time or successively; or in two families exchanging daughters. The recognised profession of the caste being mendicancy, some who live by selling beads such as Sanchalu Jangamalu or Púsalu Jangamalu are considered inferior, and others do not as a rule intermarry with them.

**Ceremonies observed at a woman's puberty** On the day a girl attains her age, she is kept outside the house in a shed of green leaves of Tangadi (*Sorba*) which is put up by her father or husband and if she is not married, by an intended husband. Two or three girls keep her company and amuse her with *Nalugu*, which is to smear her body and face with turmeric powder and adorn her head with wreaths of flowers. During this period she is given rich food consisting of sesamum, jaggory, dhall and plantains. After her meal she is anointed with ghee and bathed. On

the morning of the third day, the shed or some portions of its materials are burnt at a distance, and the girl bathes before getting into the house. On the fifth and seventh day she again bathes and sprinkles over her head the urine of a cow to purify herself from pollution. She might henceforth touch the utensils in the house and enter the kitchen. In the two succeeding periods of monthly sickness, she similarly lives outside and drinks cow's urine after bathing but afterwards she has only to bathe after the occurrence of sickness.

Some months before the marriage, the bridegroom in the company of his parents or other elders visits the intended bride's house and presents betel-leaves, nuts and fruits. The match is formally settled and the period for which the intended son-in-law has to remain in his father-in-law's house is fixed. On the settlement of these matters, betel-leaves and nuts are distributed among the persons assembled and sometimes they are invited to dine at the bride's house. Marriage ceremonies

For performing the marriage, a Monday is deemed lucky. The services of an astrologer for finding the proper day are rarely sought for. The initial ceremony takes place on a Sunday and is styled the applying of saffron to the bridal pair (ಸತ್ಯವತ್ಸವ). The girl after bathing dresses herself in a new suit of clothes and puts on new bangles and flowers. The bridegroom shaves his face, pares his nails, bathes and puts on toe-rings.

On Monday, a round pandal of twelve pillars is put up before the house of the bride and another before that of the bridegroom. Underneath the pandal in front of the bride's house, a milk post of *Kalli* wood is pitched and its top is decorated with the leaves of *Houye* or *Alli* tree. In the interior of each house they instal three stones or a Kalasa to represent their tutelary deity which is either, Gurumūrti or Chokkamma Dévaru over a bed of rice spread on a plank. In front of the deity they burn a light fed with ghee, and spread an *Eda* consisting of boiled rice and curds over a plantain leaf. For the purposes of other marriage ceremonies they consecrate another Kalasa to be portable. The bride's father or her brother and in the absence of both, the bridegroom, offers *pūja* to the deity by placing over it flowers and sandal paste and burning incense. A he-goat is sacrificed in the bridegroom's house and a she-goat in that of the bride. If the deity worshipped happens to be Chokkamma, the slaughtered

animal is concealed behind a screen. The flesh of both the victims is mixed and served to the bridal party. At the end of the feast, the bride and the bridegroom are treated with Nalagu.

On the following day in the morning, *tambúlas* are distributed to the marriage guests, in order of precedence. In the afternoon, a potter is made to sit exhibiting his pots under a tree and two men are employed in decorating them with lines of *chunam*. Two *Nèralè* twigs are planted in two pits near the place. A party of married women and men going in procession, buy his pots after presenting him with a *tambúla* and provisions including oil and soap-nut for a bath. They also bear the washermen's charge for washing his clothes that day. The *Nèralè* twigs are pulled out by the women and carried with them to tie up to the milk post by way of decoration. In the meanwhile the bridegroom has paid twelve rupees as *tera* (bride price) to the bride's father and given presents to the bride of a white *Sire* and some quantity of pepper, garlic and spices.

In front of the Milk Post, five plantain leaves are spread in each of two rows, and some sweet cakes are placed on them. These offerings are meant for Rudra and Vírabhadra. One of the elderly men of the caste ties a *Linga* on the arm of the bridegroom and one on that of the bride. He answers for Rudra and another acting for the deity Vírabhadra, both blow on conch shells and ring bells and then eat up the cakes on the leaves.

In the course of the night, *Arivèni* or the sacred pots brought from the place where the potter had exhibited his wares in the afternoon are installed over a bed of manure spread opposite to the tutelary deity Gurumúrti or the Milk Post. Lamps fed with castor oil are lit in saucers placed over these pots.

On Wednesday morning, the nails of the bridal pair are pared by a barber and after their bath Nalagu is performed. The bride and the bridegroom dress themselves at their best and after tying chaplets to the head of each other, enter the marriage booth. Then the parties go in separate processions to an appointed spot, where a washerman spreads a cloth for the whole party to sit on. As they meet, a screen separates the bride and bridegroom, but they tie the *kankana* to each other putting forth their hands over the screen. The bride pushes her foot below the screen, and stepping over it, the bridegroom ties the *táli* round her neck, after obtaining

the formal consent of the assembly. The couple then pour rice over each other's head. Then the elders of the caste knot together their fingers and tie the ends of their clothes and the married couple prostrate themselves before the assembly and receive their blessings. This part constitutes the *dhare* or the essential part of the marriage.

Dinner is served to the whole party assembled for the *dhare*, when the new bridal pair do *púja* to the *ariceni*. After this the *Simhāsana* *púja* is performed, for which a quantity of betel-leaves and nuts are heaped over a blanket and incense burnt before it, conch shell and bell being sounded. The bridegroom repeats the various names of Siva and presents the first *tambúla* to the priest. Then the Kulam-Pedda (the head of the caste) *Gadigadu* (*pújari*) and *Buddhivanta* (wise man) each in order receive their share. Then the various functionaries of the village and the other persons present are given *tambúla* in order.

In the evening, the bridegroom with his bride worship an anthill and carrying some of its earth, raise an altar with it round the milk post and place a quantity of cooked rice over it, and before each of the pillars of the pandal. *Nalugu* is again performed at this altar. With a toy plough, the bridegroom ploughs the soil round the milk post while the bride throws seeds into the furrows, as her brother goads his new brother-in-law with a stick.

Music and dances are eschewed in their marriages.

The expenses of marriage generally amount to about thirty-five rupees of which twelve is the *tera* or bride price, four or five rupees the price of small ornaments, and a similar amount, of cloths, the remainder being used for food and drink.

Polygamy is rare and polyandry unknown.

Marriage of widows in *Kutike* form is permitted. A widow may not marry any of her husband's *gnátis* and has also to avoid those of her father's sept. The essential portion of the ceremony is for the husband to tie a string of *rudrákshi* beads round her neck in the presence of the elders of the caste. Such a woman cannot take part in ceremonial functions, and she loses all claim over the property and the children left by her deceased husband.

Either party may obtain a divorce after paying some fine to the caste, and a divorced woman may apparently marry another man in *kutike* form. If the wife is guilty of adultery, her paramour has to pay the husband all his

Widow Marriage.

Divorcee.

marriage expenses and the cost of her jewels, together with a fine of seven rupees to the caste and half the amount of *tera* to her father. If a wife is divorced without her fault, she does not lose her right to maintenance, as she would for adultery. Adultery involves loss of caste. If the husband condones the offence, he has to pay a fine of seven rupees, in addition to two rupees for keeping the woman in caste. Sometimes, the seducer is also made to pay a fine of seven rupees.

Death  
Cere-  
monies

At the approach of death, the patient is generally removed to a verandah or other sheltered spot outside the house. Some water in which gold or the leaves of the sacred Tulasi plant are washed is poured into his mouth. The legs are crossed before *rigor mortis* sets in. The body is washed with warm water and smeared over with ashes, and wrapped in new cloth. A string of beads is placed round the neck, and pounded betel-leaves and nut stuffed in the mouth, the body placed in an upright position on a bier of *Kalli* wood. The corpse of an unmarried person is carried to the graveyard slung on a single bamboo stick. Flowers are placed over the body, incense is burnt before it and some cooked rice kept at the corners of the bier before it is carried to the last resting place. The chief mourner goes in front of the body with a pot in which cooked rice is taken, and the procession goes along with conches blowing and bells ringing. Four persons carry the body and rest it half way on the ground, when rice is again served at the four corners of the bier. The body is stripped of all clothing and buried with its head towards the south. Some balls of *vibhuti* are placed along with it, and the son and the wife of the deceased throw in the first clods of earth to fill the grave. A stone about two feet high is planted over the grave, and rice and water are placed over it for the use of the departed spirit. The mourners all return to the house, in which at the place where the deceased breathed his last, a lamp is kept burning and some food and water placed. They prostrate themselves before the lamp, and repair to the nearest tavern to have a carouse for the peace of the departed soul, which they euphemistically style "touching the Gangamma."

On the third day the house is cleaned and white-washed. Some rice boiled with the flesh of a fowl, and pulses and greens is placed over the grave, to be eaten up by crows, in which the spirit of the deceased is supposed to have taken its temporary abode. The carriers

get rid of their taint of contamination by bathing on the third day and drinking some cow's urine. The relatives of the principal mourner have to visit him before the twelfth day; otherwise they should meet only after exchanging cups and betel-leaves in a tavern.

The *sūtaka* is got rid of on the twelfth day, when the old cooking pots are thrown away and replaced by new ones. They prepare their food that day under a new pandal with new earthen pots, and they are allowed to eat flesh of a goat or sheep for the first time after mourning. The deceased man's son goes with the *pūjāri* and drowns an earthen image of a bull in water. This ceremony, called *jalādi* (జలాది), is said to enable the spirit to live in water in the form of a bull till in its good time, it is called up to heaven. The widow removes her bangles and *tālī*; and if a man has become a widower, he removes his toe-rings on the twelfth day. The *pūjāri* is then presented with flowers and a *dakshina* of 4 pies by each of the party who prostrate themselves at his feet, and have their foreheads touched with *ribhūta* by him. They all return after bathing in water, and the chief mourner is given some gruel to drink. This is styled milk drinking (పాలుపెచ్చెడి). They have a look at the lamp at the place of death once again, and repair to the tavern to finish the mourning with drink.

The last part of the funeral rites consists of enrolling the departed soul among the ancestors (పితృభాగదానము). An image of a bull (cow), and a receptacle for oil are made of rice flour by the *Pūjāri*. The latter is lighted with a wick and the lamp and the bull are placed on a sieve made of a few twigs. After offering *pūja* these things are lifted towards the sky, and the *Pūjāri* and the mourners all repeat the formula "Go to Kailāsā holding on to the tail of the cow (కైలాసమునకు వెళ్లి కొమ్మనుట్టికొమ్మ)".

They perform no yearly *Śrāddhas*, but sometimes place offerings of new cloths, fruits and flowers on the grave on some festive days.

No special ceremonies are prescribed for those who die a violent death.

Ragi is their staple food, and rice is used occasionally Food. as a luxury. They eschew the meat of uncloven footed animals, and of crocodiles, lizards and other vermin. The flesh of sheep, goat, wild cat, mongoose, rabbit, squirrels, fish and deer may be eaten. Of course they do not touch what remains after use by other people. They do not

believe they would become socially higher if they abstain from flesh or any other kind of food.

Social  
status.

They eat food cooked with water from the hands of Okkaligas, Kurubas, Gollas, Bédas, Banjigas and Modaliars; but they consider Vaddas, Bôyees, Mondaru, Hajams, Agasas and Korachas as beneath them. Dásaris eat the food given by Sanyásis. Modaliyars are said to regard this caste with special regard and to feed them in their houses often.

In respect of going to temples, touching wells and getting services of barbers and washermen, they are not different from the higher classes of *non-dvijas*.

Inherit-  
ance.

They follow the ordinary law of inheritance, *Illátam* is not in vogue among them. A widow wishing to remarry has to return all the jewels and other property received from her deceased husband to his family. It is said that in default of heirs, the property of a Sanyási goes to his castemen or to Parvata Simhāsana Maṭha.

Caste con-  
stitution.

They have a caste constitution consisting of a Guru, a Kulampedda (ಕೂಲಂಪೆಡ್ಡ- caste head), a Guḍigāḍu or Pūjāri and Buddhivanta or a wise man. These form a Panchāyat and decide all caste disputes. The Kulampedda who is the head of the caste wields extensive executive powers and regulates the period of begging tours and levies fines on any persons who disobey his injunctions. For thefts and other misdemeanours these are punished severely by their own caste headman and Sanyásis, as a class, are free from any criminal tendencies.

Religion.

Though they worship the idols of Venkataramana, Akkanma Dévaru and Gangamma and others of this class, they are by preference devotees of Śiva in his various forms of Veerabbadra, Rudra and Bhairava. To them Śiva's Nandi or Bull is sacred and like Lingāyat priests they wear ashes on their body, tie a wreath of rūdrākshi (the berry of the tree *Elaescarpus ganitrus*) beads to their neck, dress themselves in kávi or ochre coloured cloth and carry a cane and a bell in the hand and with a begging pouch slung under their arms. They are not however Lingāyats and do not wear the *linga*, but are only disciples of Lingāyat maṭhas, of which it is said that there are seventy-two.\*

\* The principal of them are :—

Srisaṭṭa or Sivagiri	Gāḷisiddappa Maṭha	Kaveekantappa Maṭh <sup>a</sup>
Simhasana Maṭha	Nirvāṇaswāmi Maṭha	Karike Basappa Maṭh <sup>a</sup>
Nidumānūdi Maṭha of	Mallayyanavara Maṭha	Bababudangire Maṭh <sup>a</sup>
Gulur	Sitappa Maṭha	Kurnye Kallaijayya
Laharaswāmi Maṭha	Sivagangappa Maṭha	and Manappa Maṭha

Before the Sanyási enters on his begging profession, he undergoes an initiation ceremony under his Lingáyat Guru who invests him with the insignia of a mendicant, viz., *jòligè* (bag) beads, ochre coloured cloth, ashes, a conch, a bell, a gourd, a cane and twisted hair. The disciple in return has to pay some contribution of money annually to his Guru.

Once a year, they worship Akkamma a Goddess of topos. The *pújári* is generally a Koracha, and the devotees take offerings of fried Bengal gram, fried rice, pulses and cocoanuts. The *pújári* burns camphor and incense and returns the eatables as *prasāda*. Sometimes a sheep or a goat is killed, and women carry an offering of *tambilla*, sweet rice flour. They call this *púja*, పూజిపిచ్చి.

Gangamma is a common village goddess to which all the castes including the Sanyásis show their reverence by attending its annual *játra*.

The yearly festival of Sivarátri is observed with peculiar reverence. The house is cleaned, all the members bathe, and besmear themselves with ashes. In the evening, they keep an image of a bull and their conch and bell on a plank and worship them with flowers, incense and offerings of fruit and unboiled cow gram. In their ecstacy they cry aloud and repeat the name of Siva turning towards the skies and blowing conch and ringing bells. During the night they keep a vigil sitting round a blazing fire and narrating stories of their wanderings. The next morning they have a rich breakfast to make up for the previous day's abstinence.

They consider all rivers as sacred and bathe in them whenever they get a chance.

When they purchase a new cloth they first dedicate it to an anthill, the supposed abode of serpents, before using it.

They believe in omens, oracles, and magic and sorcery. They often wear charms (Yantra) against attacks of evil spirits.

These believe that they have been living all along by Occupation mendicancy and that they are not permitted to practise any manual occupation. Even carrying earth or fuel for hire is considered an offence against the caste, and is punished with the fine of a *hana*, (4 As. 8p.). Few possess any lands and they never cultivate them personally. They are mostly illiterate, and such as know anything spend their



time in singing praises of Vīra-bhiksha or of Naranappa Swāmi, the latter a jōgi who had gathered a number of followers and built an asylum for them at Kaivara in the Chintamani Taluk.

They seem to have had some connection with the watch and ward of cremation grounds, and it is said by them that one Vīrabāhu the ancestor of Kulavāis, succeeded in ousting them and usurping the office. The latter however recognise their more ancient right by giving them a share of the fees collected.

In their begging rounds, they sometimes perform feats of magic and jugglery, and they practice divination by professing to read the incidents of Ramayana and Bharata from a palm leaf book. They occasionally sell drugs of some medicinal virtue for stomach-ache, headache, jaundice, and scorpion bite.

#### Habits

As a class they are indolent and intemperate. They smoke ganja and drink liquor. Begging being their profession, they lead a wandering life and make their rounds principally in the *maidan* tracts. Their chief seats in the State are Chintamani, Srinivasapur, Mulbagal, Kolar, Malur, Chikballapur and Goribidnur and parts of Hassan. They do not move with bag and baggage and building materials as the Voddas and Korachas. They leave their women at home and before starting, consult among themselves as to the direction and probable period of each man's wanderings so that his whereabouts may be easily learnt. Each one is at liberty to change the direction of his tour or the country of his peregrinations but cannot prolong the period of his return unless detained by sickness or other good grounds. If he fails to appear within the period otherwise, he is tried by his Kulapedda and the Panchayat and is mulcted in a fine payable to the caste.

When pressed by necessity, their women may also go out for begging, but if they should stay away from home in the night without the company of another woman, they are liable to be outcasted.

Their houses resemble the temporary sheds ordinarily built by the raiyat class when they camp out during plague time. The sheds are generally built on waste lands, thatched either with straw or sugar-cane grass.

#### Dress

The men dress themselves in ochre coloured long coat and tie a waist cloth. They should not shave off their mustachios or the hair of the head. They do not dress

their hair but twist it into a rope by applying the milk of *Góni* or other fig tree or some gum. They wear a silver armlet and a brass ear-ring. Their women wear silver and glass bangles, nose ring (ဆန်ဂ-ဇ) and a coil of palm leaf in their ear-lobes. They have a string of glass beads round their neck. There is no noticeable difference in appearance between their women and those of the other beggar classes.

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## APPENDIX.

## Exogamous Divisions.

## Marriageable relations. Agnatic relations.

1. Māsivāndlu మాసివాండలు	Seelingam శీలింగం Tirupati తిరుపతి Bandithiguru బండితిగరు	Tripurataka. టీపురాటక. Yeerlapalli. యీర్లపల్లి. Pālanki. పాలంకి.
2. Tirupati తిరుపతి	Kāvati కావటి Gaṇṭāvallu గంటావల్లు Tirupātākam తిరుపాటకం Yeerlapalli యీర్లపల్లి Pālanki పాలంకి Jāṭagatti జాటగట్టి Kandakūru కందకూరు	Bandithiguru. బండితిగరు. Seelingam. శీలింగం. Veebhūti. వీభూతి.
3. Vibhūti వీభూతి	Māsivādu మాసివాడు Jāṭagatti జాటగట్టి Tirupātaka తిరుపాటక Yeerlapalli యీర్లపల్లి Pālanki పాలంకి Gaṇṭāvallu గంటావల్లు	Tirupati. తిరుపతి. Seelingam. శీలింగం. Bandithiguru. బండితిగరు. Kāvati, కావటి. Kandakūru. కందకూరు.

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XV**

**MORASU OKKALU.**

BY

**H Y NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## MORASU OKKALU.

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Okkaliga (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) is a generic term applied to a number of castes, whose main occupation is agriculture. They are distinguished by different names in different parts of the State. The *Raddis* or the Telugu Okkaligas are found in parts of the Kolar, Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts, the *Morasu* Okkaligas, in parts of the Kolar and Bangalore Districts, the *Gangadikārs* in the Mysore and Hassan and parts of Bangalore Districts, the *Nonabats* in the Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts and the *Nāmadhūri* Okkalu in the Shimoga and Kadur Districts. Interspersed with these are other Okkaligas called *Kunchigas* or *Kunchatigas*, *Hallikaras*, *Sādas*, *Hālu Okkalu* and other sub-divisions. There is reason to believe that all or most of these divisions formerly formed one homogeneous caste which from various causes separated themselves into different groups. Many of these divisions have become Lingayats and their affinity with the main division is still recognised by the practice of their intermarrying with non-Lingayat families of their division, which however is now becoming rare.

The population of the Okkaligas of all divisions according to the last Census (1901) was 1,283,947, of whom 642,245 were males, and 641,702 females, thus forming nearly a fourth of the entire population of the State.

Morasu Okkalus, though they form a division of the main caste, are among themselves a homogeneous community, not only limiting marital relations within itself but also containing a few divisions which are endogamous. They are most commonly called *Morasu Okkalu* (ಮೊರಸು ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ), and less frequently *Hosadivara Okkalu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರ ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ). The common honorific suffixes to their names are *Gauda* (ಗೌಡ) in Kannada, and *Raddi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) in Telugu.



The meaning of the term *Morasu* is not clear. Some say that it is the name of the language which they speak, that is, Kannada ; but this name is not traceable in usage for the Kannada language. The term *Morasu* is said to mean weavers of mats and baskets. This meaning cannot be a correct one, as *Morasus* are nowhere known as having been basket or mat makers. The third and the most probable meaning is that they are so called because they formerly inhabited a country known by the name of Morasu-nád (ಮೊರಸುನಾಡು). Similar divisions are found in other castes as well.\* There is said to be a division of Srivaishnava Brahmmins called Morasunád.

The term Okkalu (ಒಕ್ಕಲು) meaning 'a family' is derived from the Kannada root *Okku* (ಒಕ್ಕು) which means to thresh. It means especially a family residing on a cultivating farm ; and Okkaliga (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) means "a man of such a family" and the term is applied to all those whose profession is agriculture.

Some of the people of the Okkalu caste say that the term is the shortened from *Okkahálu Makkálu* (ಒಕ್ಕಹಾಲು ಮಕ್ಕಳು), that is, the children of the spilt milk and that they were born out of milk spilt by Pàrvati ; but this fanciful derivation owes its origin to the usual motive of finding a divine pedigree for the caste.

*Hosadévara Okkalu* are so called because of the custom of worshipping Hosadévaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು) i. e., the new deity. *Gauda* (ಗೌಡ) also spelt *Garuḍa* (ಗವುಡ) is derived from *Gāva* (ಗಾವ) or *Grama* (ಗಾಮ) and denotes the chief officer of a village. This term with its Tamil equivalent *Kaundān* is used as a title of honour among the peasants. Some derive the term from *Gadikāra*, that is, the head of a country within a defined boundary, or the protector of a boundary.

*Raḍḍi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) is said to be derived from Raṭṭas, a ruling race of the olden times. The term is properly applicable to the Telugu cultivating caste.

Language. They speak both Kannada and Telugu, the sections known as Raḍḍi and Pālyadasīma speaking Telugu and the rest Kannada.

Origin. The Morasu Okkalu are indigenous and are practically confined to the Eastern part of the State and the adjoining

\* Account of Nayindas P. 2.

British Territory. They admit that they belong to the fourth caste, agriculture being their original as well as their present occupation. They are said to have emigrated from the country, near Kanchi or (Conjeveram) which is apparently the tract known as Morasunád, and the cause of the exodus is given in the following story.

The Pālyégar or petty ruler of the country, who happened to be a man of the Yākila caste, wished to marry a girl from a higher caste, and sent his man to select a bride among the Morasu Okkaligas. Going to the chief place of these men, the Palyégar's agent was struck with the extraordinary beauty of a girl whose locks of hair were so luxuriant that she used them as a rope to lead a calf with which she was playing. The parents and the chiefs of the caste were unwilling to enter into the degrading alliance, but were at the same time reluctant to incur the displeasure of a strong chief. They dismissed the emissary with a temporising message. All preparations were made as if for marriage, and the day was even fixed and a marriage pavillion erected. But they had secretly packed all their valuables, and had made themselves ready to flee from his district during the night. Professing to act according to an old custom, they put all the bride's presents sent by the Palyégar on a dog, which they tied up to the *milk* post of the pavillion, and deserted their ancestral homes in a body carrying with them the image of their god Bhairava in a cart. Unfortunately the river that separated them from another territory was then in full flood. The river god however heard their prayers and allowed them a dry passage in the middle as at the Exodus of the Israilites, and afterwards swallowed up the Palyégar and his followers, who, having learnt of the trick that had been practised against them, rushed somewhat too late in pursuit. Thus seven clans under their seven Gaudas or leaders first came to Kolar and settled there and gradually spread themselves all round.

One of these clans under their headman Bhairé Gauda settled in Avati about the close of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Near this village was a small hamlet called Dévana-Doddi (ದೇವನ ದೊಡ್ಡಿ i. e., the cattle pen of Dēva). Malla Bhairé Gauda persuaded this man to cede the place to him promising to immortalise his memory by constructing a fort to be named after him. The fort of Devanahalli thus built together with the surrounding country remained in the family of the

founder till 1749, when after a gallant struggle it passed to the possession of Nanjarāja, the Mysore Commander, an occasion rendered memorable as bringing Hyder Ali first into notice.

After building the fort of Devanhalli and entrusting its affairs to his younger brother Sanna Bhairé Gaṇḍa, the ambitious Malla Bhairé Gaṇḍa undertook further conquests. The first of them was the subjugation of the country to the North of Devanhalli and founding the fort of Chikballapur. While hunting in the jungle near Kōḍi-Manchenahalli village, this Gaṇḍa observed a hare turning back to oppose the pursuing hound, and taking the place to be *gaṇḍa bhūmi* (virile soil), he proposed to the two brothers who were joint Patels of the village to build a fort and a *pēte* there. The permission of the sovereign in Vijayanagar was duly obtained. An auspicious time was fixed, and it was agreed that the foundation should be laid as soon as the sound of a conch should indicate the exact moment. Unfortunately a passing Dāsari beggar blew his conch, and mistaking it as the signal, Malla Bhairé Gaṇḍa commenced the work half an hour too soon. The result of this contretemps was declared to be that the dynasty would wield power there only for 300 years. The *Pālyapat* which continued with varying fortune for three centuries exactly, fell into the hands of Tipu Sultan in 1779.

A similar origin is attributed to the fort of Dodballapur. This time a cow was observed to pour its milk over an anthill in the jungle; and when Malla Bhairé Gaṇḍa who had observed this unusual phenomenon went to bed revolving it in his mind, he was commanded in his dream to build a temple on that spot to Vishnu who had his abode there. He carried out the injunction; and after obtaining a warrant of the Viceroy of Vijayanagar stationed at Penukonda, he reduced the chiefs of the surrounding territory to submission, and secured a tract of country with a revenue of a lakh of Pagodas for himself. He established his brother Hāvaḷi Bhairé Gaṇḍa there; and this petty kingdom remained in the family till the 16th century when it passed into the hands of Ranaḍulla Khan, the general of Bijapur.

Bhairé Gaṇḍa, the last Pālyégar of Dodballapur went to Gudihanda after this defeat and taking possession of it reduced the country around to some order by subjugating the freebooters, and built a fort there. As he died childless, his wife's brother took possession of the place, but

Baiché Gauda of Chikballapur who had a better title to succeed to the childless Palyégar, put him to death and added Gudibanda to his territory.

Kempé Gauda who was descended from a Nádu Gauda of Yelahanka was another Morasu chief who rose to distinction in Magadi early in the 17th century. He was the founder of the City of Bangalore, and seized the strong fort of Savandurg from a follower of the last Viceroy of Vijayanagar who had usurped power after his master's death. His territory extended as far as Kortagere. The last of the family was Mummaḍi Kempé Gauda who was defeated by Dalaváyi Dévaraja of Mysore and imprisoned in Srirangapatna.

There were other chiefs of this caste in Hoskote, Kolar, Anekal and Kortagere, but they gradually fell before the growing Mohammedan power in Srirangapatna. Some of their descendants were granted pensions after the restoration of Mysore to the rightful ruler in 1799.

The obsolete practice of cutting off two of the fingers of a woman is a peculiar characteristic of this caste; and those who followed the custom originally were an endogamous group distinct from those who did not follow it. There are other divisions which are not based upon this practice, which indeed seems to have prevailed to some extent in all the divisions.

Divisions:-  
Endogamous.

The endogamous divisions are Musaku (ముసకు), Raddi (రద్ది), Pályadasime (పాల్యదాసిమే) and Morasu (మోరసు) properly so called, the last being sub-divided into three Sálus (or lines) styled Kánu Sálu (కానుసాలు), Néreḡaṭṭala Sálu (నేరేగట్టలాసాలు) and Kúṭera Sálu (కుటేరసాలు).

*Musaku* means a veil and the division is so called because during marriages, the bride covers herself all over with a veil. This is the division to which the several Palyégar chiefs of the caste belonged.

*Raddis* are the Telugu speaking section of the caste.

*Pályada Sime* men also speak Telugu. The name is applied to the section of the Telugu Morasus living in the Bangalore District, especially round about Bangalore. They are immigrants into these parts from the country of Gummanáyakana Pálya in the Bagepalli Taluk. The name is common only in and near Bangalore and their relations in Gummanáyakana Pálya are only called Morasus.

Exogamous  
divisions.

The caste contains a large number of exogamous divisions, each being called after an animal, plant or other material, with the usual prohibitions against the members of the divisions cutting or in some cases, even touching the thing representing their division or *bedagu* (ಬೆಡಗು) or *gôtra* (ಗೋತ್ರ). Some of these divisions with the name of the thing represented by each are given in Appendix B.

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Birth cere-  
monies.

There is little that is peculiar to the caste in the ceremonies observed when the woman is carrying or after confinement. The mother is kept apart for 7 or 9 days and those who attend on her should bathe before touching anything in the house. On the day of purification, the relatives of the family in the village each bring a potful of hot water and a ball of soapnut paste, which is mixed with what has been prepared in the house and used for bathing the confined woman and her child. One of the elderly matrons while carrying the baby challenges the evil spirits to harm it, if so disposed, before entering the house, as their God will protect the child effectually after the child is taken inside. \*

If the daughter-in-law is delivered of a child in her mother's house, her mother-in-law visits her on the third day, carrying as a present a basket (ಕಾರದಗೂಡೆ) filled with rice, pepper, dry cocoanuts, garlic, palm jaggery, old areca nuts and betel leaves. On the day when the woman and the child are bathed, the child's paternal aunt presents it with a *hana* for a ring.

The name-giving ceremony takes place generally one or two days before the end of the first month. A Koracha woman (soothsayer) is sometimes consulted, but this practice is gradually going out of use. The name selected is either that of a god or a deceased ancestor. The following may be taken as typical names for both sexes†:—Irlappa (ಈರ್ಲಪ್ಪ), Kempanna (ಕೆಂಪಣ್ಣ), Bayyanna (ಬಯ್ಯಣ್ಣ), Bandappa (ಬಂಡಪ್ಪ), Bairappa (ಬೈರಪ್ಪ), Bachchanna (ಬಚ್ಚಣ್ಣ) and Sonappa (ಸೋಣ್ಣಪ್ಪ).

\* The Kannada formula runs as follows:—ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗು ವದೇವರೆಲ್ಲಾ ಈಗಲೇ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗಬೇಕು, ಒಳಗೆ ಬಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮದೇವರು ಬಳೈದಲ್ಲ.

† Many names are employed, and almost all names may be so employed for both sexes with the addition of the corresponding sex endings.

Names of inferior objects are sometimes given to children, though the practice is not common. Names of endearment, such as Appayya (ಅಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ), Magu (ಮಗು—child), Sámi (ಸಾಮಿ—God), Táyi (ತಾಯಿ—mother), Ammanni (ಅಮ್ಮಣ್ಣಿ), Puttátáyi (ಪುಟ್ಟತಾಯಿ) are common; so also are the shortened forms of such names as Kittā (ಕಿಟ್ಟ) for Kṛṣṇa, Lachchi (ಲಚ್ಚಿ) for Lakṣmi.

The young mother with her child returns to the husband's house in the fifth or the seventh month. Her mother-in-law goes to fetch her, carrying a silver neck-chain as a present to her. The child is presented with some coins before leaving for the father's house. The cradle is carried by the mother of the confined woman. Before entering the husband's house, the woman and the child are taken to a temple where they receive *tirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and victuals). The woman's mother is kept there three or four days and then dismissed with the present of some clothes.

Before the child is a year old, a feast of Munisvara is held in a grove outside the village on a Monday. This sylvan deity is represented by a row of stones under a large tree, and sometimes a tiny shed with a low enclosure is provided for them. The family repair thither with friends and enjoy an out-door picnic till the evening. The *pūja* is performed by the *pūjāri* who generally is a low caste man, or in his absence, by the head of the family himself. A goat is generally sacrificed and consumed at the feast; and the party return in the evening with music, and an *ārati* is waved before the child enters the house, to ward off the evil eye.

The first tonsure for a male child is performed in the first or the third year, before the temple of the family god or before a shrine of Munisvara in a grove. The barber is generally presented with a new cloth besides other perquisites, and a dinner is given to the caste people.

Another important ceremony is the worship of Makaladévaru (ಮಕ್ಕಳ ದೇವರು—the god of children), observed before the lobes of the child's ears are pierced for holding earrings. For this festival, all the families who are related as agnates club together, and they should select a time when none of the female members are pregnant, and no death has occurred in any of the families between the last new-year and the day of the *pūja*. As all these families have to

observe common *sūtaka* (ಅಂಟುಕು ಮುಟ್ಟುಕು ಕಲಸೆದಿ), it may be easily guessed that where they have a large congregation, it is extremely difficult to find a suitable day, and sometimes they have to wait for years together. The worship is a matter of considerable expense; and so it is usual for all castemen in a particular locality to join together and raise a common fund by subscription. Each group worships the family god in its own way, but they join together at a common dinner. If any members of the same group have for any reason neglected to join the common performance of the *Pūja* of Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು), or, in their language, divided the Hosa-dēvaru, they cannot join that group in the worship of Makkala-dēvaru. It is said that if a girl attains her age of puberty without this festival on her behalf, she has to be put out of caste. But this rule is probably relaxed in many cases.

The family deity that is worshipped in this manner by the finger cutting division is known as Bandi-dēvaru (ಬಂಡೀದೇವರು-cart god), so styled as at their flight from Kanchi to escape persecution from a local tyrant, they carried their household god in a cart. The other name is Bhairā-dēvaru (ಭೈರಾದೇವರು) which is a name for Siva in one of his fierce moods. The section of the caste that do not offer their fingers have, in some cases, given up this cult and taken other names for their family deity.

It is to this Bandi-dēvaru that the women of the caste are said to offer two of their fingers, a custom which however has altogether fallen into desuetude. The origin of this barbarous practice is traced as usual to a Puranic source, the real origin being probably in the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice.

When the demon Blasmāsura had obtained the power of reducing everything he touched to ashes by severe *tapas*, he wished to test his power first on god Siva, the donor himself. The deity fled from the demon and hid himself in the fruit of a creeper, which to this day resembles a *linga* \* in appearance. The demon who was pursuing the god, suddenly losing sight of the latter, asked a Morasu man who was ploughing in the fields there, in which direction the fugitive had escaped. The man of the plough wished to evade the wrath of both the mighty parties and

\* This is known as *Tonde* and sometimes as *Linga-tonde* (ತೊಂಡೆ or ಲಿಂಗ ತೊಂಡೆ) the red gourd *namordica manodulfa*.

while saying he had not observed, pointed with his fingers to the creeper on the hedge which had sheltered the fleeing god. Just in the nick of time Vishnu came to the help of his brother in the shape of a lovely maiden, Mòhini. The Rakshasa became enamoured of her, and like a fool, forgetting the fatal virtue that his bare touch had been endowed with, he was lured by the damsel to place his hand on his own head, and was immediately reduced to a heap of ashes. Siva now triumphant was about to punish the treacherous rustic with the loss of his erring finger, but his wife who had carried his food begged hard that the deprivation would render him unfit to do his field work and offered two fingers of hers for one of her husband. The custom of a Morasu married woman cutting off the upper joints of the last two fingers of the right hand had been observed ever since, till it was stopped recently by an order of the unbelieving Sarkar.

The worship of Paṭālamma (ಪಟಾಲಮ್ಮ) and Pūjé Dévaru (ಪೂಜೇದೇವರು) takes place as an introduction to the more important festival of Bandi-dévaru. The mothers of the children whose ears are to be bored fast during the day, and in the evening repair to the temple of Paṭālamma carrying lights on their heads. These lights are made to burn on wicks soaked in ghee placed in receptacles of rice flour sweetened with jaggory. After making pūja to them at home with the sacrifice of a sheep, the women carry them on their heads, and repair to the temple in state, walking on washed cloths spread for them in the street. In front of the shrine, they walk over cinders of fire, made in a pit, after making pūja to it and offering a sheep or a goat. The pūjāri then waves these lights before the idol and returns them to the women to carry back to their homes. For each new lamp, as the one carried by the woman who has to offer her fingers is styled, the pūjāri gets a fee of a *hana*.

On a subsequent day all the families who perform the ceremony of *Bandi-dévaru* join together and put up two new huts of fig leaves, in a central place, one for Māramma and the other for Gangamma and set up idols of earth therein, the latter deity specially styled Pūjé-dévaru (ಪೂಜೇದೇವರು) being represented by a featureless cone. The ceremony is performed in the same manner as for Paṭālamma, the fire-walking being omitted.



The chief ceremony in connection with *Bandi-dèvaru* should fall on a Sunday in the month of Chaitra or Vaisàkha soon after the opening of the new year. The whole festival extends over a week, but to save expense they generally reduce it to three or five days.

A Koracha woman is invited to read the fortune by *Kūmi* and she washes the feet\* of the mothers who have to sacrifice their fingers at the time of boring their children's ears. Then a kalasa is set up and offerings of new clothes etc., are placed before it. On a subsequent day, a new house which has not been inhabited is whitewashed and cleaned and a kalasa is worshipped in it. All the members of the families who perform this ceremony occupy the house, and the women draw certain drawings on the wall with rice flour and turmeric † to which pūja with an offering of sheep is offered. They have to cook and eat in that house that day. This is styled the worship of "new house god" (ಹೊಸಮನೆ ದೇವರು).

A man of the Bèda caste worships Peddanna-dèvaḍu (పెద్దన్న దేవుడు) represented by three stones and a trident and a sword, set up in a hut outside the village and gives them Prasāda.

They next worship Ganga represented by drawings of rice flour in a hut built of newly beaten straw, placing lamps burning in receptacles of sweetened rice flour ‡ and offering a goat sometimes with kid. The meat of the sacrificed animal, it is said, should not be given to any strangers to the family and the bones should be buried so as not to be touched by dogs.

The next two days the women fast till the evening, and cook rice or rice flour in new pots. No animals are killed and after offering food in an *ade* to their gods, they eat it without salt.

When the mother has to bore the ears of her first child or of two or more children together for the first time, she has to offer her fingers. This is styled the worship of "New Bandi-dèvaru." For subsequent ear-boring, she has no fingers to spare, and the ceremony is styled "Enjalu Bandi-dèvaru" (ఎంజలబండిదేవರು that is, stale worship).

\*This is styled the ceremony of Kālēḷi ಕಾಲೇಳಿ in Kannada.

† This is called హోంసోనేది in Telugu.

‡ Rice flour and jaggory beaten in a mortar into paste and consumed after offering to the idols. This is known as తంబిట్టు in Kannada and చలిబిండి in Telugu.

The ceremony takes place in the temple of the deity where it exists. In other places separate sheds of green leaves are put up outside the village at the north-eastern corner, one for the first child's Bandi-dévaru and another for the other, with another shed of *Lakki* leaves in front of the village gate. A number of carts, one for each child, washed and decorated with white and red stripes of colour are brought to this last shed. The parents of the children wash early in the morning, and going to a potter's house, select two pots known as *karaga* (ಕರಗ), and after offering púja, bring them in state, to their houses. A silver coin is placed in each pot and the eldest female member does púja, offering an animal sacrifice. The parents of the children then carry these pots on their heads, placed on a cloth which is thrown over both of them. They go to the sheds where the carts are ranged and again sacrifice a kid which they place in the cart, and thence repair carrying the *karaga* pots on their heads to the other sheds outside the village.

The procession is composed of all the members of the families concerned in the ceremonies and their relations and the principal characters walk on cloths spread along the road. They are accompanied by the band of village musicians, and drummers of the Mádiga caste, and the carts form an essential part of the show. On arrival at the sheds, the parties go to the shed set apart for the kind of ceremony (first or second) that they have to perform, after going round the sheds thrice.

Three stones are placed to represent the god of the ceremony, and púja with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat and fruits and flowers, is offered. Then each woman who has to undergo the operation goes to a wooden block driven into the ground, places on it her two fingers to which some flower or a betel leaf or a gold wire has been tied round and the smith chops off the last joints with his chisel. This was in vogue till about forty years ago, and the elderly women whose fingers are so mutilated may now be seen. The severed bits used to be thrown into an anthill and the ends used to be dipped in boiling oil to staunch the bleeding. It was believed that if any nails were allowed to grow on these fingers, some dire misfortune would overtake the family. At present, however, they are satisfied with the fiction of cutting the flower or leaf wound round these fingers.

After this they wave *mangalárti* before the idols and go back to their houses in procession, and indulge in feasting. The carts are driven away, handfuls of jaggory being thrown among the spectators, and the drivers race among themselves and exhibit their skill in driving over difficult places.

On the following day, the children are bathed and seated in a paudal put up in front of the house. The maternal uncle cuts a lock of hair and with a flower dipped in sandal paste make a mark on each ear for boring. The children are presented with eatables and other more valuable things by the near relations. The actual boring may be done either then or on any subsequent day.

For three months after this ceremony, the members of the family should not eat food cooked in the houses of others, not even relatives, who have not been purified by the performance of similar ceremony for themselves. The women should guard themselves from contamination of approach of Holeyas and Mādigas. Any woman who gets her monthly sickness during this period, has to remain in a separate shed nine days cooking her own food.

In the case of orphans and others who are too poor to perform all this elaborate ceremony, the boring of the ear is done before the shrine of Bhairava in Sīti Bettu, a hill in the Kolar Taluk. The *pújári* who is the chief officiator gets a *hanna* and provisions for a meal and the party have a general picnic at the close of the event.

It is only one section of the Morasu people that have to cut off their fingers. The others also celebrate the ear-boring ceremony, but in a less elaborate manner, after *púja* in some temple, such as, of Paṭāmma, Chaudēsvari, Mad-damma, or Venkaṭaramaṇa or Narasimha. An animal sacrifice is offered if they resort to the shrine of a female deity. The worshippers of Viṣṇu invite a number of Dāsaris who perform their religious dance and give *prasāda*. The maternal uncle of the children marks the ears with sandal paste for boring the holes.

**Adoption.** Adoption of boys may be effected as in other castes of Hindus. A brother's son may be adopted even after his marriage and without any public ceremony. There is no objection to the adopting of a daughter's or sister's son. The boy's waist thread is cut and a new thread is put on, when he is handed over by the natural parents to the

adopter and the latter and the boy are made to drink a little saffron water. The natural mother is given a present of clothes and there is a feast held that day.

The practice of bringing up a son-in-law as heir (*illā-tam*) is common, especially among the Telugu speaking families. No particular ceremony is observed, and an understanding between the parties is all that is required. Such a son-in-law succeeds to the whole property of the father-in-law who has no sons, or shares the patrimony equally with the sons.

Polygamy is rare and a second wife is taken in default of issue, generally with the consent of the first wife. But polyandry is unknown. Marriages are generally between adults. A woman may remain without marriage without any social stigma attaching to her. But she cannot take part in a few ceremonies required to be performed by married women alone and when she dies, the full funeral rites are not performed, the body being carried like that of a dead child in a *kambly*. No *Sūtaka* is observed for her death.

They have what is styled *kula* or *bedagu* to denote exogamous limits for marriage. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt or elder sister is specially favoured. Except in extreme cases (such as marriages of widowers), a younger sister's daughter is not taken in marriage. Two sisters may be married by two brothers; and one man may marry two sisters simultaneously, the hands of all the three being joined together at the time of pouring *dhāre* water. The rule of *varase* (ವರಸೆ) which prohibits marriage between persons who stand analogously as parent and child or brother and sister, has to be observed also. This is sometimes carried so far as to prohibit marriages between two families who have marriage relation with a common third family. Exchange of daughters in marriage between two families may take place but some believe this to be unlucky.

The village astrologer is consulted for *Sālavali* (ಸಾಲಾ ವಳಿ) to see if the stars representing the first letters of the names of the bride and the bridegroom agree, and omens are observed, and prognostication by *Kanti* (ಕಣಿ) sometimes resorted to. The father of the boy goes to the bride's father to propose marriage, by the formula "to eat rice and ghee in the latter's house." He receives *Oppu Vilga* (ಒಪ್ಪು ವಿಲ್ಗ) i. e. tāmbūla in token of consent, and returns

without eating in the bride's house. On a subsequent day, the *Vilvada Sástra*, (ವಿಲ್ವದಾಸ್ರ), takes place in an assemblage of castemen and friends with a Brahmin Puròhit. The boy's father and members of his family go with a new cloth and a jewel to be presented to the girl along with the auspicious articles (ಪುಂಗಳಿವ್ಯಗಳು). A *Simhásana* is made on a kambly and a kalasa is placed on a low tripod before it, in a flat eating dish (ಕಂಬದತಣಿಗೆ) of bell metal. The chief man of the caste makes pñja to this, and the girl to be married is smeared with saffron and presented with fruits, flowers, etc, wrapped in her garment. In some places, the young man to be married is also seated by her side at the time.

The *Lagnapatrikas* (marriage letters) prepared by the Puròhit are exchanged between the parents and each rises up and declares to the assembly in a set formula that he of such a *kula* has taken a girl of such other *kula* in exchange for a boy, and *vice versa*. After distribution of *támbula*, there is a dinner given to the male's party. If after this formal compact, the match is broken off, the defaulting party has to pay the expenses of the other and sometimes a small fine to the caste is exacted. Such breaches, however, rarely occur.

The marriage is generally celebrated in the bridegroom's house. On the first day, takes place what is styled *Modalarasina* (ಮೊದಲರಸಿನ) when the family deity is worshipped and the bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric in their separate places. A kalasa is set up in a flat dish (ಕಂಬದತಣಿಗೆ) on half husked rice. They generally keep in each family a separate narrow necked metal vessel which they use only for kalasa. It is painted over with red and white lines, and half filled with water and a small silver coin is thrown in. Around it are placed in the dish, some plantain fruit, betel leaves and areca nuts, lumps of *vibhúti*, two turmeric and *kunkuma* powder boxes and a looking glass. This has to be carried about with the marriage party whenever they go about as a procession during the marriage; and an elderly woman who does this duty is presented with a cloth and the silver coin in the vessel. They have the *dēvaráta* (gods' feast) that evening.

The pandal is raised the next day, with 12 pillars of which the "milk post" is of Atti (Indian fig) or Neraḷe (Jambolana) unless either happens to denote the name of the party's *kula* when it is not used. The maternal uncle has to bring the milk post, and the ceremony is done pretty

much in the same manner as among other raiyat classes\*. After the milk post is fixed, a twig of a Nerale tree is again brought by a party going with music and tied up to it. They style this Elevation (ಎಳೆವಾರ).

The bride's party arrive in the evening and are received at the village gate and taken to their lodgings. Some married women of both parties go in state to a potter's house and bring the sacred pot (ಅರಿವೇಣಿ) which in this caste is only one.† They place this on a bed of earth and manure in which nine kinds of grain are sown, and offer pūja to it and keep a lamp of castor oil always burning before it. This is Arivēni or karaga pūja (ಅರಿವೇಣಿಪೂಜೆ, ಕರಗಪೂಜೆ i.e. pot worship). In some families, the bridegroom and his party go at midnight to a place where three paths meet and after offering cooked food to a drawing of a human figure, return home without making any noise, and without looking back. This is known as *Biragudi* (ಬೀರಗುಡಿ) and is apparently meant to propitiate malignant spirits.

The next morning after nail paring and bathing in *Maleniru*, the bridegroom is taken to a temple or an *Ascattha* tree and seated there. His maternal uncle ties the *bhāshinga* on his forehead, and five married women pour rice on his head, shoulders and knees (Sāse, ಸಾಸೆ). The headman present worships Simhāsana. The bridegroom's party go in procession to the bride's house thrice each time carrying some article of present to the bride. A Morasu-Holeya (who is regarded as a *halemya* of this caste) or a sister of the bridegroom carry the marriage chaplet in a basket. On the third occasion, the bridegroom himself goes holding a dagger in his hand. The maternal uncle is fantastically dressed and subjected to bantering fun by every one during this procession.

The bride and the bridegroom are seated ‡ on the marriage dias facing each other, with a screen between them. The Puróhit after chanting some mantras removes the screen when the couple place handfuls of jaggery and gingelly on each other's heads. Four vessels are placed on the corners of a square with a cotton thread passing round

\* See Kuruba account (Monograph No. 1) page 10.

† Sometimes they do not go to the potter at all but use one of the pots in the house used as grain receptacles.

‡ Among some families of this caste, Kundānagaḷu (ಕುಂದಾಣೆಗಳು) i. e., hollow wooden rings kept on the mortar while pounding paddy to prevent its scattering, are used as seats for the couple.

their necks seven times. This thread is cut into two halves and two *kankanas* are made by attaching to each a turmeric root and an iron ring; and each party ties a *kankana* round the wrist of the other. The bridegroom then ties the *tīli*, round the girl's neck, while some mantras are again recited by the Puróhit. The couple join hands and the parents and all the members of the assembly pour milk (dhāre ಧಾರೆ), over them. This is caught in a vessel and thrown over an anthill.

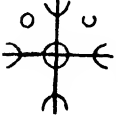
The fringes of the clothes of the married couple are tied together by the maternal uncle and they are made to exchange handfuls of rice and salt, perhaps a method of swearing mutual fidelity. The minor events of the day take place in somewhat the same manner as among other castes of similar status \*

That evening the star Arundhati is shown to the bride. They go in procession and worship an anthill and carry away some earth dug out of it. Then a party of married women go with three pots to a well or river and after *Gaṅga-pūja*, bring back water, which is used for mixing anthill earth to make balls. Twelve balls are made and the bride deposits one at the foot of each pillar. The barber is then called upon to pare the nails which he does nominally by passing his razor over the nails of the bride and the bridegroom. The latter bathe after this and proceed to a temple. On their return, the pillars are worshipped along with a *kalasa* installed to represent the Hasé-dévaru (ಹಸೇದೇವರು) and offerings of cooked rice in balls and sweet cakes are placed before each, which goes to the washerman as his perquisite. Finally they have a procession of the marriage party in the streets.

At the Nāgavali ceremony taking place the next day, the couple newly bathed and dressed are seated before the milk post, with two brass vessels filled with red coloured water (ಬೆಕ್ಕಾಳಿ) before them. A lime is thrown into one and some jewel in another without their being allowed to be seen by them, and each is asked to pick up one of the articles, and it is pretended that the party who picks up the jewel will have ascendancy over the other in their future domestic life. Then the *kankanas* or wrist threads of the couple are taken off by each other and tied to the milk post.

\* Vide Karuba Account.

In the afternoon after dinner takes place the final ceremony of *Simhāsana pūja*. This is done on three occasions during the marriages of Morasu people, whereas other castes perform it only once. The last is the most important one and is performed to close the marriage ceremony. They spread a kambly fourfold and draw on it a figure of



four tridents (trisūla) \*radiating from a center with the sun and the moon at the top, and place a quantity of arecanuts and betel leaves in the middle, and pieces of *vibhūti* (ashes) at the extremities. The Yajaman of the caste makes *pūja* to this and distributes *timbūlas* out of it in the following order:—God, Guru,

Brahmins, King, represented by the village officials *gaṇḍa* and *shanbhog*, *sālu* and *māle* (i. e., the 18 phana and 9 phana communities) *Bhūmi Raddi*, that is, the head of the whole caste, *Kaṭṭēmane*, i. e., sectional heads, the *Raddis* and *Yajamans* of the sections to which the parties belong, the bride's party including all her relatives and lastly to the rest of the assembly. This order of precedence is scrupulously observed and any transgression is sure to cause much annoyance and sometimes quarrel.

They repair to the bride's house the next day and return after a sojourn of two or three days. A dinner is then given in honour of the occasion to all the guests. This is called *tirucali* and *maracali* (ತಿರುವಳಿ ಮರವಳಿ). Before the close of the month on a certain day, some milk is poured on the milk post and after the usual *pūja*, it is removed and thrown into a well.

The bride price or *tera* varies between Rs. 6 and Rs. 12. This amount goes to the girl's father but he generally uses it for some jewel to be given to the girl. A widower has to pay Rs. 1½ more as *Sauti Honan* (ಸಾತಿ ಹೊನ್ನು, that is, the other wife's money) and has invariably to give more jewels to the girl. It is not easy to estimate the average marriage expenses which vary very largely according to the means of the parents and their desire not to be outdone by their neighbours. It is however kept within moderate limits especially in rural parts where the most considerable item is the feeding of relatives and friends. There is no attempt made towards securing any reduction of these expenses.

When a girl is married as an infant, she remains in her father's house till she attains womanhood, after which



consummation of marriage takes place and she is sent to her husband's house to live with him. During the interval she visits the husband's house only occasionally and goes back with her parents.

**Puberty.** When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for nine days and is not permitted to enter the main house. She is kept in a shed in the outer yard made of green leaves which are brought by her maternal uncle. In the evenings, she is dressed in washed clothes supplied every day by the washerman, and is seated on a plank in the presence of married women who thus celebrate what is known as *Osigc* to mark the event. They give her presents of fruits and flowers packed in her garment (ವಡಲುತುಂಬುವುದು), and sweet things to eat. To ward off the evil spirits, an old broom stick and a winnow and a shoe are placed at the entrance of the shed.

The girl pulls down the shed before her bath on the tenth day, and the materials are removed by her maternal uncle and burnt at a distance from the house.

The expenses of the *Osigc* ceremonies for one day are borne by the maternal uncle if she happens to be unmarried; if married, the information of the event is sent to the husband's house through the washerman, and one of the members of that family comes over and performs the *Osigc* for the girl for one day. Other relatives may similarly treat her for any number of nights.

Where marriage takes place after puberty, the couple are brought together on the last day without any further ceremony. But in some places the consummation is put off some time, on account of the belief that a child should not be born within a year of the marriage. Where the girl has already been married, they fix a day for the consummation of the marriage soon after her attaining puberty.

When the girl is first sent to her husband's house, she is presented with clothes or jewels by her father and the husband gives a dinner to her mother and others that accompany her.

**Widow Marriage.** It is considered that even child widows should not remarry. But a widow may live in concubinage with a man of her own caste, and though her issue are restricted to marriage only with others of the same class, she and her children are not denied the privilege of eating together, and she may cook food for the castemen on all occasions.

The husband may give up his wife for her unchastity, Divorce. and the wife her husband for habitual ill-treatment and loss of caste. A divorced woman may not marry again, but is allowed to live in concubinage with a man of her caste. Adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same caste is condoned by subjecting her to pay a fine to the caste and levying a similar fine from her paramour. The husband may then take her back into his house if he is so disposed. Otherwise she may live with her paramour. It is said that a man eloping with another's wife has to pay the marriage expenses of the latter, though of late, the rule is not being enforced. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant or is found to have been in the keeping of a man of the same caste, either her union will be formally recognised by the caste council or she will live as a concubine of the man. In either case, her children will drift into a separate *Sālu* styled *Berikō-sālu* (ಬರಿಕೋಸಾಲು) or mixed section.

The practice of marrying girls to trees or swords or the dedicating of them in the temples does not obtain in this caste.

The common mode of disposing of the dead is burial, Death ceremonies. though cremation is resorted to by some persons of late. As soon as death takes place, a *haleмага* who should be present carries the information round. Two earthen pots, a new cloth and materials for the bier are procured from the bazaar. A band of musicians are engaged and Dāsaiyyas also go with the body with their shells and other sounding instruments. Some build a *mantapa* (cage) at considerable expense to carry the body. The body is dressed in a new cloth with a turban on the head. Crushed betel leaves and nuts are put into its mouth. If the deceased be a woman dying when her husband is alive, the body is profusely decorated with flowers, turmeric, *kunkuma*, etc. The bier is carried by four men, the son or the chief mourner going with water in a new earthen pot on the left shoulder and fire in the right hand. It was the custom formerly that one of four bearers, must be a Holeya *haleмага*, but this practice has almost gone out of use, the *haleмага* now attending to the digging of the grave and walking in front of the funeral procession. As they pass along, betel leaves and fried rice are thrown on the corpse and guns are fired. While midway to the graveyard, the corpse is kept on the ground, and the son going

round it three times throws some cooked rice at the head of the body. After laying down the corpse at the burial place, the sons and other near relations put some rice into the mouth and eyes. The sons get shaved. After being carried round the grave three times, the body is lowered into the pit and deposited on a plantain leaf, with the head to the south. In a corner of the winding sheet some rice is tied and a piece of this cloth is torn and thrown out, and the pit is filled up, some twigs of a thorny plant known as \* *chitramūla* (ಚಿತ್ರ ಮೂಲ plumbage zelanica) being placed near the top to prevent dogs and jackals digging up the grave. Four quarter aima pieces are kept at the four corners and a stone slab is inserted at the side of the head. Some doles of money and grain are given to poor persons who may be found at the place. The son goes round the grave three times with an earthen pot filled with water on his shoulder and a fire-brand in the hand. At the end of every turn a hole is made in the pot by some one with a stone. The *halemaga* goes with a cowdung cake in his hand and holds it at the head and the four corners of the grave, while the son applies his firebrand to it in each place. At the end of the third turn, the son throws away the upper half of the pot, and keeps the lower half with the water in it near the head and puts out the fire in the faggot by plunging it in the water. The *halemaga* keeps the cowdung cake there on which a three-pie piece is thrown as his fee. The whole party then repair to a river or tank without looking backwards. The corpse bearers and the son plunge themselves in water and go home without even † wringing their wet clothes, and the others only wash hands and feet. The friends and relatives have to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired before they return to their houses.

A small shed is put up on the grave, and some times a figure to represent the deceased is drawn on the ground there. The chief mourners and the bearers of the hearse with the *halemaga* go there on the third day, carrying with them some rice and vegetables cooked together in

\* The common abuse ನಿನ್ನ ಮುಖಕ್ಕೆ ಚಿತ್ರಮೂಲ ಬೊಡಿಯು, that is, may the plant *chitramūla* be thrown on your face derives its meaning from this practice.

† On account of this association, it is considered inauspicious to come out of the bath room after bathing without wiping the water on the body with a cloth.

one vessel. Púja is offered to the deceased, incense burnt and food placed on a plantain leaf. Part of this is given to the *halemagu* who must eat it, and the rest thrown to the crows. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers are touched with ghee and milk, and all of them bathe before taking food. On the eleventh day, all bathe in the morning. A Brahmin puróhit is invited to purify the house (by *Punqáha*). The old earthen pots in the house used for cooking are thrown out and new ones are substituted for them. A kalasa is set up in the middle of the house and is worshipped with offerings of new cloths and raw rice (*Ida ၁၃*). The Brahmin puróhit repeats mantras and makes the chief mourner offer libations of water (*tarpana* တပုဏ္ဏ). Some presents are made to Brahmins according to the means of the family, of such articles as an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a cow, raw provisions and money. The object of some of these gifts is to ensure that similar conveniences may be provided for the ghost of the departed on its journey. It is believed that a cow enables him to cross the river of fire by holding on to its tail.

In the evening the mourners go to a temple and get púja performed to get the gate of heaven opened for the departed soul; and there is a general dinner given to their castemen on their return. The next day, some near relation of the chief mourner, such as a maternal uncle or father-in-law, present him with a new turban, to mark the close, of the funeral ceremonies.

The period of *Sátaka* (death pollution) is ten days for the nearer and three days for the more distant agnates. It is only three days for the death of a child or an unmarried person. Only a bath is sufficient for a daughter's son.

Morasu Okkaligas do not perform yearly Sráddhas, except some of them who having risen in the world have adopted the custom of observing the anniversaries of the deaths of their parents. On such occasions, a kalasa is set up and púja offered with the help of a Brahmin puróhit. The son offers libations of water in the name of the deceased, and presents Brahmins with raw provisions and money. After this, the people at home cook their food and partake of it in the company of some invited guests of their own caste.

The Mahálaya ceremony is however very generally observed in honour of the general body of deceased

ancestors. They also make pūja to ancestors on the new year's day and the Ganri feast. On such days, some resort to the burial ground and burn incense before the tombs of their ancestors and apply sandal paste and offer cocoanuts before the stones. They have only one meal that day in the evening.

Religion.

They worship Siva, generally under the appellation of Bhairēdēvaru also known as Bandidēvaru, that is the cart god. The chief place of this deity is Sīti Beṭṭa, a hill in the Vemagal hobli of the Kolar Taluk, and there is also a temple in Gudamarlahalli in the Chintamani Taluk. In the latter place, the image of Bhairava is a round shapeless stone partly buried in the ground and a rude country cart is preserved as the one in which the god was originally brought away. The principal temple is surrounded by a number of small temples. In front of the main temple is a smaller one in which a stone is worshipped under the name of Chipārlu (ಚಿಪ್ಪಾರ್ಲು). When the Bandi-dēvaru is worshipped, the goats and sheep sacrificed to it are all deposited near this god. Close to this is a temple dedicated to the spirit of an unmarried girl of the caste called E'ru-bayyanna (ಎರುಬಾಯ್ಣಾ), who was shut up in a granary by her brother in a fit of anger and was starved to death. There are also temples dedicated to the spirits of males dying unmarried, under the names of Iragārlu (ಇರಗಾರ್ಲು).

The celebration of the feast of Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು new god) by women is a unique institution of this caste. Some observe this only once a year at Dipavali, while others also celebrate it at the Yugādi. No married woman is allowed to eat of the fruit of any harvest till she has performed this pūja for the year; and after performing it, she is precluded from eating or drinking at the hands of those who have not similarly sanctified themselves. For this it is essential that all the agnate families must join in the common worship, and those who do not for any reason join it are said to divide their Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು ಭಾಗವಾಡಿಕ್ಕೊಡವರು) and cannot afterwards join together in the performance of this or any other common worship, such as Bandidēvaru. As such separation is considered rather to be avoided, they generally manage to congregate together on these occasions often at considerable inconvenience. In such celebrations, the elder woman should always have priority over younger members.

As regards the origin of the custom, one account says that this ceremony was originally observed by the Bédas and that they sold the right of celebrating it to the Morasus in exchange for some grain. Another account is that a Kómati after *tapas* in Benares got as a boon a philosopher's stone which converted everything in contact with it into gold. While on his way to his place, he halted in a Morasu Okkahi's house and hanging the bundle of his things from the roof of the house went near a well to cook his food. The rod with which the women were pounding rice happened to touch the stone and became gold. The discovery roused the cupidity of the master of the house, who purloined the miraculous stone and set fire to the house to deceive its owner. The latter could not survive his loss and cast himself into the flames. As his ghost which of course became aware of the fraud, began to molest the family of the thief, they vowed to make púja to the spirit thenceforth as a new god.

The feast is celebrated in connection with the harvest either of the first crop in the year, (at new year time) or also of the second crop in Kārtika (Dipavali). That was probably its origin and the other stories were invented to account for it after its meaning became obscured.

The ceremony takes place on two days beginning either on a Friday or Saturday. The women fast till the evening and then worship a *kalasa* set up in a room offering balls of meal called *tambittu* (ತಂಬಿಟ್ಟು). This should be made of the flour of rice of the new crop mixed with jaggory. A sweet dish is prepared by cooking rice, milk and jaggory together and kept in the holy vessel (ಕಂಟಪತಣಿಗೆ) and offered before the *kalasa* and eaten by all the women together. They have to keep a vigil on that night.

Early in the next morning, the male members in the family go to the fields and sacrifice sheep there, making it stand on a bed of margosa leaves which are scattered over the field and the standing crops, the men shouting out repeatedly *Kó-bali* (ಕೊಬಲಿ), that is, take the sacrifice. The women placing the *kalasa* in the sacred dish (ಕಂಟಪತಣಿಗೆ) carry it in state, walking on cloth spread along the way, to a shed erected outside the village under a *Tungadi* plant (cassia auriculata). Three small stones set up therein represent the deity before which the *kalasa* is placed and lights burnt in burners of *tambittu* flour. They cook rice and some

pulse together in a pot called *hāṭumadike* (milk-pot) and make a paste (calling this pallya ಪಲ್ಲೆ) out of some grains of rice, ragi and other cereals taken out of fresh ears. These articles are worshipped by the women with flowers, incense etc. Then the eldest of them keeps the *kalasa*, the light, and the paste in the dish (*kantada tanige*) and carrying it on to her head turns towards the sun and \*bows saying “ಹಳೇದು ಹೋಗಿ ಹೊಸದು ಬಂತು. ಏನು ತಪ್ಪುಮಾಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಬಿಪ್ಪಿಕ್ಕೊ ! ಬಿಪ್ಪಿಕ್ಕೊ ! ಹೊಸದೇವರೇ.” (The Old has gone ; the New is in. Whatever our faults, condone them, condone them, O new god !) Then she passes the dish on to other women in order of age and they repeat the proceeding. On their return home, they place the sweet flour of the lamps in the milk-pot with plantains mixed and deposit it on a loft. Then all the women sit in a row on a kambli spread in the yard of the house and the eldest of them applies a little of the paste (ಪಲ್ಲೆ) to her forehead and eats a little as prasāda and similarly marks the forehead of other women in order. The confection preserved in the milk pot is then distributed to all participants in the ceremony.

For some days after this these women consider themselves too holy to have any dealings which may expose them to contact with lower castes, like Mādigas and Holeyas.

They worship in all the Hindu temples, including those of village deities and tree spirits. Some are Vaishnavas who get marked with Sankha and Chakra having either Srivaishnava Brahmin or Sātāni priests.

There is a shrine at Vanarāsi near Kolar largely resorted to as a place of pilgrimage by this caste. A man of the Vadda caste who resided in a Morasu Okkaliga village as an ascetic once did great service to them in routing their enemies but he was treacherously attacked and mortally wounded while returning from the fray. His two married sisters who had been living with him also died along with him. According to his deathbed request, the grateful Okkaligas built a temple in his name and deified him. An annual fair is held here for fifteen days at which many cattle are brought for sale.

They have beliefs in omens and other similar superstitions common to such classes. Whenever necessary, they

\* It is reported that in some places when the women make these bows styled *Ho-advāra mokkugulu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರವೊಕ್ಕು ಗಳು) they clothe themselves solely in kambli (coarse woollen blankets).

swear on their family gods to attest to their speaking truth in their caste assemblies.

Morasu Okkaligas are a caste rather high in the social scale. Social Status.

They generally employ Brahmins as *puròhīts* and some also respect Lingayet priests or Jangamas to whom they often make presents of rice and other provisions. Those of the Morasus who are *Tirunāmalhāris* call Sātānis to conduct funeral ceremonies, the Brahmins being required only to purify the house by *Puñjāha*. They also invite Dāsaiyas for Maṇē Sēve (ಮಣೇ ಸೇವೆ).

Except in extreme cases, such as, joining other lower castes, persons who have lost their caste, may be readmitted after proper *prāyascitta*, which consists of paying a fine imposed by the caste panchayet, giving a dinner, and getting the tongue slightly branded with a piece of gold.

They eat meat, sheep, goats, fish, rabbits and fowls being allowed. Some of them have no objection to pork but the more orthodox practice is to eschew it. They rarely indulge in drink though the practice is not absolutely prohibited. Kurubas and other classes mix with this caste in eating. The women as noticed already, are stricter in observing restrictions against dining with others who have not undergone the ceremonies of offering up the fingers and worshipping the *Hosadēvaru*. Such exclusive rules, it may be observed, are now greatly relaxed especially in larger towns. Food.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The youngest son has, it is said, the privilege of selecting his share first at a partition; and in some cases, the eldest son is given a specially extra share as a matter of customary concession. The *illitōm* son-in-law is entitled to a share equal to that of his brother-in-law. An unmarried brother gets his marriage expenses in addition to his share of the property. And if there be sisters to be married, some amount is set apart for their marriages and is given to the charge of the person who undertakes to be the guardian of the girls. Female children are not entitled, as a matter of right, to any share, but a destitute and a widowed sister is generally given some share in the ancestral property. In fact, on account of the extreme utility of the working hands, a childless and widowed sister or daughter is brought to her parent's house and very often she becomes the mistress of the family, much to the annoyance of the daughter-in-law. Inheritance



Occupation. Agriculture is the pursuit of the great bulk of this important caste, though a few have taken to other walks of life such as building contracts, money lending and Government service. They have houses built to suit their needs as agriculturists, having accommodation for cattle generally in the main building and with granaries and backyards attached. The seed grain is preserved in packages known as *mūḍe* (ಮುಡೆ) neatly made of twisted straw. Ragi is generally preserved in dry pits known as *hagēvu* (ಹಗೇವು) in Kannada and *pātra* (ಪಾತ್ರ) in Telugu which are excavated either in their own yards or in a common village site. The grain keeps well for years in such pits.\*

Tribal  
constitu-  
tion.

The Morasu Okkaligas have a well defined caste organisation. The whole caste is divided into separate groups known as *Kaṭṭémaṇes* (ಕಟ್ಟೇ ಮನಗಳು) each of them being presided over by a headman called Yajaman or *Gauḍa*. Several *kaṭṭémaṇes* form a *Nāḍu*, meaning a division of the country, and at the head of each *Nāḍu* is *Gauḍa* called *Nāḍu Gauḍa*. Several such *Nāḍus* form a *Désa* or country presided over by a *Désayi Gauḍa* or *Bhūmi Gauḍa*. There are two such *Désayi* or *Bhūmi Gauḍas*, one at the head of the Telugu Section and the other at the head of the Kannada Section, the head-quarters of the latter being *Muduvāḍe* in the Kolar Taluk.

The tribal disputes are, in the first instance, enquired into and settled by the *Kaṭṭémaṇe Yajaman*, but when the latter finds them to be of a serious nature, he refers them to the *Nāḍu Gauḍa*. The *Désayi Gauḍa* or the *Bhūmi Gauḍa* has the final appellate authority. Sometimes the representatives of the latter who are either their agnates or agents decide the important questions submitted to their decision. These offices are hereditary and descend in the male line.

On all the important occasions, such as, marriage, funerals, the presence of either headman of the caste or his representative is necessary. During marriages, he acts as the master of the ceremonies and conducts them according to prescribed form. They have not a separate man to act as the beadle or servant of the caste. Whenever there is necessity for such a person they appoint one from among them to do the functions. They have *Halasagars* (Morasu Holeyas) who carry information regarding the caste meet-

\* For a more detailed account of agricultural matters, see notes appended

ings, etc. As remuneration for their trouble the caste heads are always given extra *timbūlas* and some presents. The Halēмага also gets his reward, either in money or in kind and some cloth.

The Morasu Okkaligas are a thrifty, sober caste and form an important and rising class. There is nothing peculiar in their dress, nor are there any games peculiar to the caste. Their women are hardy and help men in the out-door work. They get tattooed from the ages of ten to twenty-five and blacken their teeth after the birth of a child.

Miscellaneous.

## APPENDIX A.

## Note 1.

## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

The ploughs have iron shares (ಕುಳಿ in Kannada, కుళి in Telugu) fixed on logs of Jáli or Babool wood, through a ring imbedded in the end. Those used for dry lands are about 2 or 2½ feet in length and for wet lands about a foot and a half. The pole is inserted through a hole in the thicker end of the log, and the yoke is tied to it with a rope made of either raw hide or cocoanut or aloe fibre called a *mini* (ಮಿನಿ). The knot is sometimes tightened with a wooden tourniquet called *kou-quiní* (ಕೊಂಗಣಿ). To steady the plough and to press it in its passage, an upright stick with a handle is fixed to the end of the long pole after it passes through the head of the plough. This is called *múdi* (ಮುದಿ).

To remove the weeds and grass uprooted in ploughing, a harrow (ಹಲಿವೇವರ) is drawn over the fields tied to the yoke with a pair of bamboo poles brought together at its centre. The harrow is a log about five feet in length furnished with twelve teeth of strong wood or iron and is of course drawn crosswise over the ground. The heaps of refuse collected together are burnt in the field. The same log with the teeth turned upwards is drawn over the field to level it, a man standing on the log to add weight to it.

When ragi or other small grain is to be sown, they use a seed drill called *kúriye* (ಕುರಿಗೆ) in Kannada and *gorru* (గొర్రు) in Telugu. This is similar to the harrow in appearance, but twelve hollow reeds, each about three feet in length, are fixed to it and they are all inserted into a cup at the top in which the seed grain is placed. As the log is drawn over the ground, the seed cup is replenished by a man who walks behind it. To sow lines of pulse such as *acare* or *togari* (ballar or pigeon-pea) another seed drill with a single reed is tacked on to the larger seed drill. The work of putting in the seed with these instruments requires considerable skill.

When the crop is six or seven inches high an instrument called *kunte* (ಕುಂಟೆ), a hoe with three or four teeth, is passed over it once or twice to thin out the crop and to stir the soil near the roots of the seedlings.

When a wet field is ploughed in puddle a log of wood (kan. *mara* ಮರ, Tel. *maru* మరు) is drawn crosswise over it to level the miry soil.

Among the other implements of husbandary in common use may be named the *mamaty* (ಸನಿಕೆ or చిప్పగుడ్డలి), the pick-axe (ಕೋಲುగుడ్డలి) and the sickle (ಕುಪುಗೋಲು). In addition, they have a special hoe, with four teeth to stir up the manure in the manure pits. Most of the raiyats own all these implements, which are not expensive. They are crude in appearance, but seem to be effective for the simple methods of husbandary practised. Generally there is a smith and a carpenter in most villages who can make and mend them whenever needed. The seed drill (*kúrigē*) is the only complicated instrument beyond the reach of the poorer raiyats, but it is usually borrowed from some kindly disposed neighbour.

## Note 2.

### PERIODS OF RAINS.

The whole year is, according to the raiyat's calendar, divided into twenty-seven parts named after as many Nakshatras or heavenly bodies. These divisions are known popularly as *male* (ಮಳೆ) in Kannada and *hūrti* (కూర్తి) or *ānu* (ఆను) in Telugu, each meaning rain. Each rain is again divided into four quarters styled *pādas* (పాదಗಳು) or feet. These 27 *hūrtis* or rains are again parcelled out into two groups called *mungāru* (ముంగారు) or early rains and *hīngāru* (హింగారు) or later rains. The former begin with the Révati rain (April) and end with Mrigasira rain (about June). If the *mungāru* rains fall regularly, the agricultural prospects are very good, as most of the chief crops are then sown. From Pūrvāshāḍha to Uttarābhādra (December to February), the rains are said to be in incubation (గರ್భ) and it should be cloudy then but should not rain. If it does, it is believed to be an abortion, which is sure to bring on a failure of the later rains.

Each Nakshatra period of the rains lasts, roughly speaking, two weeks and nearly corresponds to the periods named against them according to the English calendar. Révati and Asvini cover the whole month of April; Bhāraṇi and Krittika last up to about the end of May; Rohini and Mārgasira till the third week of June, when Aridra

begins. The latter and the following two rains, *viz.*, Punarvasu and Pushyami, extend up to about the first week of August. Aslêsha and the succeeding three rains Magha, Pubba and Uttara, cover the rain period till about the end of September. Hasta, Chitta and Svati fall in the following five weeks ending with the first week of November, the other three weeks of November and the whole of December being taken up by the rains Visàkha, Anúrâdha, Jyêsthâ and Mûla. The incubation period commences about the beginning of January and lasts till the end of March.

The knowledge and the beliefs of raiyats about the relations of these periods to agricultural operations are embodied in various short sayings and proverbs. It will be convenient to begin with Rêvati, which is the last of the Nakshatras, as rains generally commence then. The rain falling under this Nakshatra is not of any use, and is rather prejudicial to the threshing of ragi, as the grain will not get clean.

Asvini is said to be harmful to the fruit of arecanuts and cocoanuts, and if paddy is irrigated from tanks filling in this rain, the crop, it is believed, will be diseased and will yield a poor return. Asvini destroys everything (ಸವಂ ನಶ್ಯಂತಿ ಅಪ್ಪಿನೀ).

During Bharani, ploughing operations are begun, and in some places, minor crops such as navane, hâkaka (millet) or gingelly are sown in the fields so that another crop may be taken after these are harvested.\* It is believed that seeds put in this rain are immune from attacks of disease, and yield a good crop. Earth prospers if Bharani rains (ಭರಣಿ ಮಳೆಬಿದ್ದರೆ ಧರಣಿಜಯುತ್ತೆ).

If rains do not fall till Krittike, people will suffer want (ಕೃತ್ತಿಗೆವರೆಗೂ ಮಳೆ ಬರದಿದ್ದರೆ ಜನರ ಬಾಯಿ.ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೃತ್ತಿಕೆ).

During Rôhini fields are ploughed and kept ready, but the seed should by no means be put in, for the yield will be scanty, (ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನ ಮಡಿವಟ್ಟುನಲ್ಲಿ ಪೇಸೆ ಸೇಡಿನಂಟುಮಾಡ್ಲು ಜೋಕಡ್ಲೆ. If sown in Rôhini, there will not be even one mortarful of paddy).

In Mrigasira, popularly known as *minchini* (ಮಂಚಿನಿ) in Telugu, ground is prepared and minor crops raised.

Aridra is said to be good for sowing all kinds of grain. If the rain begins in the night time, it is a good

\* The best lands are never sown with any grain in this rain. Such lands are prepared and reserved for important crops, such as ragi.

sign, but crops do not thrive if it begins during the day. If there is thunder in the first three quarters (pádas) and none in the fourth, the rains during the following six nakshatra periods will suffer. If the reverse is the case, it is a good sign for the following rains. Thunder, breaking in the fourth quarter, will nullify the evil effect of thunder in the first three quarters. (ಅರಿದ್ರೆ ಮಳೆ ಗುಡುಗಿದರೆ ಆರುಮಳೆ ಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. If the Aridra rain thunders, six following rains will not fall). On the whole the rains under this sign are greatly appreciated, as contributing to a plentiful harvest (ಅರಿದ್ರೆ ಅನ್ನ ಇಡುತ್ತ್ತು).

Punarvasu and Pushyami, styled popularly Chinna Pūsi and Pedda Pūsi (చిన్న పూసి, పెద్ద పూసి) in Telugu and Chik-kavūsi and Doddavūsi (ಚಿಕ್ಕ ವೂಸಿ, ದೊಡ್ಡ ವೂಸಿ) in Kannada, are also regarded as timely for sowing ragi and other dry crops.

In Aslēsha, popularly known as Asale (असले) seeds may be sown, but the crop is uncertain owing to lateness of the season. Crops then sown are said to be liable to insect pests.

Magha is considered a fitful rain, raining either very hard, or failing altogether (ಒದರ ವಾಗಿ ಬಾಡಿದ್ದರ ಹಗೆ), Magha if it comes, an enemy if it fails).

During Pubba or Hubbe if winds are high, it is said that paddy crop turns red and deteriorates. If there should be excessive rain, the standing crops suffer. The skies are often overcast, but the rain is generally scanty. Even a sparrow's wings, it is said, will not get moist from showers of this period. (ಪುಟ್ಟಿಮಳೆ ಉಬ್ಬಿ ಜ್ವರ ಹುಟ್ಟು ಪುಕ್ಕ ನೆನೆಯದು). They do not sow anything in this period as it will not yield any crop. (ಪುಟ್ಟಿವಾಳು ಸುಟ್ಟಿ ನೆನೆದ ಗಾಳಿಕೆ, ಹಬ್ಬಿ ವಾಳು ಸುಟ್ಟಿ ನೆನೆದ ಗಾಳಿಕೆ). It is better to sow a seer in Hasta than a hundred seers in Pubba.

The rains in Uttara and Hasta rarely fail, and the raiyats have great faith in their regularity. They are regarded as having given a solemn promise to the raiyat to save his crop. If Uttara rain fails, a raiyat should be ready to flee with his goods in a basket. (పూర్వమునాచి పట్టణమునకు). If Hasta fails even a mother will be unable (unwilling) to give food (మమ్మలొకటి కుయ్యదిద్దరే కత్త తాయాయూ అన్న ఇడళూ). If there are winds in Hasta, it is said to be a bad sign, for if the leaves shake in Hasta, not a drop will fall in Chitta (హస్త వానమునకు అన్న పతనము చిత్త వానమునకు పుష్కలము).

Chitta is considered to be fitful, and the rain falls without any method in distribution. It is characterised as being blind, and it is even said that it rains chiefly during the

day, as at night it is afraid of breaking its neck by falling in a pit. If this rain follows that of Hasta without a break, it is believed that the rains will be copious. If both these rains fail, it spells ruin for the raiyats, who then become as destitute as non-cultivators. హస్తా చిత్త పోతే అంధరూ ఒకటే) in Telugu and (ಹಸ್ತ ಚಿತ್ತ ಹೋದರೆ ನಾವುನಾಲ್ವರಂತೆ, in Kannada.

In Svāti, the downpour is generally continuous. Grass grows plentifully and this is believed to be the rain which conduces to the ears of corn filling properly with juice. If this rain falls properly, you may look for ears of corn even under a washerman's slab (స్వాతివాన ముట్టై చాళవానిబండకి గాయున్న). It rains devils in Svāti (స్వాతిపట్టి పే శనిపట్టినట్టై), and one will not be allowed respite even to answer calls of nature (నవ్ವతిమಳ కడతే నందరೂ బిడద). Lightning is a sign of heavy rain in Svāti and even the sea trembles to see lightning with Svāti rain, (స్వాతివాన మించితే సముద్రముతిల్ల జెంచును).

The water afforded by Visákha (corrupted into *Isúki* ಇಸುಕಿ) rain is believed to bring health; and this is the last of the copious rains, as clouds are scanty thereafter:—

ವಿಶಾಖಾಂತಾನಿಮೇಘಾನಿ  
 ಪ್ರಸೂತಾಂತಂತು ಯ.ವ್ಯಸಂ ।  
 ಲಲಿತಾಂತಾನಿ ಗೀತಾನಿ  
 ತ ಕೃಂತಂ ಭೋಜನತಥಾ ॥

Anúrādha (corrupted into *Anóragi*—ಅನೋರಾಗಿ) ripens the crops before harvest, and if it falls the raiyat's anxiety is at an end (ಅನೋರಾಗಿಬಿದ್ದರೆ ಮನೋರೋಗ ಹೋ ಮಿತು) and his ragi (crop) becomes his own (ಅನೋರಾಗಿಮಳ ಬಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮರಾಗಿ ನಮಗೆಬಂತು).

The rains of Jéshtha and Múla come in low drizzle and create a dirty murky weather (ಜೇಷ್ಠ ಮೂಲ ಹಿಡಿದರೆ ಜಪ್ಪು ಮುಚ್ಚಿದ ಹಾಗಿ). It is harmful to the pulses, *ururu* and *logari*, as insects multiply after this rain and flowers are destroyed.

With them the rainy season practically closes, about the time of Dipavali feast, for you cannot discover any rain after Dipavali even searching with a light ದಿಪಾವಳಿ ಪోಯಿಸಿಪ್ಪುಟ ದಿಸುಮುನ್ನೆಣ್ಣಿವೆದಕೆನಾ ವಾಸಲೆದು), and it is as vain to cry for rain after Dipavali is gone, as to hope for good treatment as son-in-law in a deceased wife's parent's house (ಅಂ ನచ్చಿಸಿಪ್ಪುಟ ಅಲ್ಲಿರಿಕಾನಿಕೆಹೆ ಡೆವೇನಿ—ದಿಪಾವಳಿವೆಲ್ಲ ಸಪ್ಪುಟ ಕರ್ನಾನಿಕೆಹೆಡೆವೇನಿ—ಒಂದೂ ಒನ್ನಲೆ).

They have so much faith in the appropriateness of particular seasons for particular crops, that it is rare to see any raiyat trying experiments with sowing after the proper season for particular crop is past. Some later crop or

some minor crop may be put in as an alternative to letting the field lie fallow altogether.

The agricultural seasons are roughly divided into two parts styled locally as Vaisākha (వైశాఖ) and Kārtika (కార్తిక). As the ploughing operations are begun with the first rains, the agricultural year begins practically with the Telugu New year, (Yugādi—యూగాది). On a certain day in the first week after Yugādi all the raiyats in the village congregate in the *Chavadi* or a temple, when the Astrologer after offering *pūja* to a copy of the new calendar, expounds to them the prospects of the new year. Margosa leaves with jaggery powder, to convey the idea of the sweet and the bitter being linked together in life, are presented as *prasāda* to the audience to swallow.

He tells them which of the rains may be expected to fall regularly, the state of the winds and the sunshine, the names of grains likely to thrive well, and which epidemic and other diseases are threatening to break out. Then each man consults the astrologer as to his individual prospects, which are determined either by the star indicated by the first letter of his name or, if he keeps a horoscope, the star under which he was born. When all this is over, the head of the village, generally the *patel*, consults him about the auspicious day for beginning the agricultural operations, the name of the person who may lead the first plough, and the colour of the bullock to be yoked to it, the direction with reference to the village in which ploughing has to be begun, and such other important particulars. The astrologer finds appropriate answers for all these queries from calculation, and is rewarded with presents of grain and sometimes money and new cloths.

On the day fixed, the person who has to begin the ploughing operations in the village, goes to the temple with the village elders. The *pūjari* worships the god and sprinkles holy water on the man and his bulls and plough, a sheep being sometimes sacrificed. The man begins to plough and is followed by others with other ploughs. They pass the ploughs over all the lands in the village, and then enjoy a common feast styled that of Homéru (హోమేరు) or the golden plough.

Each family also begins ploughing with a *pūja*, and at the time of first sowing they hold a *pūja* of the sowing implements called Kúric-púje.



When crops are standing, Sidi-dévaru (ಸಿದಿ ದೇವರು) is worshipped to avert insect pests. When they are two or three inches high, each raiyat in one of his fields builds a small shed out of green leaves and sets up seven small stones in it in a row with another small stone in front to represent Munisvára. All the important members of the family, with the young boys, go there and offer on two plantain leaves cooked rice and curds with some condiments. A fowl is then killed and its blood is mixed with the food in one of the leaves, and is scattered over all the fields belonging to the family. The rice on the other leaf is eaten up by the boys and the remains of the fowl are taken home to be cooked and eaten by all the inmates.

All the raiyats in a village join together and enjoy the picnic of Hasté Pongalu during the Hasta rains. Small branches of *Ankólé* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*—ಅಂಕೋಲೆ), are brought in large quantities and stuck in the fields in different places. Figures of the several agricultural implements are drawn with the ashes of the potter's kiln, on the boundaries of the fields, in the paths and at the entrance of the village. A goat or sheep is sacrificed near the figure drawn at the village entrance and offerings of rice and milk cooked together called *Pongili* (ಪಂಜಿಲಿ) are made to it. The blood of the sacrificed animal is mixed with margosa leaves and is scattered over all the fields in the village. The head of the sacrificed animal is given away to the village *Póti* (ಪೊತಿ) and the body is divided among all the raiyats.

No other ceremony is observed till the time of reaping, if the crop grows well in the normal condition. At the time of mowing the crop Kudugólu Dévaru \* (ಕುದುಗೋಲು ದೇವರು) the Sickie God's *púja* is done. A handful of crop is cut and placed in the central part of the field, near five small stones set up there. The sickles of all the reapers are collected and deposited in a row in front of these stones. They are then worshipped in the usual way, with burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then ears of this handful of crop are then cut and safely preserved at home and the grain out of them is mixed with the seed grain of next year.

Before the crop is removed in carts, or in head loads, from the field to the threshing floor, a cocoanut is broken.

\* This practice of making *púja* to the instruments of one's calling is almost universal. Even a grass cutter woman is often seen to bow before her scythe or hoe before beginning to cut or dig grass.

The crop thus transported is stacked into a heap and allowed to remain in that state for three or four months.

The threshing of the crop begins generally in the month of *Māgha* and continues till the close of the next month. When the threshing is done and the grain is heaped together, a *Pillāri*\* (ಪಿಲ್ಲಾರಿ) that is, a cone made of cow-dung, is installed with an ear of corn stuck into it at the top. Water is sprinkled on the grain heap and the threshing floor and the grain heap with the *Pillāri* is worshipped, incense being burnt and a cocoanut offered. The winnowing of the grain is done after this by a man standing on a stool about four feet high and pouring down the grain from a bamboo winnow, slowly so as to let the chaff be carried away by the wind, the heavy grain falling in a heap below. It is considered essential that when this process is going on, they should preserve silence all round.†

It is the universal custom that before measuring the grain, a small quantity, if only a handful even, is set apart for charity. This is styled *Dēvara Kolaga* (ದೇವರ ಕೊಳಗ) i. e., God's measure) and is distributed to a *Pūjari* or a Brahmin or to a *Dāsaiyya* or *Jangamayya* or to beggars generally.

### Note 3.

#### CROP DISEASES.

There are certain crop diseases for which the raiyats apply different nostrums, some savouring of superstition, while others have more or less a remedial value.

The recognised diseases of the paddy are *Suruṅga Jādya* (ಸುರುಂಗಜಾಡ್ಯ), *Bāsara Vyādhi* (ಬಾಸರವ್ಯಾಧಿ) and *Kembathi Rōga* (ಕಂಬತ್ತಿರೋಗ). The *Kārtika* or the earlier crop of paddy is liable to attacks of the first disease in which the leaves turn reddish and wither away after the fall of the *Pubba* rain. The excreta of bats found in caves and ruined temples is mixed with the ashes of the potter's kiln and lime, and dusted over the whole field affected, and a sheep or goat is

\* *Pillāri* means a small image, and is a cone made of cow-dung or rice paste or earth, with blades of green grass stuck on the top. It is generally taken as representing *Gaṇēśa*.

† Perhaps a relic of troublesome times when the raiyat wished to gather in his grains as quietly as possible, without drawing the attention of robbers or others who habitually preyed on him. Or was it meant to keep off evil spirits?

sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the standing crop. When the heads of the stalks become knotted together, urine of cattle is sprinkled over them. Búsara Vyādhī is caused by the attacks of insects about the time ears shoot forth, by which the sap is drained and the leaves turn white and drop away, leaving the stalk bare. There is no remedy known for this pest. Kembatti Rōga known in Telugu as *Pauli-Rōgamu* (పాలిరోగము) is nicknamed in Telugu as *Būpini Rōgamu* (బూపినిరోగము) or the Brahmin disease, on account of the leaves all turning red when it attacks the crop. A pig is killed near the field and its blood is mixed with margosa leaves and thrown on the standing crop. Sometimes a crow pheasant (సంపాకాకి) is substituted for the pig.

Ragi crop is also subject to various diseases. The plant suddenly begins to dry up when the crop is about an inch high. The disease is styled *Erū Dūdara* (ఏరుదుదార) and the farmer makes pūja to a deity called *Dūdara* deity (దుదారదేవత). Small branches of *ankōli* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*) are stuck in the several parts of the field and a fowl or sheep is sacrificed.

A similar but less injurious disease attacks the crop when about three inches high and is called *Nārupaku Dūdara* (నారుపాకుదుదార). The leaves wither and fall off, but the stems are unaffected. The farmer performs *Dūdara Dēcade* as in the case of the other disease and also sprinkles the ashes of the potter's kiln on the field.

*Aggi-Dūdara* (అగ్గిదుదార) in Telugu and *Benkidūdare* (ಬೆಂಕಿದೂದರೆ) in kannada, is a more serious disease and injures crop considerably. The plants attacked wither away and do not survive. To prevent the spread of the disease, incense is burnt and a coconut is broken and its water sprinkled on the crop. When this disease is observed to occur after a drought, the raiyats take it as a sign of impending rain. Caterpillars (ಕಂಬ್ಬಿಹುಳಿ) multiply very fast in fields attacked with this disease and eat up the pulses *Anare* and *Togari*, sown in the ragi fields. It is supposed to be a remedy to render pūja to these insects to ward off their attack. Two or three of them are caught, turmeric and *kunkuma* powders are put on them, and a cotton thread coloured with saffron is tied to each and after prayers to them not to molest the crop, they are taken to the village boundary and let off, probably with a benevolent wish that they may bestow their favours elsewhere.

*Kálavyādhī* (ಕಾಳವ್ಯಾಧಿ) attacks the crop when it is ripe for being cut. Insects eat away the stocks just at the ear heads which consequently fall off. There is no known remedy for this pest.

If there is too much rain when the ears are coming out, they all rot and turn jet and no grain is formed in them. No remedy is known for this either.

*Arare* and *Togari* pulses which are sown in lines in a ragi field are allowed to stand after the ragi is harvested as they ripen about two months later. They are liable to be attacked by insects called *Sidi* (ಸಿಡಿ) which eat up the seeds in the pods. The remedy is to burn a quantity of bones heaped up in a place when wind is blowing so that the smoke may envelope the plants and poison the insects.

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#### Note 4.

#### CATTLE DISEASES.

The importance of cattle to the agricultural people of the country cannot be overestimated. Cattle diseases cause enormous loss to the raiyats; and their want of knowledge and inability to administer timely remedies when epidemics occur cripple their resources year by year. There are, however, certain empirics in most places, who in addition to superstitious practices, know some remedies which are often very efficacious. Sometimes the cures effected by the employment of simple herbs available at their very doors are said to be little short of miraculous. But it is difficult to make these men impart their knowledge to others, as they believe that if their secret is shared with others its efficacy would disappear.

The most serious of the recognised cattle diseases is known as *Dodda Rōga* or *Doddamma* (great disease) i. e., Rinderpest. It corresponds to cholera for men and carries off a large number of cattle. Ragi gruel is given to sustain the strength of the animal and the mouth and the nostrils from which there is a large flow of mucus are often washed. They also segregate affected animals from the healthy ones more or less completely. Pills made of the roots of the Jambu weed (*paincum interruptum*) and jaggery are administered.

The juice of the tender shoots of the creepers known as *Ugani-balli* (ಉಗನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿ) in Kannada, and *Tindra-balli*

in Telugu, a shrubby creeper (*cocculus cordifolius*), is given. Plantains of the variety known as *rasa-bāle*, camphor and ghee mixed together are sometimes given as a medicine.

When the village is visited with this epidemic, the God of the village is worshipped. An image of Māramma is made and worshipped by the washerman in the village square. Then it is taken in state to the boundary and left there with its face towards the next village.

The disease of the eye (కణ్ణజాడ్య) is also contagious and the infected animals are segregated. There is water flowing from the eyes and the animal becomes listless and gives up feeding and chewing the cud. It is not a common disease, but when it occurs it is not easy to get rid of it. The treatment resorted to is branding on the back about eighteen inches across in two places. The animal is also branded often under the tail, the neck and on the chest. The juice of the green leaves of the lemon (*citrus limonium* — కరళ), gingelly oil, country arrack *asafoetida*, pepper, garlic and mustard are all ground together, and about a hornful of the mixture is given to the animal.

Inflammatory fever or black quarters, known as Chappé Jādya (చప్పజాడ్య) is a contagious disease generally proving fatal from a few hours to two or three days. The animal ceases to feed and to ruminate; swellings may appear on any part of the body and the parts so affected are hot to the touch. There is practically no remedy known to the rajyat, except branding on the affected parts. Sometimes a mixture of plantain flowers (బాళకూపిన కుసుమే) cummin seed (జిరిగ) onions (నిలరొక్క) and butter-milk (మజ్జగి) ground together is given. The worship of a Goddess styled Chappalamma (చప్పలమ్మ), Goddess of Chappé disease, is observed, sheep and goats being killed to propitiate the deity.

There are certain preventive measures adopted to protect the healthy cattle when an epidemic of this disease is threatened. They are branded with a red hot iron rod on the right shoulder and on the left thigh. Milk or juice of *calatropis gigantea* (ఎక్కుదకాలు), *Géru* (గేరు semi *carpeus anacardium*), kernel of the castor seed (కరళాపూపు), *kāḍékārā* (కాడేకార, a drug), a drug *Chitramūla* (చిత్రమూల) and *plumbago zeylanica* (నెలగొంపిడి) are well ground together in the curds of a buffalo and mixed with castor oil. The paste is put on the thighs and the shoulders of the healthy animals. Slight blisters appear on these spots; and

it is believed that the animals suffer from a slight attack of the disease and then recover. This inoculation is said to render them immune from this particular disease.

The foot and mouth disease is known as ಕಾಲು ಜ್ವರ, ಬಾಯಿ ಜ್ವರ, ಗಾಳಿ ಸೆರೆ, or ಗಾಳಿಯಪ್ಪು. It is a contagious disease but is not generally fatal. It spreads over large areas in the hot season and hampers agricultural operations seriously. Saliva flows from the mouth and ulcers are formed between the hoofs. The animal lifts and shakes the legs frequently ; if the sores are neglected, they breed maggots. The animal is fed on nutritious food such as conjee made of ragi flour. The feet and the mouth are washed twice every day, morning and evening, and sometimes the animal is made to stand in mire. If there are maggots, tar or camphor mixed with the oil of *Pongamia glabra* (ಹೊಂಗೆ) or margosa seeds (ಬೇವಿನ ಎಣ್ಣೆ) is applied to the ulcers. Sometimes the feet and the mouth of healthy cattle are washed with water in which fish have been washed and the same water is sprinkled over the surface of the cattle yard.

The worship of the stone marking the boundary of the village site, known as *Godḍu ráṅgi* (ಗೊಡ್ಡು ರಾಂಗಿ) a barren-stone in Telugu, or *Kāru kallu* (ಕಾರುಕಲ್ಲು) in Kannada, is considered to be efficacious in warding off the disease. They first make vows to this deity, and all the inhabitants of the village join in the worship. One hundred and one pots of water are poured on it and saffron and *kunkuma* powders are applied and small branches of margosa leaves tied to it. Sheep and goats are killed near the stone and all the cattle in the village are made to walk through the mire and are brought near this stone, where the *pújari* sprinkles water over them and applies turmeric and *kunkuma* to their foreheads. This is believed not only to cure the disease already broken out but to prevent an impending outbreak. It is supposed to prevent the spread of the disease to the uninfected houses, if the inmates of the latter make an offering of food consisting of cooked rice, curds and milk mixed together with an onion (styled *ವಲ್ಲಮುಜ್ಜ* in Telugu), at the spot where the cattle are tethered, and sacrifice a fowl and sprinkle the blood on the cattle.

Naradī or Sukhanaradī (ನರಡಿ, ಸುಖನರಡಿ Splenic Apoplexy) attacks cattle apparently in good health. If proper care is not taken soon, they succumb to the disease. The animal

ceases to feed or chew the cud. Laboured respiration, staggering gait, flow of saliva and mucus from the mouth are among the symptoms of the disease. The faeces and urine are coloured red with blood. The most popular remedy is branding on or about the region of the spleen. The internal medicines are dry chillies ground to fine powder and mixed with butter milk or the leaves of *wrightia tinctoria* or ivory wood (చురకాలిశొప్ప), pepper and garlic ground together and mixed with butter-milk.

The symptoms of the disease known as Musara-jādya (ముసర జాడ్యము in Telugu) are dullness, going off feed and twitchings of the muscles. The most efficacious remedies are said to be the following. A quantity of the bark of the Muttaga tree (*Butea Frondosa*) is beaten into pulp and immersed in water, and about six seers of the infusion are given as a drink. The leaves of the plants *Adusoge*, *Adratoda Vasica* (ఆడుసోగి), (అద్దరావడి in Telugu), tender leaves of *Nallurdrili* (నల్లద్రలి), *Nelagorai* (నేలగోరాయి) and *Mucanelli* (ముకనెల్లి) and some garlic are ground into a paste and a powder of mustard, pepper, cloves, piper longum (పిప్పలి), శోధి (greater galangal) దంపరాస్త్ర and the leaves of *Azima tetracantha*, (బిళిమియిల) is mixed with that paste. Pills of the size of a gooseberry are made of this and one or two administered for two or three days. This remedy is applied for many diseases, especially those which cannot be properly diagnosed. Sometimes as soon as this disease attacks the animal, forces of human beings are mixed in water and two or three hornfuls given to it.

Ubbasa-jādya (అబ్బాసజాడ్య) is brought on by exposure or by eating cooling substances. The disease proves fatal if it is not discovered in early stages and treated. The second remedy noted for the previous disease is also used for this disease. As an alternative the water in which washerman boils clothes with fuller's earth is given to the animal.

Domme Jādya (దోమ్మే జాడ్య) Pleuro pneumonia) is also known as Sogadommu (సోగాదొమ్మ) or Sukhadommu (సుఖదొమ్మ) in Telugu. It is a dangerous malady unless attended to in the early stages, but it is said not to be contagious. It is believed to arise from the abnormal swelling of something near the spleen (which they call బురకదొమ్మ) which finally chokes up the passage in the throat. The lungs get affected

and the animal coughs, and ceases to feed and ruminate. The remedies used are the oil or the juice of the bark of *Honge* (ಹೊಂಗಿ *Pongamia glabra*), or the juice of the leaves of *Addasurapūku* (ಅಡ್ಡಸರಪಾಕು) and *Muranelli* (ಮುರನಲ್ಲಿ) crushed together, and mixed with the oil of *Pongamia*, one or two hornfuls given internally, and branding on the body.

Dysentery, variously known as *Rakta katṭu*, *Rakta bhēdi* or *Kaṭṭurōga* (ರಕ್ತ ಕಟ್ಟು, ರಕ್ತ ಭೇದಿ, ಕಟ್ಟುರೋಗ) is generally preceded by simple diarrhoea which is brought on by the cattle grazing on immature green fodder after the rains. The medicines used are pumpkin and rice boiled together; or the cellular sponge-like substances found in the ant hills (ಹುತ್ತದಲ್ಲೆರುವ ಕೂಗು) mixed and ground together in water; or the juice of the leaves of a creeper called *si-lonḍe* one hornful, followed by another hornful of milk with fine powder of hæmatite known as *kāvi* stone (ಕಾವಿ ಕಲ್ಲು).

Simple catarrh is known as *Kundu*, *Sela*, *Paḍisemu* or *Negadi* (కుండు, సెల, పడిసెము, నేగడి) and the symptoms are cough and thirst. Its cure is generally left to nature. The remedies sometimes used are unboiled milk, assafoetida, the ear heads of the grass out of which broom sticks are made, and mustard ground together; or the juice of the leaves of a small herb styled *పొడ్డా* in Telugu, mixed with goat's milk and assafoetida and given three days; or branding. Two women of the same name throw ashes on the back of the affected animal by means of a winnow. This is popularly known as *Kundu kēruṇḍu* (కుండు కేరువుడు).

When this disease occurs in an aggravated form it is said to turn into *Saḷe* (సలే). The animal is branded in addition to being given the above medicines.

Choking (ಎದುರು ಕುತ್ತಿಗೆ in Kannada and అంగటి గూఢం in Telugu) may sometimes happen by the sticking of a foreign substance in the throat, which the animal makes a constant effort to bring out by coughing. The obstructing substance can, often, be felt by passing the hand gently on the animal's neck. It is removed mechanically either with the hand by a dexterous person or by inserting a cap of the citron fruit with a cord attached beyond the obstructing substance and dragging it out. Ragi conjee is then given and the part fomented with tamarind leaves and heated salt to soothe the irritation. If there is any wound, the blood of a cock is first given to the animal and a hornful of the mixture made of the juice of radish (మొలగి) and lard (ಹಂದಿ ತುಪ್ಪ) is given as a drink.



When the glands in the throat or the epiglottis swell, the air-passage may be choked and the animal die of suffocation. This disease is known as Gudlupenjari (గుడ్డుపంజరి) in Telugu. There are experts who break the swelling mechanically ; and the animal is fed on ragi conjee and other soothing and nourishing food till the sore is healed.

The disease known as Námu (నాము) is caused by the animal eating the tender shoots of Jōla (great millet, *sorghum vulgare*) grass grown on the stubble left after a harvest. It is said to be due to an insect known popularly as Námu hūḍa (నాముకుళి); it is perhaps due to some poisonous acid (Hydrocyanic?) which is found in this grass. The animal shivers, does not eat or ruminate and falls on the ground beating the legs violently. The juice of the leaves of the wild castor plant (పుజ్జరళి Jatropha curcas) one or two hornfuls, are given mixed with water. This medicine is commonly known and is very effective.

Urta Jádya (అర్తజాద్య) attacks calves, when all the hair on the skin falls off. As a remedy one of the teeth of the calf known as *Gajjihallu* or Itchy tooth, is pulled out and the calf gets all right. It is believed that this occurs when any salt is mixed with butter-milk of the calf's dame before the calf begins to chew the grass.

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## APPENDIX B.

*List of Ezogamous divisions.*

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- Achyuta (ಅಚ್ಯುತ) — People of this division do not cultivate saffron.
- Alada (ಅಲದ) — Banyan tree.
- Anó (ಅನ) — Elephant.
- Ardharané (ಅರ್ಧರಾಣೆ).
- 5 Báchi (ಬಾಚಿ) — A kind of tree.
- Bádalú (ಬಾದಲು) — A kind of grass.
- Bále (ಬಾಳ) — Plantain.
- Bangi (ಬಂಗಿ) — Ganja.
- Bélada (ಬೇಲದ) — Woodapple tree.
- 10 Belli (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ) — Silver.
- Billándla (ಬಿಲ್ಲಾಂಡ್ಲ) — A kind of tree.
- Bollikódi (ಬೊಲಿಕೊಡಿ) — A bird, found in hedges, of black colour with white face.
- Búsi (ಬೂಸಿ) —
- (Chalindala (ಚಲಿಂದಲ) — A cistern for water erected in the roads for the use of travellers.
- 15 Chanchali (ಚಂಚಲಿ) — A kitchen herb.
- Chikkandu (ಚಿಕ್ಕಂದ) — A vegetable plant.
- Dálimbe (ದಾಲಿಂಬೆ) — Pomegranate.
- Dévagannéru (ದೇವಗನ್ನೇರು) — A kind of flower bearing tree.
- Gejje (ಗೆಜ್ಜೆ) — Small bells.
- 20 Géndára (ಗೇಂಡಾರ) — A kind of fish.
- Ginṇu (ಗಿಣ್ಣು) — Milk of a buffalo or a cow which has lately calved.
- Gókérta (ಗೋಕೇರ್ಟ) —
- Gókula (ಗೋಕುಲ) —
- Gongadi (ಗೊಂಗಡಿ) — A blanket turned into a cloak.
- 25 Góranṭi (ಗೋರಂಟಿ) — Barlaria.

- Guliganji (ಗುಲಗಂಜಿ)—The wild liquorice.  
 Hálu (ಹಾಲು)—A herb.  
 Heggana (ಹೆಗ್ಗಣ)—A bandicoot.  
 Hippé (ಹಿಪ್ಪೆ)—A tree *Basia latifolia*.  
 30 Uttta (ಹುತ್ತ)—Anthill.  
 Ichalu (ಈಚಲು)—Date tree.  
 Iriséllu (ಇರಿಸೆಲ್ಲು)—A wooden spoon.  
 Kabbádi (ಕಬ್ಬಾಡಿ) —  
 Kaḍaba (ಕಡಬ)—A species of deer.  
 35 Kaggali (ಕಗ್ಗಲಿ)—A tree.  
 Kalindala (ಕಲಿಂದಲ)—They do not cut milk hedge plant.  
 Kalivi (ಕಲಿವಿ)—A kind of tree.  
 Kanne (ಕನ್ನೆ)—A kitchen herb.  
 Kánaga (ಕಾನಗ)—*Pongemia Glabra*.  
 40 Kappu (ಕಪ್ಪು)—Flesh of animals.  
 Káre (ಕಾರೆ)—A thorny jungle plant.  
 Khachóra (ಖಚೋರ)—A kind of shrub bearing sweet scented  
 fruits used with sandal paste.  
 Kode (ಕೊಡೆ)—Umbrella.  
 Kolaga (ಕೊಳಗ)—An Indian measure.  
 45 Kommé (ಕೊಮ್ಮೆ)—A herb.  
 Kondada (ಕೊಂಡದ)—  
 Kunchi (ಕುಂಚಿ)—A hooded cloak.  
 Kurandara (ಕುರಂದರ)—  
 Kúrate gé (ಕೂರಟೆಗೆ)—A milky thorny plant.  
 50 Kúrige (ಕೂರಿಗೆ)—A seed drill.  
 Mallige (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ)—A Jasmin flower.  
 Mandi (ಮಂಡಿ)—  
 Maṇéndra (ಮಣೇಂದ್ರ)—  
 Mandalige (ಮಂಡಲಿಗೆ)—They do not use mats.  
 55 Masi (ಮಸಿ)—  
 Mávu (ಮಾವು)—Mango.  
 Mékala (ಮೊಕ್ಕಲ)—Goat.  
 Mudre (ಮುದ್ರೆ)—A seal.  
 Muddaráṇi (ಮುದ್ದರಾಣಿ)—Kitchen herb.  
 60 Mungili (ಮುಂಗಿಲಿ)—Mongoose.

Muttagn (ಮುತ್ತಗ್ಗ)—Bastard teak.

Nakkalu (ನಕ್ಕಲು)—Jackal.

Nelli (ನೆಲ್ಲಿ)—The emblem myroba jam.

Nérālē (ನೇರಳೆ)—Jambalana.

- 65 Nili (ನೀಲಿ)—Indigo—They do not keep black bullocks and their women do not wear black bangles or black saris.

Nittuva (ನಿಟ್ಟುವು)—They do not use stone posts for houses.

Nuggi (ನುಗ್ಗಿ)—Horse radish.

Núnabudagi (ನೂನಬುಡಗಿ)—A vegetable drug.

Ottu (ಒಟ್ಟು)—They do not eat on plates of dry leaves.

- 70 Pachchakódi (ಪಚ್ಚಕೋಡಿ)—

Punagu (ಪುನಗು)—Givet.

Sāmantige (ಸಾಮಂತಿಗೆ)—Chrysanthimum.

Sampige (ಸಂಪಿಗೆ)—Champaka tree.

Sankha (ಕಂಬ)—Conch shell.

- 75 Sásuve (ಸಾಸುವೆ)—Mustard.

Sóntli (ಕೊಂಠಿ)—Ginger.

Tātārlu (ತಾತಾರ್ಲು)—

Tengina (ತಂಗಿನ)—Coconut.

Tyābali (ತ್ಯಾಬಲಿ)—Tortoise.

- 80 Tummalā (ತುಮ್ಮಲ)—A kind of tree.

Turubu (ತುರುಬು)—They do not tie their hair in a knot.

Udārlu (ಉದಾರ್ಲು)—Seeds of weed, a kind of grass largely grown in paddy fields.

Udāma (ಉಡಮ)—Big lizard.

Uttarēni (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ)—A common weed (Achyranthis aspera).







(Preliminary Issue.)

# The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

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## VIII. BILI MAGGA CASTE.

BY

H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.

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## BILI MAGGA.

A sub-division of the weaver caste is known as those of Bili Magga (ಬಿಲಿಮಗ್ಗ white loom) from the white muslin and other cloth they generally produce. The term is considered by the caste as one of reproach and they call themselves Kuruvina Setti or Kuruvina Bapajiga the meaning of which is not clear. Name.

Setti is the surname of the caste and is appended to the personal name at the end.

No information is available about their origin. These belong to the Kannada country, and profess to be the direct offspring of Isvara and Párvati. Origin.

They form a population numbering about 10,000. They speak Kannada, but it is said that there are some in South Kanara who use the local language, Tulu. Language.

The caste contains two endogamous divisions, namely, those that are Lingayats and those that are not Lingayats. There is no intermarriages between them, but the non-Lingayat Bili Magga men eat in the houses of those that have embraced the Lingayat religion, but not *vice versa*. In some places the Lingayat portion of the caste is called Dodda (or big) Kuruvinavaru and the non-Lingayat section Chikka (or little) Kuruvinavaru. Divisions.

The caste is divided into sixty-six exogamous divisions\* divided into two groups respectively known as the Siva and the Párvati group or the male and the female group, each group containing thirty-three gótras, with the usual prohibition against the intermarriage between those bearing the same family name. Most of these names are taken from plants, animals, implements, etc., but it is difficult to trace any totemistic superstitions among them. They seem to think that it is a sin to injure these articles.

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\* Names of Exogamous divisions are to be found in the Appendix.

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Personal  
names.

The personal names are the different names by which Íswara and Párvati are known. They say that they have no superstition in the naming of children. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the eleventh day or so after the birth of a child. It is named after the names of its grandfather or grandmother. If the first born children are dead, the succeeding child is generally given an opprobrious name, such as Káḍa (jungle), Guṇḍa (round stone) or Sudugáḍa (burial ground).

The following may be taken as typical names :—

Males.

Females.

Basappa (ಬಸಪ್ಪ).

Basamma (ಬಸಮ್ಮ).

Kaḷappa (ಕಾಳಪ್ಪ).

Kamma (ಕಾಳಮ್ಮ).

Siddappa (ಸಿದ್ಧಪ್ಪ).

Siddamma (ಸಿದ್ಧಮ್ಮ).

Révanna (ರೇವಣ್ಣ).

Gangamma (ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ).

Adoption is recognized in the caste, but the boy adopted may marry, it is stated, in the house he is adopted to. A daughter's son may be adopted.

Marriage.

There is no age restriction for eligibility to marry in either sex. Marriages of girls of ten or twelve are more common than those after puberty, as it is considered not honorable to take a girl that has driven cattle at her father's house. They say that their girls need not remain without marriage for a long time since husbands are easily available.

A man may marry his elder or younger sister's daughter or paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter. One may marry two sisters at different times, and two brothers also may marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is also allowed.

Differences in social status or in locality have no theoretical value in matters of marriage; nor occupation either, except such as entails loss of caste, as for example, removing night-soil or mending shoes.

As regards marriage ceremonies both the divisions observe the same, but while the non-Lingayat Kuruvina-varu invite Brahmans to officiate at their marriages, the Lingayat portion prefer a Jangama, in whose absence a Brahman will be called.

They have a preliminary engagement called *Vilyada Sástra* (ವಿಲ್ಯದಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) some days before the marriage. The bridegroom and his party go to the bride's house carrying the auspicious articles such as betel-leaves, areca-nuts, flowers, jaggory, parched Bengal gram and fruits, with a new *sádi*. The elders of the caste meet there on the occasion when the promise is made and the day of marriage and other details are settled. The castemen are invited to a dinner.

The marriage takes place in the bride's house and continues for seven days. The essential portion of the ceremony is known as the pouring of the *dhátre*.

The first day is the worshipping of their family god *Nilakanthésvara*. This is in other castes known as *Dévarúta*. The bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric in their own houses. This is known *Moda-larsina* (ಮೊದಲರಸಿನ) or *Madavaniga Sástra* (ಮದವಣಿಗಾಸ್ತ್ರ).

The second day is known as *Naḷu Madavaniga Sástra* (ನಡುಮದವಣಿಗಾಸ್ತ್ರ) that is the second smearing of turmeric to bride and the bridegroom.

The third day is the *Pandal erecting ceremony* (or ಚಪ್ಪರ). A pandal is raised in front of the marriage house and is supported by twelve posts and roofed with the stalks of sugar-cane. A platform is erected for the sitting of bride and bridegroom in marriage. The roof overhanging the platform is generally canopied with a white cloth. The bride and bridegroom are anointed and bathed and smeared with saffron and the bride is dressed in a cloth dyed yellow, with turmeric powder, and the bridegroom dresses himself in a white suit of clothes.

Then the brother of the bride goes in state to an Indian fig tree (ಅತ್ತಿವೌರ) and after doing the usual *púja* to it cuts a branch and bringing it in procession to the marriage pandal, ties it to the central pillar on the marriage platform. This is considered as the *Hálu \*Kambha* (ಹಾಲುಕಂಬ) or the *milk post*. To it a *kankaga* and a bundle of nine kinds of grain (ನವಧಾನ್ಯ) are tied and worshipped. Then married women go to the potter's house and bring twelve earthen pots or *Ar'vónis* (ಆರಿವೇಣಿಗಳು). These are again carried by the married women (ಮುತ್ತೈದೆಯರು) to a well where they fill them with water and bring them to

\* It is said that the father of the bride may not touch either the *milk post* or the *Bhúshinga*.

the marriage house. These pots are kept in a separate room and worshipped during the marriage period.

On the third day, *dhāra* takes place. Early in the morning five married women carry five new earthen pots to a tank to bring sacred water (ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಪಾನೀರು) for the marriage. After they return in procession accompanied with the beating of drums and the sounding of cymbals, the bride and the bridegroom are seated in the marriage pandal within the square formed by placing four vessels at each corner of it, the fifth pot being placed at the *milk post* on the marriage dias. In each of these pots betel-leaves, turmeric and kunkuma are thrown and they are connected with one another by means of a cotton thread passing three times round their necks. Then the bride and the bridegroom are bathed in this square and are given fresh clothes. This ceremony is called *Surgi* and corresponds to *malanīru* (ಮಲನೀರು) in other castes.

The bridegroom is led into a temple or to a relative's house where he takes his seat on a blanket. The party of the bride go there with a *Kalasa*, smear the bridegroom with turmeric and bring him to the bride's house. Then the bridegroom comes seated on a bull with a dagger in his hands. He is led on to the marriage dias and made to stand facing the bride with a screen between. As the Puróhit repeats the appropriate *mantras*, the bride pours the milk over the hands of the bridegroom. The boy is made to tie the *tāñi* round the neck of the girl and the guests assembled throw *akshata* (ಅಕ್ಷತೆ) or colored rice over their heads by way of blessing. An *ārati* is performed to the couple by married women and *tanbilla* distributed to the assembly. The pair now rise holding each other with their fingers and having the hems of their garments tied together and go round the *milk post* three times offering *namaskāra* to it. Then they retire to the room in which the pots are placed and offer *pūja* to them. Then the pair and five married couple on either side sit to eat *bhāma* (ಭೂಮಾ). Cooked rice, ghee, and sweet cakes (ಕಜ್ಜಾಯ) are mixed and served in two eating dishes (ತಣಿಗೆಗಳು). At one of them the bridegroom and five married couple of his party, at the other the bride and five married couple of her party sit and eat the food so served.

The next day is known as *Nāgavati* (ನಾಗವತಿ). The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes, such as bringing ant-hill earth and worshipping the pillars of the

**Pandal (ಪಂದಲ).** The succeeding two days are spent by the bridal pair going to the bridegroom's house and returning to the bride's house.

The expenses of the marriage to be borne by the bridegroom vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 and the bride price is Rs. 25.

Marriages are arranged by the parents or other elders as among other castes.

They seem to have no traditions about the capture of wives from other tribes.

When a girl reaches puberty, she is kept outside the house in a small room for three days. On the fourth day she is bathed but her pollution remains for ten days to come. During this period the girl is not allowed to enter the kitchen and touch water used for the preparation of food and for drinking purposes. On the eleventh day the house is washed and cleaned and *mantras* are recited by Jangamas or Brahmans. If she is already married, her nuptials will be celebrated within sixteen days after her attaining puberty. Puberty.

The custom of mock marriages to trees and such other objects for lack of real husbands does not prevail in the caste.

Even if a marriage is celebrated during infancy, the girl will not be sent to live with her husband but is allowed to remain in her parents' house till she attains puberty and her marriage is consummated. In case of marriage after puberty, a separate ceremony is performed on a subsequent day determined as auspicious by an astrologer, when the husband and wife begin to live together. When a girl is sent to her husband, new cloths, jewels, household utensils, cows and such other things according to the means of the parents, are presented to her.

Re-marriage of widows is permitted. But such re-married women are prohibited from taking part in auspicious ceremonies. A widow is not allowed to marry her husband's brothers. She can marry in any other division than the one in which she was born. The form of marriage ceremony consists merely in the husband tying the *tilli* on an evening to the neck of his wife and giving a dinner to the caste men. Regularly married women do not attend such marriages. Widow marriage.



Such marriages are not regarded favorably by the caste, and the offspring are considered to be somewhat inferior in status to others, at any rate for a generation or two, after which such origin is forgotten. Of course children of one husband do not inherit from the other.

Adultery  
and divorce.

Sexual license before marriage is not connived at and if a girl is found to be pregnant before marriage, she is put out of caste.

Adultery on the part of the women is the only recognized ground of divorce. When with a man of the same caste it is compounded sometimes, but with an outsider it always brings on degradation and excommunication.

Death.

They invariably bury the dead. They turn the head of the dead body towards the South. Their '*sūtaka*' for the dead lasts twelve days except for children under one year, when it is three days. During this period of pollution they do not enter the inner apartments of the house. The funeral ceremonial is the same as for the Lingayats generally.

They say they perform *Sradha* for the propitiation of a dead person which consists in giving raw provisions to Brahmans or Jangamas. This ceremony is not performed for those who died childless or for maternal ancestors. Full obsequial ceremonies are not observed for those who met with a violent death.

If the first wife has died, the second wife propitiates her by observing a feast in her honor one day in the year and feeding married women and giving them presents of bodice, cloths, fruits and flowers. They do not bury with the dead any articles except ashes.

Social status.

In social matters such as contact with Brahmans, entry into temples, personal service by washermen, etc., they have the status of the higher Sudra classes.

Those that wear the Linga do not eat the flesh of animals or drink liquor, but those that do not wear a *Linga* eat mutton and the flesh of fowls and drink liquor on festive days. Those who do not wear the Linga eat only in the houses of Brahmans.

The habit of the caste is settled. They do not admit outsiders into the caste.

They follow the Hindu Law in the matter of inheritance. They have no hereditary chiefs but infringement of the rules of the caste is punished by Jangamas who are bound to follow the advice of the elders of the tribe. Should the fault be of such magnitude as to require excommunication, an assembly of the heads of families settles the question.

They are Hindus by religion and belong to the Lingayat sect by faith. There are some who wear the Linga, and some others who do not wear it, but all the same all of them profess to belong to one of the tribes of pure Banajigas and to be capable of being appointed to priesthood. Religion.

Their chief objects of worship are Linga and the Bull,\* the emblems of Īswara. They also worship Nīlakantēsvara and Narasimhaswāmi. Their women worship all the village gods except those particularly belonging to the Holēyas. Fruits and flowers are offered to Māramma and other minor deities during times of epidemics. Worship of these goddesses and Saktis is confined to women. They have no faith in the virtue of Iragāraru, that is, persons who died bachelors.

Their Gurus are the same as those of the Panchama Banajigas. Their five chief mathas are called the Simhāsanas of Parvata at Hampi, Virūpāksha near Tungabhadra, Ujjini, Balchalli and Chitradurg. These can be initiated into the sacred orders of the caste.

Sanganēsvara is their patron God. He is supposed to be present in bazaars and is worshipped in the opening of fairs. Those that do not wear the Linga and a few of those who wear the Linga employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes. An astrologer is generally consulted for the fixing of proper days for marriages and for commencing to build houses.

Their original and present prevailing occupation is weaving. Some are engaged in mercantile pursuits. Occupation.

All of them work on the old kind of simple loom set up in each house. They are not in a flourishing condition. There are few agriculturists and no fishermen among them. The Lingayat portion of the caste are vegetarians but the non-Lingayats are flesh eaters and drink liquor.

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\* One peculiar custom among them is that they never geld bulls,

## APPENDIX.

List of Gótras\* or exogamous divisions.

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<i>Agari</i>	(ಅಗರಿ)	A kind of grass
<i>Anchu</i>	(ಅಂಚು)	Border
<i>Anche</i>	(ಅಂಚೆ)	
<i>Arasina</i>	(ಅರಸಿನ)	Turmeric
<i>A're</i>	(ಆರೆ)	Pestle
<i>A'rya</i>	(ಆರ್ಯ)	
<i>Bahini</i>	(ಬಹಿನಿ)	
<i>Banaja</i>	(ಬಣಜ)	
<i>Basavi</i>	(ಬಸವಿ)	
<i>Banni</i>	(ಬನ್ನಿ)	Banni tree
<i>Bundi</i>	(ಬಂಡಿ)	Cart
<i>Benne</i>	(ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ)	Butter
<i>Bhógi</i>	(ಭೋಗಿ)	
<i>Bi'e</i>	(ಬಿಳಿ)	White
<i>Déra</i>	(ದೇವ)	
<i>Dharma</i>	(ಧರ್ಮ)	
<i>Durga</i>	(ದುರ್ಗ)	
<i>Gadige</i>	(ಗಡಿಗೆ)	Pot
<i>Garuda</i>	(ಗರುಡ)	Brahman kite
<i>Gemasu</i>	(ಗೇಮಸು)	
<i>Gikkili</i>	(ಗಿಕ್ಕಿಲಿ)	
<i>Gadduge</i>	(ಗದ್ದುಗೆ)	
<i>Gauḍa</i>	(ಗೌಡ)	Headman
<i>Gúḍu</i>	(ಗೂಡು)	Nest
<i>Garige</i>	(ಗರಿಗೆ)	An earthen vessel
<i>Gudlu</i>	(ಗುಡ್ಲು)	A shed
<i>Gunḍu</i>	(ಗುಂಡು)	Boulder
<i>Halige</i>	(ಹಲಿಗೆ)	A plank

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\* There are said to be only sixty-six of these divisions in the caste. But this list contains more than this number. Some of them may be house names.

<i>Hālu</i>	(ಹಾಲು)	Milk
<i>Heggótra</i>	(ಹೆಗ್ಗೊತ್ತ)	
<i>Hittu</i>	(ಹಿಟ್ಟು)	Flour
<i>Hola</i>	(ಹೊಲ)	Field
<i>Honge</i>	(ಹೊಂಗೆ)	A tree ( <i>Pongamia glabra</i> )
<i>Hullu</i>	(ಹುಲ್ಲು)	Grass
<i>Hingu</i>	(ಹಿಂಗು)	Asafoetida
<i>Inachi</i>	(ಇಣಚಿ)	A squirrel
<i>Iraṇi</i>	(ಐರಣಿ)	A pot
<i>Jāli</i>	(ಜಾಲಿ)	Kind of tree
<i>Jirige</i>	(ಜೀರಿಗೆ)	Cumin seed
<i>Junja</i>	(ಜಂಜ)	
<i>Kadle</i>	(ಕಡ್ಲೆ)	Bengal gram
<i>Kakke</i>	(ಕಕ್ಕೆ)	Kind of plant
<i>Katte</i>	(ಕಟ್ಟೆ)	Boundary
<i>Kāḍu</i>	(ಕಾಡು)	Forest
<i>Kaṇṇi</i>	(ಕಣ್ಣಿ)	A rope
<i>Kara</i>	(ಕರ)	
<i>Kéduge</i>	(ಕೇದಗೆ)	The pandanus flower
<i>Kamadi</i>	(ಕಮಡಿ)	
<i>Kenga</i>	(ಕೆಂಗ)	
<i>Kenja</i>	(ಕೆಂಜ)	
<i>Késari</i>	(ಕೇಸರಿ)	Saffron
<i>Kinkila</i>	(ಕಿಂಕಿಲ)	
<i>Kuḍure</i>	(ಕುದುರೆ)	Horse
<i>Kuruve</i>	(ಕುರುವೆ)	Sparrow
<i>Kunte</i>	(ಕುಂಟೆ)	Tank
<i>Marāḷu</i>	(ಮರಳು)	Sand
<i>Mallige</i>	(ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ)	Jasmin
<i>Menasu</i>	(ಮೆಣಸು)	Pepper
<i>Midichi</i>	(ಮಿಡಿಚಿ)	
<i>Miri</i>	(ಮಿಣಿ)	A rope
<i>Mulku</i>	(ಮುಳ್ಳು)	Thorn
<i>Muddu</i>	(ಮುದ್ದು)	
<i>Nara</i>	(ನರ)	
<i>Nāḍa</i>	(ನಡ)	

<i>Nellu</i>	(ನೆಲ್ಲು)	<b>Paddy</b>
<i>Nuchchu</i>	(ನುಚ್ಚು)	<b>Broken corn</b>
<i>Nàga</i>	(ನಾಗ)	<b>Serpent</b>
<i>Parama</i>	(ಪರಮ)	
<i>Raksha</i>	(ರಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Rikki</i>	(ರಿಕ್ಕಿ)	
<i>Sarabha</i>	(ಶರಭ)	<b>A fabulous animal.</b>
<i>Sampige</i>	(ಸಂಪಿಗೆ)	<b>Name of a flower</b>
<i>Samsàra</i>	(ಸಂಸಾರ)	
<i>Soppu</i>	(ಸೊಪ್ಪು)	<b>Vegetable greens</b>
<i>Súrya</i>	(ಸೂರ್ಯ)	<b>The Sun</b>
<i>Sindhu</i>	(ಸಿಂಧು)	
<i>Salige</i>	(ಸಲಿಗೆ)	
<i>Uttama</i>	(ಉತ್ತಮ)	
<i>Vriksha</i>	(ವೃಕ್ಷ)	<b>Tree</b>
<i>Vrishabha</i>	(ವೃಷಭ)	<b>Bull</b>
<i>Vanki</i>	(ವಂಕಿ)	
<i>Yemme</i>	(ಯಮ್ಮ)	<b>Buffalo</b>

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**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XV**

**MORASU OKKALU.**

BY

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## MORASU OKKALU.

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Okkaliga (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) is a generic term applied to a number of castes, whose main occupation is agriculture. They are distinguished by different names in different parts of the State. The *Raddis* or the Telugu Okkaligas are found in parts of the Kolar, Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts, the *Morasu* Okkaligas, in parts of the Kolar and Bangalore Districts, the *Gangadikárs* in the Mysore and Hassan and parts of Bangalore Districts, the *Nonalas* in the Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts and the *Námadhári* Okkalu in the Shimoga and Kadur Districts. Interspersed with these are other Okkaligas called *Kunchigas* or *Kunchatigas*, *Hallikaras*, *Sádas*, *Hálu Okkalu* and other sub-divisions. There is reason to believe that all or most of these divisions formerly formed one homogenous caste which from various causes separated themselves into different groups. Many of these divisions have become Lingayats and their affinity with the main division is still recognised by the practice of their intermarrying with non-Lingayat families of their division, which however is now becoming rare.

The population of the Okkaligas of all divisions according to the last Census (1901) was 1,283,947, of whom 642,245 were males, and 641,702 females, thus forming nearly a fourth of the entire population of the State.

Morasu Okkalus, though they form a division of the main caste, are among themselves a homogeneous community, not only limiting marital relations within itself but also containing a few divisions which are endogamous. They are most commonly called *Morasu Okkalu* (ಮೊರಸು ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ), and less frequently *Hosadêvara Okkalu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರ ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ). The common honorific suffixes to their names are *Gauda* (ಗೌಡ) in Kannada, and *Raddi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) in Telugu.

The meaning of the term *Morasu* is not clear. Some say that it is the name of the language which they speak, that is, Kannada ; but this name is not traceable in usage for the Kannada language. The term *Morasu* is said to mean weavers of mats and baskets. This meaning cannot be a correct one, as *Morasus* are nowhere known as having been basket or mat makers. The third and the most probable meaning is that they are so called because they formerly inhabited a country known by the name of *Morasunád* (ಮೊರಸುನಾಡು). Similar divisions are found in other castes as well.\* There is said to be a division of Srivaishnava Brahmins called *Morasunád*.

The term *Okkalu* (ಒಕ್ಕಲು) meaning 'a family' is derived from the Kannada root *Okku* (ಒಕ್ಕು) which means to thresh. It means especially a family residing on a cultivating farm ; and *Okkaliga* (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) means "a man of such a family" and the term is applied to all those whose profession is agriculture.

Some of the people of the *Okkalu* caste say that the term is the shortened from *Okkahálu Makkálu* (ಒಕ್ಕಹಾಲು ಮಕ್ಕಳು), that is, the children of the spilt milk and that they were born out of milk spilt by *Pàrvati* ; but this fanciful derivation owes its origin to the usual motive of finding a divine pedigree for the caste.

*Hosadévara Okkalu* are so called because of the custom of worshipping *Hosadévaru* (ಹೊಸದೇವರು) i. e., the new deity. *Gandu* (ಗಾಡ) also spelt *Gavuda* (ಗವುಡ) is derived from *Gáru* (ಗಾವ) or *Gramu* (ಗಾಮ) and denotes the chief officer of a village. This term with its Tamil equivalent *Kamḍan* is used as a title of honour among the peasants. Some derive the term from *Gaḍikúra*, that is, the head of a country within a defined boundary, or the protector of a boundary.

*Raddi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) is said to be derived from *Raṭṭas*, a ruling race of the olden times. The term is properly applicable to the Telugu cultivating caste.

Language. They speak both Kannada and Telugu, the sections known as *Raddi* and *Pàlyadasime* speaking Telugu and the rest Kannada.

Origin. The *Morasu Okkalu* are indigenous and are practically confined to the Eastern part of the State and the adjoining

\* Account of Nayindas P. 2.

British Territory. They admit that they belong to the fourth caste, agriculture being their original as well as their present occupation. They are said to have emigrated from the country, near Kanchi or (Conjeveram) which is apparently the tract known as Morasunād, and the cause of the exodus is given in the following story.

The Pàlyégar or petty ruler of the country, who happened to be a man of the Yākila caste, wished to marry a girl from a higher caste, and sent his man to select a bride among the Morasu Okkaligas. Going to the chief place of these men, the Palyégar's agent was struck with the extraordinary beauty of a girl whose locks of hair were so luxuriant that she used them as a rope to lead a calf with which she was playing. The parents and the chiefs of the caste were unwilling to enter into the degrading alliance, but were at the same time reluctant to incur the displeasure of a strong chief. They dismissed the emissary with a temporising message. All preparations were made as if for marriage, and the day was even fixed and a marriage pavillion erected. But they had secretly packed all their valuables, and had made themselves ready to flee from his district during the night. Professing to act according to an old custom, they put all the bride's presents sent by the Palyégar on a dog, which they tied up to the *milk* post of the pavillion, and deserted their ancestral homes in a body carrying with them the image of their god Bhairava in a cart. Unfortunately the river that separated them from another territory was then in full flood. The river god however heard their prayers and allowed them a dry passage in the middle as at the Exodus of the Israilites, and afterwards swallowed up the Palyégar and his followers, who, having learnt of the trick that had been practised against them, rushed somewhat too late in pursuit. Thus seven clans under their seven Gaudas or leaders first came to Kolar and settled there and gradually spread themselves all round.

One of these clans under their headman Bhairé Gauda settled in Avati about the close of the 15th century. Near this village was a small hamlet called Dēvana-Doddi (ದೇವನ ದೊಡ್ಡ i. e., the cattle pen of Dēva). Malla Bhairé Gauda persuaded this man to cede the place to him promising to immortalise his memory by constructing a fort to be named after him. The fort of Devanahalli thus built together with the surrounding country remained in the family of the

founder till 1749, when after a gallant struggle it passed to the possession of Nanjarāja, the Mysore Commander, an occasion rendered memorable as bringing Hyder Ali first into notice.

After building the fort of Devanahalli and entrusting its affairs to his younger brother Saṃṇa Bhairé Gauḍa, the ambitious Malla Bhairé Gauḍa undertook further conquests. The first of them was the subjugation of the country to the North of Devanahalli and founding the fort of Chikballapur. While hunting in the jungle near Kóḍi-Manchenahalli village, this Gauḍa observed a hare turning back to oppose the pursuing hound, and taking the place to be *ganḍu bhūmi* (virile soil), he proposed to the two brothers who were joint Patels of the village to build a fort and a *péte* there. The permission of the sovereign in Vijayanagar was duly obtained. An auspicious time was fixed, and it was agreed that the foundation should be laid as soon as the sound of a conch should indicate the exact moment. Unfortunately a passing Dāsari beggar blew his conch, and mistaking it as the signal, Malla Bhairé Gauḍa commenced the work half an hour too soon. The result of this contretemps was declared to be that the dynasty would wield power there only for 300 years. The *Pālyapat* which continued with varying fortune for three centuries exactly, fell into the hands of Tippu Sultan in 1779.

A similar origin is attributed to the fort of Dodballapur. This time a cow was observed to pour its milk over an anthill in the jungle; and when Malla Bhairé Gauḍa who had observed this unusual phenomenon went to bed revolving it in his mind, he was commanded in his dream to build a temple on that spot to Vishnu who had his abode there. He carried out the injunction; and after obtaining a warrant of the Viceroy of Vijayanagar stationed at Penukonda, he reduced the chiefs of the surrounding territory to submission, and secured a tract of country with a revenue of a lakh of Pagodas for himself. He established his brother Hāvaḷi Bhairé Gauḍa there; and this petty kingdom remained in the family till the 16th century when it passed into the hands of Ramadulla Khan, the general of Bijapur.

Bhairé Gauḍa, the last Palyégar of Dodballapur went to Gudibanda after this defeat and taking possession of it reduced the country around to some order by subjugating the freebooters, and built a fort there. As he died childless, his wife's brother took possession of the place, but

Baiché Gauda of Chikballapur who had a better title to succeed to the childless Palyégar, put him to death and added Gudibanda to his territory.

Kempé Gauda who was descended from a Nádu Gauda of Yelahanka was another Morasu chief who rose to distinction in Magadi early in the 17th century. He was the founder of the City of Bangalore, and seized the strong fort of Savandurg from a follower of the last Viceroy of Vijayanagar who had usurped power after his master's death. His territory extended as far as Kortagere. The last of the family was Mummadi Kempé Gauda who was defeated by Dalaváyi Dévaraja of Mysore and imprisoned in Srirangapatna.

There were other chiefs of this caste in Hoskote, Kolar, Anekal and Kortagere, but they gradually fell before the growing Mohammedan power in Srirangapatna. Some of their descendants were granted pensions after the restoration of Mysore to the rightful ruler in 1799.

The obsolete practice of cutting off two of the fingers of a woman is a peculiar characteristic of this caste; and those who followed the custom originally were an endogamous group distinct from those who did not follow it. There are other divisions which are not based upon this practice, which indeed seems to have prevailed to some extent in all the divisions.

Divisions:-  
Endoga-  
mous.

The endogamous divisions are Musaku (ಮುಸಕು), Radḍi (ರಡ್ಡಿ), Pályadasime (ಪಾಲ್ಯದಸಿಮೆ) and Morasu (ಮೊರಸು) properly so called, the last being sub-divided into three Sálus (or lines) styled Kānu Sálu (ಕಾನುಸಾಲು), Nérlegattāda Sálu (ನೇರ್ಲೆಗತ್ತಾದಾ ಸಾಲು) and Kútera Sálu (ಕುಟೇರಸಾಲು).

*Musaku* means a veil and the division is so called because during marriages, the bride covers herself all over with a veil. This is the division to which the several Palyégar chiefs of the caste belonged.

*Radḍis* are the Telugu speaking section of the caste.

*Pályada Sime* men also speak Telugu. The name is applied to the section of the Telugu Morasus living in the Bangalore District, especially round about Bangalore. They are immigrants into these parts from the country of Gummanáyakana Pálya in the Bagepalli Taluk. The name is common only in and near Bangalore and their relations in Gummanáyakana Pálya are only called Morasus.

Exogamous  
divisions.

The caste contains a large number of exogamous divisions, each being called after an animal, plant or other material, with the usual prohibitions against the members of the divisions cutting or in some cases, even touching the thing representing their division or *bedagu* (ಬೆಡಗು) or *gôtra* (ಗೋತ್ರ). Some of these divisions with the name of the thing represented by each are given in Appendix B.

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Birth cere-  
monies.

There is little that is peculiar to the caste in the ceremonies observed when the woman is carrying or after confinement. The mother is kept apart for 7 or 9 days and those who attend on her should bathe before touching anything in the house. On the day of purification, the relatives of the family in the village each bring a potful of hot water and a ball of soapnut paste, which is mixed with what has been prepared in the house and used for bathing the confined woman and her child. One of the elderly matrons while carrying the baby challenges the evil spirits to harm it, if so disposed, before entering the house, as their God will protect the child effectually after the child is taken inside. \*

If the daughter-in-law is delivered of a child in her mother's house, her mother-in-law visits her on the third day, carrying as a present a basket (ಕಾರವನೂಡೆ) filled with rice, pepper, dry cocoanuts, garlic, palm jaggery, old areca nuts and betel leaves. On the day when the woman and the child are bathed, the child's paternal aunt presents it with a *hana* for a ring.

The name-giving ceremony takes place generally one or two days before the end of the first month. A Koracha woman (soothsayer) is sometimes consulted, but this practice is gradually going out of use. The name selected is either that of a god or a deceased ancestor. The following may be taken as typical names for both sexes:—Irlappa (ಈರ್ಲಪ್ಪ), Kempanna (ಕೆಂಪಣ್ಣ), Bayyanna (ಬಯ್ಯಣ್ಣ), Bandappa (ಬಂಡಪ್ಪ), Bairappa (ಬೈರಪ್ಪ), Bachchanna (ಬಚ್ಚಣ್ಣ) and Sonappa (ಸೊಣ್ಣಪ್ಪ).

\* The Kannada formula runs as follows:—ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗು ವದೇವರೆಲ್ಲಾ ಈಗಲೇ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗಬೇಕು, ಒಳಗೆ ಬಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮದೇವರು ಬಳ್ಳಿದಲ್ಲ.

‡ Many names are employed, and almost all names may be so employed for both sexes with the addition of the corresponding sex endings.

Names of inferior objects are sometimes given to children, though the practice is not common. Names of endearment, such as Appayya (ಅಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ), Magu (ಮಗು—child), Sámi (ಸಾಮಿ—God), Táyi (ತಾಯಿ—mother), Ammanni (ಅಮ್ಮಣ್ಣಿ), Puttátáyi (ಪುಟ್ಟತಾಯಿ) are common; so also are the shortened forms of such names as Kittā (ಕಿಟ್ಟ) for Kṛṣṇa, Lachchi (ಲಚ್ಚಿ) for Lakshmi.

The young mother with her child returns to the husband's house in the fifth or the seventh month. Her mother-in-law goes to fetch her, carrying a silver neck-chain as a present to her. The child is presented with some coins before leaving for the father's house. The cradle is carried by the mother of the confined woman. Before entering the husband's house, the woman and the child are taken to a temple where they receive *tirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and victuals). The woman's mother is kept there three or four days and then dismissed with the present of some clothes.

Before the child is a year old, a feast of Munisvara is held in a grove outside the village on a Monday. This sylvan deity is represented by a row of stones under a large tree, and sometimes a tiny shed with a low enclosure is provided for them. The family repair thither with friends and enjoy an out-door picnic till the evening. The *pūja* is performed by the *pūjāri* who generally is a low caste man, or in his absence, by the head of the family himself. A goat is generally sacrificed and consumed at the feast; and the party return in the evening with music, and an *ārati* is waved before the child enters the house, to ward off the evil eye.

The first tonsure for a male child is performed in the first or the third year, before the temple of the family god or before a shrine of Munisvara in a grove. The barber is generally presented with a new cloth besides other perquisites, and a dinner is given to the caste people.

Another important ceremony is the worship of Makaladévaru (ಮಕ್ಕಳ ದೇವರು—the god of children), observed before the lobes of the child's ears are pierced for holding earrings. For this festival, all the families who are related as agnates club together, and they should select a time when none of the female members are pregnant, and no death has occurred in any of the families between the last new-year and the day of the *pūja*. As all these families have to



observe common *sūtaka* (ಅಂಟುಕು ಮುಟ್ಟುಕು ಕಲಸೆ), it may be easily guessed that where they have a large congregation, it is extremely difficult to find a suitable day, and sometimes they have to wait for years together. The worship is a matter of considerable expense; and so it is usual for all castemen in a particular locality to join together and raise a common fund by subscription. Each group worships the family god in its own way, but they join together at a common dinner. If any members of the same group have for any reason neglected to join the common performance of the *Pūja* of Hosadévaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು), or, in their language, divided the Hosa-dévaru, they cannot join that group in the worship of Makkala-dévaru. It is said that if a girl attains her age of puberty without this festival on her behalf, she has to be put out of caste. But this rule is probably relaxed in many cases.

The family deity that is worshipped in this manner by the finger cutting division is known as Bandi-dévaru (ಬಂಡಿದೇವರು-cart god), so styled as at their flight from Kanchi to escape persecution from a local tyrant, they carried their household god in a cart. The other name is Bhairé-dévaru (ಬೈರೇದೇವರು) which is a name for Siva in one of his fierce moods. The section of the caste that do not offer their fingers have, in some cases, given up this cult and taken other names for their family deity.

It is to this Bandi-dévaru that the women of the caste are said to offer two of their fingers, a custom which however has altogether fallen into desuetude. The origin of this barbarous practice is traced as usual to a Puranic source, the real origin being probably in the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice.

When the demon Bhasmāsura had obtained the power of reducing everything he touched to ashes by severe *tapas*, he wished to test his power first on god Siva, the donor himself. The deity fled from the demon and hid himself in the fruit of a creeper, which to this day resembles a *linga* \* in appearance. The demon who was pursuing the god, suddenly losing sight of the latter, asked a Morasu man who was ploughing in the fields there, in which direction the fugitive had escaped. The man of the plough wished to evade the wrath of both the mighty parties and

\* This is known as *Tonde* and sometimes as *Linga-tonde* (ತೊಂಡೆ or ಲಿಂಗ ತೊಂಡೆ) the red gourd *namordia manodulfa*,

while saying he had not observed, pointed with his fingers to the creeper on the hedge which had sheltered the fleeing god. Just in the nick of time Vishnu came to the help of his brother in the shape of a lovely maiden, Mòhini. The Rakshasa became enamoured of her, and like a fool, forgetting the fatal virtue that his bare touch had been endowed with, he was lured by the damsel to place his hand on his own head, and was immediately reduced to a heap of ashes. Siva now triumphant was about to punish the treacherous rustic with the loss of his erring finger, but his wife who had carried his food begged hard that the deprivation would render him unfit to do his field work and offered two fingers of hers for one of her husband. The custom of a Morasu married woman cutting off the upper joints of the last two fingers of the right hand had been observed ever since, till it was stopped recently by an order of the unbelieving Sarkar.

The worship of Paṭālamma (ಪಟಾಲಮ್ಮ) and Pūjé Dévaru (ಪೂಜೇದೇವರು) takes place as an introduction to the more important festival of Bandi-dévaru. The mothers of the children whose ears are to be bored fast during the day, and in the evening repair to the temple of Paṭālamma carrying lights on their heads. These lights are made to burn on wicks soaked in ghee placed in receptacles of rice flour sweetened with jaggory. After making pūja to them at home with the sacrifice of a sheep, the women carry them on their heads, and repair to the temple in state, walking on washed cloths spread for them in the street. In front of the shrine, they walk over cinders of fire, made in a pit, after making pūja to it and offering a sheep or a goat. The pūjāri then waves these lights before the idol and returns them to the women to carry back to their homes. For each new lamp, as the one carried by the woman who has to offer her fingers is styled, the pūjāri gets a fee of a *hana*.

On a subsequent day all the families who perform the ceremony of *Bandi-dévaru* join together and put up two new huts of fig leaves, in a central place, one for Māramma and the other for Gangamma and set up idols of earth therein, the latter deity specially styled Pūjé-dévaru (ಪೂಜೇದೇವರು) being represented by a featureless cone. The ceremony is performed in the same manner as for Paṭālamma, the fire-walking being omitted.

The chief ceremony in connection with *Bandi-dèvaru* should fall on a Sunday in the month of Chaitra or Vaisàkha soon after the opening of the new year. The whole festival extends over a week, but to save expense they generally reduce it to three or five days.

A Koracha woman is invited to read the fortune by *Kani* and she washes the feet\* of the mothers who have to sacrifice their fingers at the time of boring their children's ears. Then a kalasa is set up and offerings of new clothes etc., are placed before it. On a subsequent day, a new house which has not been inhabited is whitewashed and cleaned and a kalasa is worshipped in it. All the members of the families who perform this ceremony occupy the house, and the women draw certain drawings on the wall with rice flour and turmeric † to which pūja with an offering of sheep is offered. They have to cook and eat in that house that day. This is styled the worship of "new house god" (ಹೊಸಮನೆ ದೇವರು).

A man of the Bèda caste worships Peddanna-dèvaḍu (ಪೆದ್ಗನ್ನ ದೇವು) represented by three stones and a trident and a sword, set up in a hut outside the village and gives them Prasāda.

They next worship Ganga represented by drawings of rice flour in a hut built of newly beaten straw, placing lamps burning in receptacles of sweetened rice flour ‡ and offering a goat sometimes with kid. The meat of the sacrificed animal, it is said, should not be given to any strangers to the family and the bones should be buried so as not to be touched by dogs.

The next two days the women fast till the evening, and cook rice or rice flour in new pots. No animals are killed and after offering food in an *edru* to their gods, they eat it without salt.

When the mother has to bore the ears of her first child or of two or more children together for the first time, she has to offer her fingers. This is styled the worship of "New Bandi-dèvaru." For subsequent ear-boring, she has no fingers to spare, and the ceremony is styled "Enjalu Bandi-dèvaru" (ಎಂಜಲಬಂಡಿದೇವರು that is, stale worship).

\*This is styled the ceremony of Kālēḷi ಕಾಲೇಳಿ in Kannada.

† This is called పోంపానేది in Telugu.

‡ Rice flour and jaggory beaten in a mortar into paste and consumed after offering to the idols. This is known as ತಂಬಿಟ್ಟು in Kannada and చరిబిండి in Telugu.

The ceremony takes place in the temple of the deity where it exists. In other places separate sheds of green leaves are put up outside the village at the north-eastern corner, one for the first child's Bandi-dévaru and another for the other, with another shed of *Lakki* leaves in front of the village gate. A number of carts, one for each child, washed and decorated with white and red stripes of colour are brought to this last shed. The parents of the children wash early in the morning, and going to a potter's house, select two pots known as *karaga* (कराग), and after offering *púja*, bring them in state, to their houses. A silver coin is placed in each pot and the eldest female member does *púja*, offering an animal sacrifice. The parents of the children then carry these pots on their heads, placed on a cloth which is thrown over both of them. They go to the sheds where the carts are ranged and again sacrifice a kid which they place in the cart, and thence repair carrying the *karaga* pots on their heads to the other sheds outside the village.

The procession is composed of all the members of the families concerned in the ceremonies and their relations and the principal characters walk on cloths spread along the road. They are accompanied by the band of village musicians, and drummers of the Mádiga caste, and the carts form an essential part of the show. On arrival at the sheds, the parties go to the shed set apart for the kind of ceremony (first or second) that they have to perform, after going round the sheds thrice.

Three stones are placed to represent the god of the ceremony, and *púja* with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat and fruits and flowers, is offered. Then each woman who has to undergo the operation goes to a wooden block, driven into the ground, places on it her two fingers to which some flower or a betel leaf or a gold wire has been tied round and the smith chops off the last joints with his chisel. This was in vogue till about forty years ago, and the elderly women whose fingers are so mutilated may now be seen. The severed bits used to be thrown into an anthill and the ends used to be dipped in boiling oil to stanch the bleeding. It was believed that if any nails were allowed to grow on these fingers, some dire misfortune would overtake the family. At present, however, they are satisfied with the fiction of cutting the flower or leaf wound round these fingers.

After this they wave *mangalārti* before the idols and go back to their houses in procession, and indulge in feasting. The carts are driven away, handfuls of jaggory being thrown among the spectators, and the drivers race among themselves and exhibit their skill in driving over difficult places.

On the following day, the children are bathed and seated in a pandal put up in front of the house. The maternal uncle cuts a lock of hair and with a flower dipped in sandal paste make a mark on each ear for boring. The children are presented with eatables and other more valuable things by the near relations. The actual boring may be done either then or on any subsequent day.

For three months after this ceremony, the members of the family should not eat food cooked in the houses of others, not even relatives, who have not been purified by the performance of similar ceremony for themselves. The women should guard themselves from contamination of approach of Holeyas and Mādigas. Any woman who gets her monthly sickness during this period, has to remain in a separate shed nine days cooking her own food.

In the case of orphans and others who are too poor to perform all this elaborate ceremony, the boring of the ear is done before the shrine of Bhairava in Siti Betta, a hill in the Kolar Taluk. The *pūjāri* who is the chief officiator gets a *hana* and provisions for a meal and the party have a general picnic at the close of the event.

It is only one section of the Morasu people that have to cut off their fingers. The others also celebrate the ear-boring ceremony, but in a less elaborate manner, after *pūja* in some temple, such as, of Paṭāmma, Chaudèsvari, Mad-damma, or Venkaṭaramaṇa or Narasimha. An animal sacrifice is offered if they resort to the shrine of a female deity. The worshippers of Viṣṇu invite a number of Dāsaris who perform their religious dance and give *prasāda*. The maternal uncle of the children marks the ears with sandal paste for boring the holes.

Adoption.

Adoption of boys may be effected as in other castes of Hindus. A brother's son may be adopted even after his marriage and without any public ceremony. There is no objection to the adopting of a daughter's or sister's son. The boy's waist thread is cut and a new thread is put on, when he is handed over by the natural parents to the

adopter and the latter and the boy are made to drink a little saffron water. The natural mother is given a present of clothes and there is a feast held that day.

The practice of bringing up a son-in-law as heir (illā-tam) is common, especially among the Telugu speaking families. No particular ceremony is observed, and an understanding between the parties is all that is required. Such a son-in-law succeeds to the whole property of the father-in-law who has no sons, or shares the patrimony equally with the sons.

Polygamy is rare and a second wife is taken in default of issue, generally with the consent of the first wife. But polyandry is unknown. Marriages are generally between adults. A woman may remain without marriage without any social stigma attaching to her. But she cannot take part in a few ceremonies required to be performed by married women alone and when she dies, the full funeral rites are not performed, the body being carried like that of a dead child in a kambly. No *Sātaka* is observed for her death.

They have what is styled *kula* or *bedugu* to denote exogamous limits for marriage. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt or elder sister is specially favoured. Except in extreme cases (such as marriages of widowers), a younger sister's daughter is not taken in marriage. Two sisters may be married by two brothers; and one man may marry two sisters simultaneously, the hands of all the three being joined together at the time of pouring *dhūre* water. The rule of *varāse* (ವರಸೆ) which prohibits marriage between persons who stand analogously as parent and child or brother and sister, has to be observed also. This is sometimes carried so far as to prohibit marriages between two families who have marriage relation with a common third family. Exchange of daughters in marriage between two families may take place but some believe this to be unlucky.

The village astrologer is consulted for *Sāhāvali* (ಸಾಹಾ ವಳಿ) to see if the stars representing the first letters of the names of the bride and the bridegroom agree, and omens are observed, and prognostication by *Kani* (ಕಣಿ) sometimes resorted to. The father of the boy goes to the bride's father to propose marriage, by the formula "to eat rice and ghee in the latter's house." He receives *Oppu Vilya* (ಒಪ್ಪು ವಿಲ್ಯ) i. e. tāmbūla in token of consent, and returns

without eating in the bride's house. On a subsequent day, the *Vilyada Sástra*, (ವಿಲ್ಯದಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ), takes place in an assemblage of castemen and friends with a Brahmin Puròhit. The boy's father and members of his family go with a new cloth and a jewel to be presented to the girl along with the auspicious articles (ಮಂಗಳದ್ರವ್ಯಗಳು). A *Simhásana* is made on a kambly and a kalasa is placed on a low tripod before it, in a flat eating dish (ಕಂಬದತಟ್ಟಿಗೆ) of bell metal. The chief man of the caste makes púja to this, and the girl to be married is smeared with saffron and presented with fruits, flowers, etc, wrapped in her garment. In some places, the young man to be married is also seated by her side at the time.

The *Lagnapatrikas* (marriage letters) prepared by the Puròhit are exchanged between the parents and each rises up and declares to the assembly in a set formula that he of such a *kula* has taken a girl of such other *kula* in exchange for a boy, and *vice versa*. After distribution of *támbúla*, there is a dinner given to the male's party. If after this formal compact, the match is broken off, the defaulting party has to pay the expenses of the other and sometimes a small fine to the caste is exacted. Such breaches, however, rarely occur.

The marriage is generally celebrated in the bridegroom's house. On the first day, takes place what is styled *Modalarasina* (ಮೊದಲರಸಿನ) when the family deity is worshipped and the bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric in their separate places. A kalasa is set up in a flat dish (ಕಂಬದತಟ್ಟಿಗೆ) on half husked rice. They generally keep in each family a separate narrow necked metal vessel which they use only for kalasa. It is painted over with red and white lines, and half filled with water and a small silver coin is thrown in. Around it are placed in the dish, some plantain fruit, betel leaves and areca nuts, lumps of *vibhúti*, two turmeric and *kunkuma* powder boxes and a looking glass. This has to be carried about with the marriage party whenever they go about as a procession during the marriage; and an elderly woman who does this duty is presented with a cloth and the silver coin in the vessel. They have the *ḍēvarúta* (gods' feast) that evening.

The pandal is raised the next day, with 12 pillars of which the "milk post" is of Atti (Indian fig) or Nerale (Jambolara) unless either happens to denote the name of the party's *kula* when it is not used. The maternal uncle has to bring the milk post, and the ceremony is done pretty

much in the same manner as among other raiyat classes\*. After the milk post is fixed, a twig of a Nerale tree is again brought by a party going with music and tied up to it. They style this Elevàra (ಎಳೆವಾರ).

The bride's party arrive in the evening and are received at the village gate and taken to their lodgings. Some married women of both parties go in state to a potter's house and bring the sacred pot (ಅರಿವೇಣಿ) which in this caste is only one.† They place this on a bed of earth and manure in which nine kinds of grain are sown, and offer pūja to it and keep a lamp of castor oil always burning before it. This is Arivēni or karaga pūja (ಅರಿವೇಣಿಪೂಜೆ, ಕರಗಪೂಜೆ i.e. pot worship). In some families, the bridegroom and his party go at midnight to a place where three paths meet and after offering cooked food to a drawing of a human figure, return home without making any noise, and without looking back. This is known as *Biragudi* (ಬೀರಗುಡಿ) and is apparently meant to propitiate malignant spirits.

The next morning after nail paring and bathing in *Maleniru*, the bridegroom is taken to a temple or an *Aśvattha* tree and seated there. His maternal uncle ties the *bhāshinga* on his forehead, and five married women pour rice on his head, shoulders and knees (Sāse, ಸಾಸೆ). The headman present worships Simhāsana. The bridegroom's party go in procession to the bride's house thrice each time carrying some article of present to the bride. A Morasu-Holeya (who is regarded as a *halemaga* of this caste) or a sister of the bridegroom carry the marriage chaplet in a basket. On the third occasion, the bridegroom himself goes holding a dagger in his hand. The maternal uncle is fantastically dressed and subjected to bantering fun by every one during this procession.

The bride and the bridegroom are seated ‡ on the marriage dias facing each other, with a screen between them. The Puróhit after chanting some mantras removes the screen when the couple place handfuls of jaggory and gingelly on each other's heads. Four vessels are placed on the corners of a square with a cotton thread passing round

\* See Kuruba account (Monograph No. I) page 10.

† Sometimes they do not go to the potter at all but use one of the pots in the house used as grain receptacles.

‡ Among some families of this caste, Kundāpagaḷu (ಕುಂದಾಪಾಗಳು) i.e., hollow wooden rings kept on the mortar while pounding paddy to prevent its scattering, are used as seats for the couple.



their necks seven times. This thread is cut into two halves and two *kankanas* are made by attaching to each a turmeric root and an iron ring; and each party ties a *kankana* round the wrist of the other. The bridegroom then ties the *tāli*, round the girl's neck, while some mantras are again recited by the Puróhit. The couple join hands and the parents and all the members of the assembly pour milk (dhāre ಧಾರೆ), over them. This is caught in a vessel and thrown over an anthill.

The fringes of the clothes of the married couple are tied together by the maternal uncle and they are made to exchange handfuls of rice and salt, perhaps a method of swearing mutual fidelity. The minor events of the day take place in somewhat the same manner as among other castes of similar status \*

That evening the star Arundhati is shown to the bride. They go in procession and worship an anthill and carry away some earth dug out of it. Then a party of married women go with three pots to a well or river and after *Gaṅga-pūja*, bring back water, which is used for mixing anthill earth to make balls. Twelve balls are made and the bride deposits one at the foot of each pillar. The barber is then called upon to pare the nails which he does nominally by passing his razor over the nails of the bride and the bridegroom. The latter bathe after this and proceed to a temple. On their return, the pillars are worshipped along with a *kalasa* installed to represent the Hase-dévaru (ಹಸೇದೇವರು) and offerings of cooked rice in balls and sweet cakes are placed before each, which goes to the washerman as his perquisite. Finally they have a procession of the marriage party in the streets.

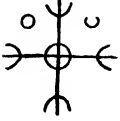
At the Nāgavali ceremony taking place the next day, the couple newly bathed and dressed are seated before the milk post, with two brass vessels filled with red coloured water (ಬೆಕ್ಕುಳಿ) before them. A lime is thrown into one and some jewel in another without their being allowed to be seen by them, and each is asked to pick up one of the articles, and it is pretended that the party who picks up the jewel will have ascendancy over the other in their future domestic life. Then the *kankanas* or wrist threads of the couple are taken off by each other and tied to the milk post.

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\* *Vide* Kuruba Account.

In the afternoon after dinner takes place the final ceremony of *Simhāsana pūja*. This is done on three occasions during the marriages of Morasu people, whereas other castes perform it only once. The last is the most important one and is performed to close the marriage ceremony.

They spread a kambly fourfold and draw on it a figure of four tridents (trisūla) \*radiating from a center with the sun and the moon at the top, and place a quantity of arecanuts and betel leaves in the middle, and pieces of *vibhūti* (ashes) at the extremities. The Yajaman of the caste makes *pūja* to this and distributes *timbūlas* out of it in the following order:—God, Guru,



Brahmins, King, represented by the village officials *gaṇḍa* and *śaṇbhog*, *sālu* and *māle* (i. e., the 18 phana and 9 phana communities) Bhūmi Raddi, that is, the head of the whole caste, Kattēmane, i. e., sectional heads, the Raddis and Yajamans of the sections to which the parties belong, the bride's party including all her relatives and lastly to the rest of the assembly. This order of precedence is scrupulously observed and any transgression is sure to cause much annoyance and sometimes quarrel.

They repair to the bride's house the next day and return after a sojourn of two or three days. A dinner is then given in honour of the occasion to all the guests. This is called *tirucali* and *marucali* (ತಿರುವಳಿ ಮರುವಳಿ). Before the close of the month on a certain day, some milk is poured on the milk post and after the usual *pūja*, it is removed and thrown into a well.

The bride price or *tera* varies between Rs. 6 and Rs. 12. This amount goes to the girl's father but he generally uses it for some jewel to be given to the girl. A widower has to pay Rs. 1½ more as *Santi Honnu* (ಸಂತಿ ಹೊನ್ನು, that is, the other wife's money) and has invariably to give more jewels to the girl. It is not easy to estimate the average marriage expenses which vary very largely according to the means of the parents and their desire not to be outdone by their neighbours. It is however kept within moderate limits especially in rural parts where the most considerable item is the feeding of relatives and friends. There is no attempt made towards securing any reduction of these expenses.

When a girl is married as an infant, she remains in her father's house till she attains womanhood, after which

consummation of marriage takes place and she is sent to her husband's house to live with him. During the interval she visits the husband's house only occasionally and goes back with her parents.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for nine days and is not permitted to enter the main house. She is kept in a shed in the outer yard made of green leaves which are brought by her maternal uncle. In the evenings, she is dressed in washed clothes supplied every day by the washerman, and is seated on a plank in the presence of married women who thus celebrate what is known as *Osigc* to mark the event. They give her presents of fruits and flowers packed in her garment (ವೆಡಲತುಂಬುವುದು), and sweet things to eat. To ward off the evil spirits, an old broom stick and a winnow and a shoe are placed at the entrance of the shed.

The girl pulls down the shed before her bath on the tenth day, and the materials are removed by her maternal uncle and burnt at a distance from the house.

The expenses of the *Osigc* ceremonies for one day are borne by the maternal uncle if she happens to be unmarried; if married, the information of the event is sent to the husband's house through the washerman, and one of the members of that family comes over and performs the *Osigc* for the girl for one day. Other relatives may similarly treat her for any number of nights.

Where marriage takes place after puberty, the couple are brought together on the last day without any further ceremony. But in some places the consummation is put off some time, on account of the belief that a child should not be born within a year of the marriage. Where the girl has already been married, they fix a day for the consummation of the marriage soon after her attaining puberty.

When the girl is first sent to her husband's house, she is presented with clothes or jewels by her father and the husband gives a dinner to her mother and others that accompany her.

Widow  
Marriage

It is considered that even child widows should not remarry. But a widow may live in concubinage with a man of her own caste, and though her issue are restricted to marriage only with others of the same class, she and her children are not denied the privilege of eating together, and she may cook food for the castemen on all occasions.

The husband may give up his wife for her unchastity, Divorcee. and the wife her husband for habitual ill-treatment and loss of caste. A divorced woman may not marry again, but is allowed to live in concubinage with a man of her caste. Adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same caste is condoned by subjecting her to pay a fine to the caste and levying a similar fine from her paramour. The husband may then take her back into his house if he is so disposed. Otherwise she may live with her paramour. It is said that a man eloping with another's wife has to pay the marriage expenses of the latter, though of late, the rule is not being enforced. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant or is found to have been in the keeping of a man of the same caste, either her union will be formally recognised by the caste council or she will live as a concubine of the man. In either case, her children will drift into a separate *Sālu* styled *Berikē-sālu* (ಬೆರಿಕೇಸಾಲು) or mixed section.

The practice of marrying girls to trees or swords or the dedicating of them in the temples does not obtain in this caste.

The common mode of disposing of the dead is burial, Death cere- though cremation is resorted to by some persons of late. monies. As soon as death takes place, a *halemagu* who should be present carries the information round. Two earthen pots, a new cloth and materials for the bier are procured from the bazaar. A band of musicians are engaged and *Dasayyas* also go with the body with their shells and other sounding instruments. Some build a *mantapa* (cage) at considerable expense to carry the body. The body is dressed in a new cloth with a turban on the head. Crushed betel leaves and nuts are put into its mouth. If the deceased be a woman dying when her husband is alive, the body is profusely decorated with flowers, turmeric, *kunkuma*, etc. The bier is carried by four men, the son or the chief mourner going with water in a new earthen pot on the left shoulder and fire in the right hand. It was the custom formerly that one of four bearers, must be a *Holeya halemagu*, but this practice has almost gone out of use, the *halemagu* now attending to the digging of the grave and walking in front of the funeral procession. As they pass along, betel leaves and fried rice are thrown on the corpse and guns are fired. While midway to the graveyard, the corpse is kept on the ground, and the son going

round it three times throws some cooked rice at the head of the body. After laying down the corpse at the burial place, the sons and other near relations put some rice into the mouth and eyes. The sons get shaved. After being carried round the grave three times, the body is lowered into the pit and deposited on a plantain leaf, with the head to the south. In a corner of the winding sheet some rice is tied and a piece of this cloth is torn and thrown out, and the pit is filled up, some twigs of a thorny plant known as \* *chitramūla* (ಚಿತ್ರ ಮೂಲ plumbage zelanica) being placed near the top to prevent dogs and jackals digging up the grave. Four quarter aana pieces are kept at the four corners and a stone slab is inserted at the side of the head. Some doles of money and grain are given to poor persons who may be found at the place. The son goes round the grave three times with an earthen pot filled with water on his shoulder and a fire-brand in the hand. At the end of every turn a hole is made in the pot by some one with a stone. The *halemaya* goes with a cowdung cake in his hand and holds it at the head and the four corners of the grave, while the son applies his firebrand to it in each place. At the end of the third turn, the son throws away the upper half of the pot, and keeps the lower half with the water in it near the head and puts out the fire in the faggot by plunging it in the water. The *halemaya* keeps the cowdung cake there on which a three-pie piece is thrown as his fee. The whole party then repair to a river or tank without looking backwards. The corpse bearers and the son plunge themselves in water and go home without even † wringing their wet clothes, and the others only wash hands and feet. The friends and relatives have to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired before they return to their houses.

A small shed is put up on the grave, and some times a figure to represent the deceased is drawn on the ground there. The chief mourners and the bearers of the hearse with the *halemaya* go there on the third day, carrying with them some rice and vegetables cooked together in

\* The common abuse ನಿನ್ನಮುಖಕ್ಕೆ ಚಿತ್ರಮೂಲ ಬೊಡಿಯ, that is, may the plant *chitramūla* be thrown on your face derives its meaning from this practice.

† On account of this association, it is considered inauspicious to come out of the bath room after bathing without wiping the water on the body with a cloth.

one vessel. Pūja is offered to the deceased, incense burnt and food placed on a plantain leaf. Part of this is given to the *halemaga* who must eat it, and the rest thrown to the crows. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers are touched with ghee and milk, and all of them bathe before taking food. On the eleventh day, all bathe in the morning. A Brahmin purôhit is invited to purify the house (by *Pungâha*). The old earthen pots in the house used for cooking are thrown out and new ones are substituted for them. A kalasa is set up in the middle of the house and is worshipped with offerings of new cloths and raw rice (*Eda* ୨୩). The Brahmin purôhit repeats mantras and makes the chief mourner offer libations of water (*tarpana* ୩୫୧୦). Some presents are made to Brahmins according to the means of the family, of such articles as an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a cow, raw provisions and money. The object of some of these gifts is to ensure that similar conveniences may be provided for the ghost of the departed on its journey. It is believed that a cow enables him to cross the river of fire by holding on to its tail.

In the evening the mourners go to a temple and get pūja performed to get the gate of heaven opened for the departed soul; and there is a general dinner given to their castemen on their return. The next day, some near relation of the chief mourner, such as a maternal uncle or father-in-law, present him with a new turban, to mark the close, of the funeral ceremonies.

The period of *Sâdaka* (death pollution) is ten days for the nearer and three days for the more distant agnates. It is only three days for the death of a child or an unmarried person. Only a bath is sufficient for a daughter's son.

Morasi Okkaligas do not perform yearly Srâddhas, except some of them who having risen in the world have adopted the custom of observing the anniversaries of the deaths of their parents. On such occasions, a kalasa is set up and pūja offered with the help of a Brahmin purôhit. The son offers libations of water in the name of the deceased, and presents Brahmins with raw provisions and money. After this, the people at home cook their food and partake of it in the company of some invited guests of their own caste.

The Mahâlâya ceremony is however very generally observed in honour of the general body of deceased

ancestors. They also make pūja to ancestors on the new year's day and the Gauri feast. On such days, some resort to the burial ground and burn incense before the tombs of their ancestors and apply sandal paste and offer cocoanuts before the stones. They have only one meal that day in the evening.

Religion.

They worship Siva, generally under the appellation of Bhairēdēvaru also known as Bandidēvaru, that is the cart god. The chief place of this deity is Sīti Bettā, a hill in the Vēmagal hobli of the Kolar Taluk, and there is also a temple in Gudamarlahalli in the Chintamani Taluk. In the latter place, the image of Bhairava is a round shapeless stone partly buried in the ground and a rude country cart is preserved as the one in which the god was originally brought away. The principal temple is surrounded by a number of small temples. In front of the main temple is a smaller one in which a stone is worshipped under the name of Chipārū (ಚಿಪ್ಪಾರು). When the Bandi-dēvaru is worshipped, the goats and sheep sacrificed to it are all deposited near this god. Close to this is a temple dedicated to the spirit of an unmarried girl of the caste called E'ru-bayyamma (ಎರಬಾಯಮ್ಮ) who was shut up in a granary by her brother in a fit of anger and was starved to death. There are also temples dedicated to the spirits of males dying unmarried, under the names of Iragārū (ಇರಗಾರು).

The celebration of the feast of Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು new god) by women is a unique institution of this caste. Some observe this only once a year at Dipāvali, while others also celebrate it at the Yugādi. No married woman is allowed to eat of the fruit of any harvest till she has performed this pūja for the year; and after performing it, she is precluded from eating or drinking at the hands of those who have not similarly sanctified themselves. For this it is essential that all the agnate families must join in the common worship, and those who do not for any reason join it are said to divide their Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು ಭಾಗವು ಡಿಕೊಂಡವರು) and cannot afterwards join together in the performance of this or any other common worship, such as Bandidēvaru. As such separation is considered rather to be avoided, they generally manage to congregate together on these occasions often at considerable inconvenience. In such celebrations, the elder woman should always have priority over younger members.

As regards the origin of the custom, one account says that this ceremony was originally observed by the Bédas and that they sold the right of celebrating it to the Morasus in exchange for some grain. Another account is that a Kómaṭi after *tapas* in Benares got as a boon a philosopher's stone which converted everything in contact with it into gold. While on his way to his place, he halted in a Morasu (Okkalu's house and hanging the bundle of his things from the roof of the house went near a well to cook his food. The rod with which the women were pounding rice happened to touch the stone and became gold. The discovery roused the cupidity of the master of the house, who purloined the miraculous stone and set fire to the house to deceive its owner. The latter could not survive his loss and cast himself into the flames. As his ghost which of course became aware of the fraud, began to molest the family of the thief, they vowed to make pūja to the spirit thenceforth as a new god.

The feast is celebrated in connection with the harvest either of the first crop in the year, (at new year time) or also of the second crop in Kārtika (Dipāvali). That was probably its origin and the other stories were invented to account for it after its meaning became obscured.

The ceremony takes place on two days beginning either on a Friday or Saturday. The women fast till the evening and then worship a *kalasa* set up in a room offering balls of meal called *tambittu* (ತಂಬಿಟ್ಟು). This should be made of the flour of rice of the new crop mixed with jaggory. A sweet dish is prepared by cooking rice, milk and jaggory together and kept in the holy vessel (ಕಂಟದತಣಿಗೆ) and offered before the *kalasa* and eaten by all the women together. They have to keep a vigil on that night.

Early in the next morning, the male members in the family go to the fields and sacrifice sheep there, making it stand on a bed of margosa leaves which are scattered over the field and the standing crops, the men shouting out repeatedly *Kó-bali* (ಕೋಬಲಿ), that is, take the sacrifice. The women placing the *kalasa* in the sacred dish (ಕಂಟದತಣಿಗೆ) carry it in state, walking on cloth spread along the way, to a shed erected outside the village under a *Tangadi* plant (cassia auriculata). Three small stones set up therein represent the deity before which the *kalasa* is placed and lights burnt in burners of *tambittu* flour. They cook rice and some



pulse together in a pot called *halimudike* (milk-pot) and make a paste (calling this pallya ಪಲ್ಲೆ) out of some grains of rice, ragi and other cereals taken out of fresh ears. These articles are worshipped by the women with flowers, incense etc. Then the eldest of them keeps the *kalasa*, the light, and the paste in the dish (*kantada tanige*) and carrying it on to her head turns towards the sun and bows saying “ಹಳೇದು ಹೋಗಿ ಹೊಸದು ಬಂತು. ಏನು ತಪ್ಪುಮಾಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊ! ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊ! ಹೊಸದೇವರೇ.” (The Old has gone; the New is in. Whatever our faults, condone them, condone them, O new god!) Then she passes the dish on to other women in order of age and they repeat the proceeding. On their return home, they place the sweet flour of the lamps in the milk-pot with plantains mixed and deposit it on a loft. Then all the women sit in a row on a kambli spread in the yard of the house and the eldest of them applies a little of the paste (ಪಲ್ಲೆ) to her forehead and eats a little as prasāda and similarly marks the forehead of other women in order. The confection preserved in the milk pot is then distributed to all participators in the ceremony.

For some days after this these women consider themselves too holy to have any dealings which may expose them to contact with lower castes, like Mādigas and Holeyas.

They worship in all the Hindu temples, including those of village deities and tree spirits. Some are Vaishnavas who get marked with Sankha and Chakra having either Srivaishnava Brahmin or Sātāni priests.

There is a shrine at Vanarāsi near Kolar largely resorted to as a place of pilgrimage by this caste. A man of the Vadda caste who resided in a Morasu Okkaliga village as an ascetic once did great service to them in routing their enemies but he was treacherously attacked and mortally wounded while returning from the fray. His two married sisters who had been living with him also died along with him. According to his deathbed request, the grateful Okkaligas built a temple in his name and deified him. An annual fair is held here for fifteen days at which many cattle are brought for sale.

They have beliefs in omens and other similar superstitions common to such classes. Whenever necessary, they

\* It is reported that in some places when the women make these bows styled *Hosudēvara nokkugalu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರನೊಕ್ಕುಗಳು) they clothe themselves solely in kambli (coarse woollen blankets).

swear on their family gods to attest to their speaking truth in their caste assemblies.

Morasu Okkaligas are a caste rather high in the social scale. Social Status.

They generally employ Brahmins as *purohīts* and some also respect Lingayet priests or Jangamas to whom they often make presents of rice and other provisions. Those of the Morasus who are *Tirunāmalhāris* call Sātānis to conduct funeral ceremonies, the Brahmins being required only to purify the house by *Puṇyāha*. They also invite Dāsaiyas for Maṇē Sēve (ಮಣೇ ಸೇವೆ).

Except in extreme cases, such as, joining other lower castes, persons who have lost their caste, may be readmitted after proper *prāgaschitta*, which consists of paying a fine imposed by the caste panchayet, giving a dinner, and getting the tongue slightly branded with a piece of gold.

They eat meat, sheep, goats, fish, rabbits and fowls being allowed. Some of them have no objection to pork but the more orthodox practice is to eschew it. They rarely indulge in drink though the practice is not absolutely prohibited. Kurubas and other classes mix with this caste in eating. The women as noticed already, are stricter in observing restrictions against dining with others who have not undergone the ceremonies of offering up the fingers and worshipping the *Hosaleṛarn*. Such exclusive rules, it may be observed, are now greatly relaxed especially in larger towns. Food.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The youngest son has, it is said, the privilege of selecting his share first at a partition; and in some cases, the eldest son is given a specially extra share as a matter of customary concession. The *illātom* son-in-law is entitled to a share equal to that of his brother-in-law. An unmarried brother gets his marriage expenses in addition to his share of the property. And if there be sisters to be married, some amount is set apart for their marriages and is given to the charge of the person who undertakes to be the guardian of the girls. Female children are not entitled, as a matter of right, to any share, but a destitute and a widowed sister is generally given some share in the ancestral property. In fact, on account of the extreme utility of the working hands, a childless and widowed sister or daughter is brought to her parent's house and very often she becomes the mistress of the family, much to the annoyance of the daughter-in-law. Inheritance

Occupation. Agriculture is the pursuit of the great bulk of this important caste, though a few have taken to other walks of life such as building contracts, money lending and Government service. They have houses built to suit their needs as agriculturists, having accommodation for cattle generally in the main building and with granaries and backyards attached. The seed grain is preserved in packages known as *mide* (ಮೂಡೆ) neatly made of twisted straw. Ragi is generally preserved in dry pits known as *hogēvu* (ಹೋವು) in Kannada and *pātra* (ಪಾತ್ರ) in Telugu which are excavated either in their own yards or in a common village site. The grain keeps well for years in such pits.\*

Tribal  
constitu-  
tion.

The Morasu Okkaligas have a well defined caste organisation. The whole caste is divided into separate groups known as *Kattēmanés* (ಕಟ್ಟೇ ವನಗಳ) each of them being presided over by a headman called Yajaman or *Gauḍa*. Several *kattēmanés* form a *Nāḍu*, meaning a division of the country, and at the head of each *Nāḍu* is *Gauḍa* called *Nāḍu Gauḍa*. Several such *Nāḍus* form a *Désa* or country presided over by a *Désāyi Gauḍa* or *Bhūmi Gauḍa*. There are two such *Désāyi* or *Bhūmi* *Gauḍas*, one at the head of the Telugu Section and the other at the head of the Kannada Section, the head-quarters of the latter being Muduvāḍē in the Kolar Taluk.

The tribal disputes are, in the first instance, enquired into and settled by the *Kattēmane* Yajaman, but when the latter finds them to be of a serious nature, he refers them to the *Nāḍu Gauḍa*. The *Désāyi Gauḍa* or the *Bhūmi Gauḍa* has the final appellate authority. Sometimes the representatives of the latter who are either their agnates or agents decide the important questions submitted to their decision. These offices are hereditary and descend in the male line.

On all the important occasions, such as, marriage, funerals, the presence of either headman of the caste or his representative is necessary. During marriages, he acts as the master of the ceremonies and conducts them according to prescribed form. They have not a separate man to act as the beadle or servant of the caste. Whenever there is necessity for such a person they appoint one from among them to do the functions. They have *Haḷeṇasagas* (Morasu Holeyas) who carry information regarding the caste meet-

\* For a more detailed account of agricultural matters, see notes appended

ings, etc. As remuneration for their trouble the caste heads are always given extra *timbúlas* and some presents. The Halémaga also gets his reward, either in money or in kind and some cloth.

The Morasu Okkaligas are a thrifty, sober caste and form an important and rising class. There is nothing peculiar in their dress, nor are there any games peculiar to the caste. Their women are hardy and help men in the out-door work. They get tattooed from the ages of ten to twenty-five and blacken their teeth after the birth of a child.

Miscellaneous.

## APPENDIX A.

### Note 1.

#### AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

The ploughs have iron shares (ಕುಳಿ in Kannada, కుళి in Telugu) fixed on logs of Jáli or Babool wood, through a ring imbedded in the end. Those used for dry lands are about 2 or 2½ feet in length and for wet lands about a foot and a half. The pole is inserted through a hole in the thicker end of the log, and the yoke is tied to it with a rope made of either raw hide or cocoanut or aloe fibre called a *mini* (ಮಿನಿ). The knot is sometimes tightened with a wooden tourniquet called *kongini* (ಕೊಂಗಿನಿ). To steady the plough and to press it in its passage, an upright stick with a handle is fixed to the end of the long pole after it passes through the head of the plough. This is called *meddi* (ಮೇಡಿ).

To remove the weeds and grass uprooted in ploughing, a harrow (ಹರಿವೇಮರ) is drawn over the fields tied to the yoke with a pair of bamboo poles brought together at its centre. The harrow is a log about five feet in length furnished with twelve teeth of strong wood or iron and is of course drawn crosswise over the ground. The heaps of refuse collected together are burnt in the field. The same log with the teeth turned upwards is drawn over the field to level it, a man standing on the log to add weight to it.

When ragi or other small grain is to be sown, they use a seed drill called *kúriga* (ಕೂರಿಗ) in Kannada and *goru* (ಗೂರು) in Telugu. This is similar to the harrow in appearance, but twelve hollow reeds, each about three feet in length, are fixed to it and they are all inserted into a cup at the top in which the seed grain is placed. As the log is drawn over the ground, the seed cup is replenished by a man who walks behind it. To sow lines of pulse such as *arare* or *logari* (ballar or pigeon-pea) another seed drill with a single reed is tacked on to the larger seed drill. The work of putting in the seed with these instruments requires considerable skill.

When the crop is six or seven inches high an instrument called *kunte* (ಕುಂಟೆ), a hoe with three or four teeth, is passed over it once or twice to thin out the crop and to stir the soil near the roots of the seedlings.

When a wet field is ploughed in puddle a log of wood (kan. *mara* ಮರ, Tel. *maru* మర) is drawn crosswise over it to level the miry soil.

Among the other implements of husbandary in common use may be named the *manaty* (ಸನಿಕೆ or చెప్పగడ్డలి), the pick-axe (ಕೋಲುಗುದ್ದಲಿ) and the sickle ಕುಡುಗೋಲು). In addition, they have a special hoe, with four teeth to stir up the manure in the manure pits. Most of the raiyats own all these implements, which are not expensive. They are crude in appearance, but seem to be effective for the simple methods of husbandary practised. Generally there is a smith and a carpenter in most villages who can make and mend them whenever needed. The seed drill (kúrigē) is the only complicated instrument beyond the reach of the poorer raiyats, but it is usually borrowed from some kindly disposed neighbour.

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## Note 2.

### PERIODS OF RAINS.

The whole year is, according to the raiyat's calendar, divided into twenty-seven parts named after as many Nakshatras or heavenly bodies. These divisions are known popularly as *male* (ಮಳೆ) in Kannada and *hárti* (కార్తి) or *rána* (రాన) in Telugu, each meaning rain. Each rain is again divided into four quarters styled *pádas* (ಪಾದಗಳು) or feet. These 27 *kártis* or rains are again parcelled out into two groups called *munigáru* (ಮುಂಗಾರು) or early rains and *hingáru* (ಹಿಂಗಾರು) or later rains. The former begin with the Révati rain (April) and end with Mrigasira rain (about June). If the *munigáru* rains fall regularly, the agricultural prospects are very good, as most of the chief crops are then sown. From Púrváshāḍha to Uttarābhādra (December to February), the rains are said to be in incubation (ಗರ್ಭ) and it should be cloudy then but should not rain. If it does, it is believed to be an abortion, which is sure to bring on a failure of the later rains.

Each Nakshatra period of the rains lasts, roughly speaking, two weeks and nearly corresponds to the periods named against them according to the English calendar. Révati and Asvini cover the whole month of April; Bhāraṇi and Krittika last up to about the end of May; Rōhini and Mārgasira till the third week of June, when Aridra

begins. The latter and the following two rains, *viz.*, Punarvasu and Pushyami, extend up to about the first week of August. Aslêsha and the succeeding three rains Magha, Pubba and Uttara, cover the rain period till about the end of September. Hasta, Chitta and Svàti fall in the following five weeks ending with the first week of November, the other three weeks of November and the whole of December being taken up by the rains Visàkha, Anúrâdha, Jyêshtha and Mûla. The incubation period commences about the beginning of January and lasts till the end of March.

The knowledge and the beliefs of raiyats about the relations of these periods to agricultural operations are embodied in various short sayings and proverbs. It will be convenient to begin with Rêvati, which is the last of the Nakshatras, as rains generally commence then. The rain falling under this Nakshatra is not of any use, and is rather prejudicial to the threshing of ragi, as the grain will not get clean.

Asvini is said to be harmful to the fruit of arecanuts and cocoanuts, and if paddy is irrigated from tanks filling in this rain, the crop, it is believed, will be diseased and will yield a poor return. Asvini destroys everything (ಸರ್ವಂ ನಶ್ಯಂತಿ ಅಶ್ವಿನೀ).

During Bharani, ploughing operations are begun, and in some places, minor crops such as navane, lûraka (millet) or gingelly are sown in the fields so that another crop may be taken after these are harvested.\* It is believed that seeds put in this rain are immune from attacks of disease, and yield a good crop. Earth prospers if Bharani rains (ಭರಣಿ ಮಳೆಬಿದ್ದರೆ ಧರಣಿಜಳಯುತ್ಥ).

If rains do not fall till Krittike, people will suffer want (ಕೃತ್ತಿಗೆವರೆಗೂ ಮಳೆ ಬರದಿದ್ದರೆ ಜನರ ಬಾಯಿದಾಲ್ಲಿ ಮೃತ್ಯುಕೆ).

During Rôhini fields are ploughed and kept ready, but the seed should by no means be put in, for the yield will be scanty, (ಸೆ.ಸಿ.ವಾಸನ ಮಡಿವಿಟ್ಟು ನಟ್ಟಿಕ್ಕೆ ಸೆ.ಸಿ.ವಾಸನಾ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಹಾಕಬೇಡ. If sown in Rôhini, there will not be even one mortarful of paddy).

In Mrigasira, popularly known as *minchini* (ಮಂಚಿನಿ) in Telugu, ground is prepared and minor crops raised.

Aridra is said to be good for sowing all kinds of grain. If the rain begins in the night time, it is a good

\* The best lands are never sown with any grain in this rain. Such lands are prepared and reserved for important crops, such as ragi.

sign, but crops do not thrive if it begins during the day. If there is thunder in the first three quarters (pādas) and none in the fourth, the rains during the following six nakshatra periods will suffer. If the reverse is the case, it is a good sign for the following rains. Thunder, breaking in the fourth quarter, will nullify the evil effect of thunder in the first three quarters. (ಆದ್ರ್ವನಳಿ ಗೃಹುಗಿರೆ ಆರಮಳೆ ಬರುವುಬಲ್ಲ. If the Aridra rain thunders, six following rains will not fall). On the whole the rains under this sign are greatly appreciated, as contributing to a plentiful harvest (ಆದ್ರ್ವೆ ಅನ್ನ ಇಡುತ್ತೆ).

Punarvasu and Pushyami, styled popularly Chinna Pūsi and Pedda Pūsi (చిన్నపూసి, పెద్దపూసి) in Telugu and Chik-kavūsi and Doddavūsi (ಚಿಕ್ಕವೃಷಿ, ದೊಡ್ಡವೃಷಿ) in Kannada, are also regarded as timely for sowing ragi and other dry crops.

In Aslēsha, popularly known as Asale (ಅಸಲೆ) seeds may be sown, but the crop is uncertain owing to lateness of the season. Crops then sown are said to be liable to insect pests.

Magha is considered a fitful rain, raining either very hard, or failing altogether (ಒದರ ವಾಗೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದರೆ ಹಗ್ಗ), Magha if it comes, an enemy if it fails).

During Pubba or Hubbe if winds are high, it is said that paddy crop turns red and deteriorates. If there should be excessive rain, the standing crops suffer. The skies are often overcast, but the rain is generally scanty. Even a sparrow's wings, it is said, will not get moist from showers of this period. (ಪ್ರಬ್ಬಿನಾಳು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಜೊತೆಗೂಡು ಗುಬ್ಬಿ ಪುಕ್ಕನೆನೆಯದು). They do not sow anything in this period as it will not yield any crop. (ಗುಬ್ಬಿವೇಳೆಗೆ ಏನನ್ನೂ ಸಾಗಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲ, ಏನನ್ನೂ ಸಾಗಿಸಿ ಒಡ್ಡುವುದು ಬಾಲ್ಯವೆನೆಯಿತೆಂಬ). It is better to sow a seer in Hasta than a hundred seers in Pubba.

The rains in Uttara and Hasta rarely fail, and the raiyats have great faith in their regularity. They are regarded as having given a solemn promise to the raiyat to save his crop. If Uttara rain fails, a raiyat should be ready to flee with his goods in a basket. (ಹುಟ್ಟು ವಾಸವು ಬಿಡು ಕೊಡು). If Hasta fails even a mother will be unable (unwilling) to give food (ಕನ್ನಿಮಳೆ ಹುಯ್ಯದಿದ್ದರೆ ಹೆತ್ತ ತಾಯಿಯೂ ಅನ್ನ ಇಡಳು). If there are winds in Hasta, it is said to be a bad sign, for if the leaves shake in Hasta, not a drop will fall in Chitta (ಹುಟ್ಟು ವಾಸವು ಬಿಡು ಕೊಡು). (ಚಿತ್ತಾ ವಾಸವು ಬಿಡು ಕೊಡು).

Chitta is considered to be fitful, and the rain falls without any method in distribution. It is characterised as being blind, and it is even said that it rains chiefly during the



day, as at night it is afraid of breaking its neck by falling in a pit. If this rain follows that of Hasta without a break, it is believed that the rains will be copious. If both these rains fail, it spells ruin for the raiyats, who then become as destitute as non-cultivators. హస్తా చిత్త పోష అందరూ ఒకటే) in Telugu and (ಹಸ್ತ ಚಿತ್ತ ಹೋದರೆ ನಾವೊನಾಲ್ಕರಂತೆ, in Kannada.

In Svāti, the downpour is generally continuous. Grass grows plentifully and this is believed to be the rain which conduces to the ears of corn filling properly with juice. If this rain falls properly, you may look for ears of corn even under a washerman's slab (ಸ್ವಾತಿವಾಸ ಬರಿపై చాకలవానిబండకిల గాయున్న). It rains devils in Svāti (స్వాతిపట్టి పే శనిపట్టినట్లే), and one will not be allowed respite even to answer calls of nature (స్వాతీనాళ కలతే నందరూ బిడచు). Lightning is a sign of heavy rain in Svāti and even the sea trembles to see lightning with Svāti rain, (స్వాతివాసమించితే సముద్రముతిల్లు కేందును).

The water afforded by Visákha (corrupted into *Isáki* ఇసాకి) rain is believed to bring health; and this is the last of the copious rains, as clouds are scanty thereafter:--

విశాఖాంతానిమోఘాని  
ప్రసూతాంతంతు యవ్యం ।  
లలితాంబుని గిరితాని  
తక్రంతం భోజనతథా ॥

Anúrādhā (corrupted into *Anūrāgi*—అనోరాగి) ripens the crops before harvest, and if it falls the raiyat's anxiety is at an end (అనోరాగిబద్దరే మనోరంజనం కలగి పోతు) and his ragi (crop) becomes his own (అనోరాగిమనంబందరే నమ్మరాగి నమగిబంతు).

The rains of Jéshthā and Múla come in low drizzle and create a dirty murky weather (జ్యేష్ఠ మూల హిదర బష్పే ముట్టి ద కాగి). It is harmful to the pulses, *arare* and *logari*, as insects multiply after this rain and flowers are destroyed.

With them the rainy season practically closes, about the time of Dipāvalī feast, for you cannot discover any rain after Dipāvalī even searching with a light దీపావళి పోయినప్పుడు దీపము వెట్టి వెదకినా వానపాయ), and it is as vain to cry for rain after Dipāvalī is gone, as to hope for good treatment as son-in-law in a deceased wife's parent's house (అటు నచ్చి పిమ్మట అల్లులకానికి పేడ పడేది—దీపావళి వెట్టి నమ్మట వయసానికి యేడ పడేది—రండూ ఒకటే).

They have so much faith in the appropriateness of particular seasons for particular crops, that it is rare to see any raiyat trying experiments with sowing after the proper season for particular crop is past. Some later crop or

some minor crop may be put in as an alternative to letting the field lie fallow altogether.

The agricultural seasons are roughly divided into two parts styled locally as Vaisákha (వైశాఖ) and Kártika (కార్తిక). As the ploughing operations are begun with the first rains, the agricultural year begins practically with the Telugu New year, (Yugadi—యూగాది). On a certain day in the first week after Yugadi all the raiyats in the village congregate in the *Chavadi* or a temple, when the Astrologer after offering *púja* to a copy of the new calendar, expounds to them the prospects of the new year. Margosa leaves with jaggery powder, to convey the idea of the sweet and the bitter being linked together in life, are presented as *prasāda* to the audience to swallow.

He tells them which of the rains may be expected to fall regularly, the state of the winds and the sunshine, the names of grains likely to thrive well, and which epidemic and other diseases are threatening to break out. Then each man consults the astrologer as to his individual prospects, which are determined either by the star indicated by the first letter of his name or, if he keeps a horoscope, the star under which he was born. When all this is over, the head of the village, generally the patel, consults him about the auspicious day for beginning the agricultural operations, the name of the person who may lead the first plough, and the colour of the bullock to be yoked to it, the direction with reference to the village in which ploughing has to be begun, and such other important particulars. The astrologer finds appropriate answers for all these queries from calculation, and is rewarded with presents of grain and sometimes money and new cloths.

On the day fixed, the person who has to begin the ploughing operations in the village, goes to the temple with the village elders. The *pújari* worships the god and sprinkles holy water on the man and his bulls and plough, a sheep being sometimes sacrificed. The man begins to plough and is followed by others with other ploughs. They pass the ploughs over all the lands in the village, and then enjoy a common feast styled that of Honnéru (హొన్నేరు) or the golden plough.

Each family also begins ploughing with a *púja*, and at the time of first sowing they hold a *púja* of the sowing implements called Kúrice-púje.

When crops are standing, Sidi-dévaru (ಸಿದಿಡೇವರು) is worshipped to avert insect pests. When they are two or three inches high, each raiyat in one of his fields builds a small shed out of green leaves and sets up seven small stones in it in a row with another small stone in front to represent Munisvāra. All the important members of the family, with the young boys, go there and offer on two plantain leaves cooked rice and curds with some condiments. A fowl is then killed and its blood is mixed with the food in one of the leaves, and is scattered over all the fields belonging to the family. The rice on the other leaf is eaten up by the boys and the remains of the fowl are taken home to be cooked and eaten by all the inmates.

All the raiyats in a village join together and enjoy the picnic of Hasté Pongalu during the Hasta rains. Small branches of *Ankólé* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*—ಅಂಕೋಲೆ), are brought in large quantities and stuck in the fields in different places. Figures of the several agricultural implements are drawn with the ashes of the potter's kiln, on the boundaries of the fields, in the paths and at the entrance of the village. A goat or sheep is sacrificed near the figure drawn at the village entrance and offerings of rice and milk cooked together called *Pongili* (ಪಂಜಿಲಿ) are made to it. The blood of the sacrificed animal is mixed with margosa leaves and is scattered over all the fields in the village. The head of the sacrificed animal is given away to the village *Tóti* (ತೊಟಿ) and the body is divided among all the raiyats.

No other ceremony is observed till the time of reaping, if the crop grows well in the normal condition. At the time of mowing the crop Kudugólu Dévaru \* (ಕುಡುಗೋಲುಡೇವರು the Sickie God's púja) is done. A handful of crop is cut and placed in the central part of the field, near five small stones set up there. The sickles of all the reapers are collected and deposited in a row in front of these stones. They are then worshipped in the usual way, with burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then ears of this handful of crop are then cut and safely preserved at home and the grain out of them is mixed with the seed grain of next year.

Before the crop is removed in carts, or in head loads, from the field to the threshing floor, a cocoanut is broken.

\* This practice of making puja to the instruments of one's calling is almost universal. Even a grass cutter woman is often seen to bow before her scythe or hoe before beginning to cut or dig grass.

The crop thus transported is stacked into a heap and allowed to remain in that state for three or four months.

The threshing of the crop begins generally in the month of *Māgha* and continues till the close of the next month. When the threshing is done and the grain is heaped together, a *Pillāri*\* (ಪಿಲ್ಲಾರಿ) that is, a cone made of cow-dung, is installed with an ear of corn stuck into it at the top. Water is sprinkled on the grain heap and the threshing floor and the grain heap with the *Pillāri* is worshipped, incense being burnt and a cocoanut offered. The winnowing of the grain is done after this by a man standing on a stool about four feet high and pouring down the grain from a bamboo winnow, slowly so as to let the chaff be carried away by the wind, the heavy grain falling in a heap below. It is considered essential that when this process is going on, they should preserve silence all round.†

It is the universal custom that before measuring the grain, a small quantity, if only a handful even, is set apart for charity. This is styled *Pēvara Kolaga* (ಪೇವರ ಕೊಳಗ, i. e., God's measure) and is distributed to a *Pūjari* or a Brahmin or to a *Dāsaiya* or *Jangamayya* or to beggars generally.

### Note 3.

#### CROP DISEASES.

There are certain crop diseases for which the raiyats apply different nostrums, some savouring of superstition, while others have more or less a remedial value.

The recognised diseases of the paddy are *Saraga Jādyā* (ಸಾರಗಜಾಡ್ಯ), *Būsara Vyādhi* (ಬೂಸರವ್ಯಾಧಿ) and *Kembatti Rōga* (ಕೆಂಬತ್ತಿರೋಗ). The *Kārtika* or the earlier crop of paddy is liable to attacks of the first disease in which the leaves turn reddish and wither away after the fall of the *Pubba* rain. The excreta of bats found in caves and ruined temples is mixed with the ashes of the potter's kiln and lime, and dusted over the whole field affected, and a sheep or goat is

\* *Pillāri* means a small image, and is a cone made of cow-dung or rice paste or earth, with blades of green grass stuck on the top. It is generally taken as representing *Gaṇēśa*.

† Perhaps a relic of troublesome times when the raiyat wished to gather in his grains as quietly as possible, without drawing the attention of robbers or others who habitually preyed on him. Or was it meant to keep off evil spirits?

sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the standing crop. When the heads of the stalks become knotted together, urine of cattle is sprinkled over them. Búsara Vyādhī is caused by the attacks of insects about the time ears shoot forth, by which the sap is drained and the leaves turn white and drop away, leaving the stalk bare. There is no remedy known for this pest. Kembatti Róga known in Telugu as *Pauli-Rógamu* (పాలిరోగము) is nicknamed in Telugu as *Bápinī Rógamu* (బాపినిరోగము) or the Brahmin disease, on account of the leaves all turning red when it attacks the crop. A pig is killed near the field and its blood is mixed with margosa leaves and thrown on the standing crop. Sometimes a crow pheasant (సంకరాక్ష) is substituted for the pig.

Ragi crop is also subject to various diseases. The plant suddenly begins to dry up when the crop is about an inch high. The disease is styled *Kru Dūdara* (కరుదుదార) and the farmer makes pūja to a deity called *Dūdara* deity (దుదారదేవత). Small branches of *ankōli* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*) are stuck in the several parts of the field and a fowl or sheep is sacrificed.

A similar but less injurious disease attacks the crop when about three inches high and is called *Nārapāku Dūdara* (నాగుపాకుదుదార). The leaves wither and fall off, but the stems are unaffected. The farmer performs *Dūdara Dēcadu* as in the case of the other disease and also sprinkles the ashes of the potter's kiln on the field.

*Aggi-Dūdara* (అగ్గిదుదార) in Telugu and *Benkidūdara* (బెంకిదుదార) in kannada, is a more serious disease and injures crop considerably. The plants attacked wither away and do not survive. To prevent the spread of the disease, incense is burnt and a cocoanut is broken and its water sprinkled on the crop. When this disease is observed to occur after a drought, the raiyats take it as a sign of impending rain. Caterpillars (కంబ్బిಹುಳಿ) multiply very fast in fields attacked with this disease and eat up the pulses *Avare* and *Togari*, sown in the ragi fields. It is supposed to be a remedy to render pūja to these insects to ward off their attack. Two or three of them are caught, turmeric and *kunkuma* powders are put on them, and a cotton thread coloured with saffron is tied to each and after prayers to them not to molest the crop, they are taken to the village boundary and let off, probably with a benevolent wish that they may bestow their favours elsewhere.

*Kūlavyādhī* (ಕೂಲಾವ್ಯಾಧಿ) attacks the crop when it is ripe for being cut. Insects eat away the stocks just at the ear heads which consequently fall off. There is no known remedy for this pest.

If there is too much rain when the ears are coming out, they all rot and turn jet and no grain is formed in them. No remedy is known for this either.

*Arare* and *Togari* pulses which are sown in lines in a ragi field are allowed to stand after the ragi is harvested as they ripen about two months later. They are liable to be attacked by insects called *Sidi* (ಸಿಡಿ) which eat up the seeds in the pods. The remedy is to burn a quantity of bones heaped up in a place when wind is blowing so that the smoke may envelope the plants and poison the insects.

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#### Note 4.

#### CATTLE DISEASES.

The importance of cattle to the agricultural people of the country cannot be overestimated. Cattle diseases cause enormous loss to the rājyats; and their want of knowledge and inability to administer timely remedies when epidemics occur cripple their resources year by year. There are, however, certain empirics in most places, who in addition to superstitious practices, know some remedies which are often very efficacious. Sometimes the cures effected by the employment of simple herbs available at their very doors are said to be little short of miraculous. But it is difficult to make these men impart their knowledge to others, as they believe that if their secret is shared with others its efficacy would disappear.

The most serious of the recognised cattle diseases is known as *Dodda Rōga* or *Doddamma* (great disease) i. e., Rinderpest. It corresponds to cholera for men and carries off a large number of cattle. Ragi gruel is given to sustain the strength of the animal and the mouth and the nostrils from which there is a large flow of mucus are often washed. They also segregate affected animals from the healthy ones more or less completely. Pills made of the roots of the Jambu weed (*paincum interruptum*) and jaggery are administered.

The juice of the tender shoots of the creepers known as *Ugani-balli* (ಉಗನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿ) in Kannada, and *Tindra-balli*

in Telugu, a shrubby creeper (*cocculus cordifolius*), is given. Plantains of the variety known as *rusa-bile*, camphor and ghee mixed together are sometimes given as a medicine.

When the village is visited with this epidemic, the God of the village is worshipped. An image of Māramma is made and worshipped by the washerman in the village square. Then it is taken in state to the boundary and left there with its face towards the next village.

The disease of the eye (శబ్దజాడ్య) is also contagious and the infected animals are segregated. There is water flowing from the eyes and the animal becomes listless and gives up feeding and chewing the cud. It is not a common disease, but when it occurs it is not easy to get rid of it. The treatment resorted to is branding on the back about eighteen inches across in two places. The animal is also branded often under the tail, the neck and on the chest. The juice of the green leaves of the lemon (*citrus limonium* — టర్ర), gingelly oil, country arrack *asafoetida*, pepper, garlic and mustard are all ground together, and about a hornful of the mixture is given to the animal.

Inflammatory fever or black quarters, known as Chappé Jādya (శబ్దజాడ్య) is a contagious disease generally proving fatal from a few hours to two or three days. The animal ceases to feed and to ruminate; swellings may appear on any part of the body and the parts so affected are hot to the touch. There is practically no remedy known to the raiyat, except branding on the affected parts. Sometimes a mixture of plantain flowers (బావళాపన కుసుమే) cummin seed (జిరింగి) onions (నిరొక్క) and butter-milk (మజ్జిగ) ground together is given. The worship of a Goddess styled Chappalamma (శబ్దలక్ష్మి), Goddess of Chappé disease, is observed, sheep and goats being killed to propitiate the deity.

There are certain preventive measures adopted to protect the healthy cattle when an epidemic of this disease is threatened. They are branded with a red hot iron rod on the right shoulder and on the left thigh. Milk or juice of *calatropis gigantea* (ఎక్కడకాలు), *Géru* (గేరు semi *carpeus anacardium*), kernel of the castor seed (కరళూపొప్పు), *kāḍēkārā* (కాడేకార, a drug), a drug *Chitramūla* (చిత్రమూల) and *plumbago zeylanica* (నెలగొరిమిడి) are well ground together in the curds of a buffalo and mixed with castor oil. The paste is put on the thighs and the shoulders of the healthy animals. Slight blisters appear on these spots; and

it is believed that the animals suffer from a slight attack of the disease and then recover. This inoculation is said to render them immune from this particular disease.

The foot and mouth disease is known as ಕಾಲ ಜ್ವರ, ಬಾಯಿ ಜ್ವರ, ಗಾಳಿ ಸೆಬೆ, or ಗಾಳಿಯಮ್ಮ. It is a contagious disease but is not generally fatal. It spreads over large areas in the hot season and hampers agricultural operations seriously. Saliva flows from the mouth and ulcers are formed between the hoofs. The animal lifts and shakes the legs frequently ; if the sores are neglected, they breed maggots. The animal is fed on nutritious food such as conjee made of ragi flour. The feet and the mouth are washed twice every day, morning and evening, and sometimes the animal is made to stand in mire. If there are maggots, tar or camphor mixed with the oil of Pongamia glabra (ಹೊಣ್ಗೆ) or margosa seeds (ಬೇವಿನ ಎಣ್ಣೆ) is applied to the ulcers. Sometimes the feet and the mouth of healthy cattle are washed with water in which fish have been washed and the same water is sprinkled over the surface of the cattle yard.

The worship of the stone marking the boundary of the village site, known as *Goddu rāyī* (ಗొడ్డు రాయి) a barren-stone in Telugu, or *Kāru kallu* (ಕಾರುಕಲ್ಲು) in Kannada, is considered to be efficacious in warding off the disease. They first make vows to this deity, and all the inhabitants of the village join in the worship. One hundred and one pots of water are poured on it and saffron and *kunkuma* powders are applied and small branches of margosa leaves tied to it. Sheep and goats are killed near the stone and all the cattle in the village are made to walk through the mire and are brought near this stone, where the pūjārī sprinkles water over them and applies turmeric and *kunkuma* to their foreheads. This is believed not only to cure the disease already broken out but to prevent an impending outbreak. It is supposed to prevent the spread of the disease to the uninfected houses, if the inmates of the latter make an offering of food consisting of cooked rice, curds and milk mixed together with an onion (styled చల్లమిడ్ల in Telugu), at the spot where the cattle are tethered, and sacrifice a fowl and sprinkle the blood on the cattle.

Naradī or Sukhanaradī (ನರಡಿ, ಸುಖನರಡಿ Splenic Apoplexy) attacks cattle apparently in good health. If proper care is not taken soon, they succumb to the disease. The animal



ceases to feed or chew the cud. Labourled respiration, staggering gait, flow of saliva and mucus from the mouth are among the symptoms of the disease. The fæces and urine are coloured red with blood. The most popular remedy is branding on or about the region of the spleen. The internal medicines are dry chillies ground to fine powder and mixed with butter milk or the leaves of *wrightia tinctoria* or ivory wood (ಸುರಣಾಲೇಸೊಪ್ಪು), pepper and garlic ground together and mixed with butter-milk.

The symptoms of the disease known as Musara-jádyá (ముసర జాడ్యము in Telugu) are dullness, going off feed and twit-chings of the muscles. The most efficacious remedies are said to be the following. A quantity of the bark of the Muttaga tree (*Butea Frondosa*) is beaten into pulp and immersed in water, and about six seers of the infusion are given as a drink. The leaves of the plants *Añusòge*, *Adratada Vasica* (అడుసోగే), (అడ్డవరపాము in Telugu), tender leaves of *Nallardavili* (నల్లదావిలి), *Nélagoumid* (నేలగొండ్డి) and *Mucanelli* (ముకనెల్లి) and some garlic are ground into a paste and a powder of mustard, pepper, cloves, piper longum (పిప్పలి) వోడి (greater galangal) దుంపరాస్త్రీ and the leaves of *Azima tetracantha*, (బిಳిబిల్లియాల) is mixed with that paste. Pills of the size of a gooseberry are made of this and one or two administered for two or three days. This remedy is applied for many diseases, especially those which cannot be properly diagnosed. Sometimes as soon as this disease attacks the animal, forces of human beings are mixed in water and two or three hornfuls given to it.

Ubbasa-jádyá (అబ్బసజాడ్య) is brought on by exposure or by eating cooling substances. The disease proves fatal if it is not discovered in early stages and treated. The second remedy noted for the previous disease is also used for this disease. As an alternative the water in which washerman boils clothes with fuller's earth is given to the animal.

Domme Jádyá (దొమ్మే జాడ్య Pleuro pneumonia) is also known as Sogadommu (సోగాదొమ్మ) or Sukhadommu (సుఖదొమ్మ) in Telugu. It is a dangerous malady unless attended to in the early stages, but it is said not to be contagious. It is believed to arise from the abnormal swelling of something near the spleen (which they call ఐహగదొమ్మ) which finally chokes up the passage in the throat. The lungs get affected

and the animal coughs, and ceases to feed and ruminate. The remedies used are the oil or the juice of the bark of *Honge* (ಹೊಂಗಿ *Pongamia glabra*), or the juice of the leaves of *Addasarapaku* (ಅಡ್ಡಸರಪಾಕು) and *Muranelli* (ಮುರನೇಲಿ) crushed together, and mixed with the oil of *Pongamia*, one or two hornfuls given internally, and branding on the body.

Dysentery, variously known as *Rakta kattu*, *Rakta bhédi* or *Katturôga* (ರಕ್ತ ಕಟ್ಟು, ರಕ್ತ ಭೇದಿ, ಕಟ್ಟುರೋಗ) is generally preceded by simple diarrhoea which is brought on by the cattle grazing on immature green fodder after the rains. The medicines used are pumpkin and rice boiled together; or the cellular sponge-like substances found in the ant hills (ಹುತ್ತದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದವ ಕೂಗು) mixed and ground together in water; or the juice of the leaves of a creeper called *si-tonde* one hornful, followed by another hornful of milk with fine powder of hæmatite known as *kîvi* stone (ಕಾವಿ ಕಲ್ಲು).

Simple catarrh is known as *Kundu*, *Sela*, *Padisemu* or *Negadi* (కుండు, శలా, పడిసెము, నేగడి) and the symptoms are cough and thirst. Its cure is generally left to nature. The remedies sometimes used are ruboiled milk, assafoetida, the ear heads of the grass out of which broom sticks are made, and mustard ground together; or the juice of the leaves of a small herb styled బడ్డాప in Telugu, mixed with goat's milk and assafoetida and given three days; or branding. Two women of the same name throw ashes on the back of the affected animal by means of a winnow. This is popularly known as *Kundu kîruvendu* (కుందు కీరువుదు).

When this disease occurs in an aggravated form it is said to turn into *Sale* (రలే). The animal is branded in addition to being given the above medicines.

Choking (ಎದುರು ಕುತ್ತಿಗೆ in Kannada and అంగటి గాళ్ళం in Telugu) may sometimes happen by the sticking of a foreign substance in the throat, which the animal makes a constant effort to bring out by coughing. The obstructing substance can, often, be felt by passing the hand gently on the animal's neck. It is removed mechanically either with the hand by a dexterous person or by inserting a cap of the citron fruit with a cord attached beyond the obstructing substance and dragging it out. Ragi conjee is then given and the part fomented with tamarind leaves and heated salt to soothe the irritation. If there is any wound, the blood of a cock is first given to the animal and a hornful of the mixture made of the juice of radish (మూలంగి) and lard (ಹಂದಿ ತುಪ್ಪ) is given as a drink.

When the glands in the throat or the epiglottis swell, the air-passage may be choked and the animal die of suffocation. This disease is known as Gudlupenjari (గుడ్డు పెంజరి) in Telugu. There are experts who break the swelling mechanically; and the animal is fed on ragi conjee and other soothing and nourishing food till the sore is healed.

The disease known as Námu (నామ) is caused by the animal eating the tender shoots of Jōla (great millet, *sorghum vulgare*) grass grown on the stubble left after a harvest. It is said to be due to an insect known popularly as Námu hūla (నామూహుళ); it is perhaps due to some poisonous acid (Hydrocyanic?) which is found in this grass. The animal shivers, does not eat or ruminate and falls on the ground beating the legs violently. The juice of the leaves of the wild castor plant (దుబ్బరళు Jatropha curcas) one or two hornfuls, are given mixed with water. This medicine is commonly known and is very effective.

Urta Jádya (అర్తజాద్య) attacks calves, when all the hair on the skin falls off. As a remedy one of the teeth of the calf known as *Gajjihallu* or 'Itchy' tooth, is pulled out and the calf gets all right. It is believed that this occurs when any salt is mixed with butter-milk of the calf's dam before the calf begins to chew the grass.

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## APPENDIX B.

*List of Exogamous divisions.*

- Achyuta (ಅಚ್ಯುತ) — People of this division do not cultivate saffron.
- Alada (ಅಲದ) — Banyan tree.
- Ané (ಅನೆ) — Elephant.
- Ardharané (ಅರ್ಧರಾಣಿ).
- 5 Bāchi (ಬಾಚಿ) — A kind of tree.
- Bādalu (ಬಾದಲು) — A kind of grass.
- Bāle (ಬಾಳೆ) — Plantain.
- Bangi (ಬಂಗಿ) — Ganja.
- Bélada (ಬೇಲದ) — Woodapple tree.
- 10 Belli (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ) — Silver.
- Billāṇḍla (ಬಿಲ್ಲಾಂಡ್ಲ) — A kind of tree.
- Bollikóḍi (ಬೊಲಿಕೊಡಿ) — A bird, found in hedges, of black colour with white face.
- Búsi (ಬುಸಿ) —
- Chalindala (ಚಲಿಂದಲ) — A cistern for water erected in the roads for the use of travellers.
- 15 Chanchali (ಚಂಚಲಿ) — A kitchen herb.
- Chikkandu (ಚಿಕ್ಕಂದ) — A vegetable plant.
- Dáḷimbe (ದಾಳಿಂಬೆ) — Pomegranate.
- Dévagannéru (ದೇವಗನ್ನೇರು) — A kind of flower bearing tree.
- Gejje (ಗೆಜ್ಜೆ) — Small bells.
- 20 Géndára (ಗೆಂಡಾರ) — A kind of fish.
- Ginnu (ಗಿಣ್ಣು) — Milk of a buffalo or a cow which has lately calved.
- Gókérḷa (ಗೋಕೇರ) —
- Gókula (ಗೋಕುಲ) —
- Gongadi (ಗೊಂಗಡಿ) — A blanket turned into a cloak.
- 25 Góranṭi (ಗೋರಂಟಿ) — Barlaria,

- Guliganji (ಗುಲಗಂಜಿ)—The wild liquorice.  
 Hālu (ಹಾಲು)—A herb.  
 Heggana (ಹೆಗ್ಗಣ)—A bandicoot.  
 Hippé (ಹಿಪ್ಪೆ)—A tree *Basia latifolia*.  
 30 Hutta (ಹುತ್ತ)—Anthill.  
 Ichalu (ಈಚಲು)—Date tree.  
 Irisēdu (ಇರಿಸೆಡ್ಲು)—A wooden spoon.  
 Kabbādi (ಕಬ್ಬಾಡಿ)—  
 Kaḍaba (ಕಡಬ)—A species of deer.  
 35 Kaggali (ಕಗ್ಗಲಿ)—A tree.  
 Kalindala (ಕಲಿಂದಲ)—They do not eat milk hedge plant.  
 Kalivi (ಕಲಿವಿ)—A kind of tree.  
 Kanne (ಕನ್ನೆ)—A kitchen herb.  
 Kānaga (ಕಾನಗ) —*Pongamia Glabra*.  
 40 Kappu (ಕಪ್ಪು) —Flesh of animals.  
 Kāre (ಕಾರೆ)—A thorny jungle plant.  
 Khachōra (ಖಚೋರ)—A kind of shrub bearing sweet scented  
 fruits used with sandal paste.  
 Kode (ಕೊಡೆ)—Umbrella.  
 Kolaga (ಕೊಳಗ)—An Indian measure.  
 45 Kommé (ಕೊಮ್ಮೆ)—A herb.  
 Kondada (ಕೊಂಡದ)—  
 Kunchi (ಕುಂಚಿ)—A hooded cloak.  
 Kurandara (ಕುರಂದರ)—  
 Kúratōré (ಕೂರತೋರೆ)—A milky thorny plant.  
 50 Kúrige (ಕೂರಿಗೆ)—A seed drill.  
 Mallige (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ)—A Jasmin flower.  
 Mandi (ಮಂಡಿ)—  
 Mañēdra (ಮಣೇಂದ್ರ)—  
 Mandalige (ಮಂಡಲಿಗೆ)—They do not use mats.  
 55 Masi (ಮಸಿ)—  
 Māvu (ಮಾವು)—Mango.  
 Mékala (ಮೆಕ್ಕಲ)—Goat.  
 Mudre (ಮುದ್ರೆ)—A seal.  
 Muddarāṇi (ಮುದ್ದರಾಣಿ)—Kitchen herb.  
 60 Mungili (ಮುಂಗಿಲಿ)—Mongoose.

- Muttaga (ಮುತ್ತಗ)—Bastard teak.  
 Nakkalu (ನಕ್ಕಲು)—Jackal.  
 Nelli (ನೆಲ್ಲಿ)—The emblic myroba jam.  
 Néralē (ನೇರಲೆ)—Jaunbalana.
- 65 Nili (ನಿಲಿ)—Indigo—They do not keep black bullocks and their women do not wear black bangles or black sadis.  
 Niṭṭuva (ನಿಟ್ಟುವ)—They do not use stone posts for houses.  
 Nuggi (ನುಗ್ಗಿ)—Horse radish.  
 Nūnabudagi (ನೂನಬುಡಗಿ)—A vegetable drug.  
 Ottu (ಒಟ್ಟು)—They do not eat on plates of dry leaves.
- 70 Pachchakōḍi (ಪಚ್ಚಕೋಡಿ)—  
 Punagu (ಪುನಗು)—Civet.  
 Sāmantige (ಸಾಮಂತಿಗೆ)—Chrysanthimum.  
 Saṇpige (ಸಂಪಿಗೆ)—Champakā tree.  
 Saṅkha (ಸಂಖ)—Conch shell.
- 75 Sāsuvē (ಸಾಸುವೆ)—Mustard.  
 Sōṇṭhi (ಸೊಂಠಿ)—Ginger.  
 Tātārlu (ತಾತಾರ್ಲು)—  
 Tengina (ತೆಂಗಿನ)—Coconut.  
 Tyābali (ತ್ಯಾಬಲಿ)—Tortoise.
- 80 Tummalā (ತುಮ್ಮಲ)—A kind of tree.  
 Turubu (ತುರುಬು)—They do not tie their hair in a knot.  
 Udārlu (ಉದಾರ್ಲು)—Seeds of weed, a kind of grass largely grown in paddy fields.  
 Uḍama (ಉಡಮಾ)—Big lizard.  
 Uttarēni (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ)—A common weed (*Achyranthis aspera*).
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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XVI**  
**SANYASI CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

♦

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## S A N Y Á S I S.

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Sanyásis form a caste of itinerant mendicants of the Saiva order known generally as Sanyásis and are found thinly spread in the districts of Kolar, Hassan and Mysore. Name of the caste.

The only resemblance they have to Brahman Sanyásis is wearing orange coloured clothes, and living by begging to which they are initiated by a Lingayet priest. They are known as Jangama Kápuḷu. Sometimes they are identified with Suduḡaḍu Siddas in Hassan and Mysore as being like them the devotees of Siva, the lord of the burial ground. They are hereditary claimants of *Nelabáḡa*, the fees of the burial ground, though a Kulavadi generally receives the amount, a portion of the collections being given over to them whenever a claim is made. In contradistinction from Lingayet Jangams they call themselves as Ghantṭi Jangams as they carry a bell with them to announce their arrival at a new place for alms.

Their home language is Telugu though they have picked up Kannada, the language of their adopted country.

They believe they are the descendants of the Jangams (the Lingayet priests) who had taken a vow of celibacy and mendicancy, but unable to observe them, lived with Telugu Kápu or Gangadikár women. In accordance with this reputed origin, their status is much lower than that of the Lingayet Jangams. Origin of the caste

Telugu and Kannada Sanyásis, Suduḡaḍu Siddas, Honmúru Bábaiya Jangams and Púsalu or Sunchalu Jangams form their chief endogamous divisions. They generally do not go out of their division for brides but Telugu Sanyásis seem to have no objection to intermarry with Kannada Sanyásis. Honnur Babaiya Jangamalu remain entirely separate either for marriage alliances or partaking of food, as their religious beliefs are tinged with traces of Mohammadanism. Endogamous Divisions

Exogamous Divisions are found in the appendix arranged according as they are related as consanguinous Exogamous Divisions

brothers or marriageable relations with each other. The names of these divisions are traced to their original territory situated in the Telugu country.

**Personal names** Personal names are selected from those of their tutelary deities. Names as Pótla, (buffalo or a male animal) and Tippa (manure heap) are sometimes used; but such names are only rarely given.

**General rules of marriage** A girl may be married before she attains puberty but it is more common to celebrate the marriage later. Very often, the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house until he becomes a father of two or three children before he settles elsewhere. There is no harm if a woman remains unmarried, but generally all women are married within five or six years of their attaining the age of womanhood. Males are generally married after they are twenty years of age.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated except to the extent that a woman who is seduced by a man of the same caste may become his *Kútige* wife. He has to pay a fine of seven rupees to the caste. If he is already married and does not wish to encumber himself further, he will have to recompense her by paying some money and a few *pallas* of ragi that she may maintain herself till she can find some one, to give her the status of a *Kútige* wife. Children of such unions are married to such as stand in a similar position.

**Marriage relations** An elder sister's daughter is preferred to any other to be taken in marriage, and a paternal aunt's and maternal uncle's daughter comes next. There is no objection to marrying two sisters at the same time or successively; or in two families exchanging daughters. The recognised profession of the caste being mendicancy, some who live by selling beads such as Sanchalu Jangamalu or Púsalu Jangamalu are considered inferior, and others do not as a rule intermarry with them.

**Ceremonies observed at a woman's puberty** On the day a girl attains her age, she is kept outside the house in a shed of green leaves of Tangadi (*Sorata*) which is put up by her father or husband and if she is not married, by an intended husband. Two or three girls keep her company and amuse her with *Nalugu*, which is to smear her body and face with turmeric powder and adorn her head with wreaths of flowers. During this period she is given rich food consisting of sesamum, jaggory, dhall and plantains. After her meal she is anointed with ghee and bathed. On

the morning of the third day, the shed or some portions of its materials are burnt at a distance, and the girl bathes before getting into the house. On the fifth and seventh day she again bathes and sprinkles over her head the urine of a cow to purify herself from pollution. She might henceforth touch the utensils in the house and enter the kitchen. In the two succeeding periods of monthly sickness, she similarly lives outside and drinks cow's urine after bathing but afterwards she has only to bathe after the occurrence of sickness.

Some months before the marriage, the bridegroom in the company of his parents or other elders visits the intended bride's house and presents betel-leaves, nuts and fruits. The match is formally settled and the period for which the intended son-in-law has to remain in his father-in-law's house is fixed. On the settlement of these matters, betel-leaves and nuts are distributed among the persons assembled and sometimes they are invited to dine at the bride's house. Marriage ceremonies

For performing the marriage, a Monday is deemed lucky. The services of an astrologer for finding the proper day are rarely sought for. The initial ceremony takes place on a Sunday and is styled the applying of saffron to the bridal pair (పొసపునెత్తేది). The girl after bathing dresses herself in a new suit of clothes and puts on new bangles and flowers. The bridegroom shaves his face, pares his nails, bathes and puts on toe-rings.

On Monday, a round pandal of twelve pillars is put up before the house of the bride and another before that of the bridegroom. Underneath the pandal in front of the bride's house, a milk post of *Kalli* wood is pitched and its top is decorated with the leaves of *Honge* or *Atti* tree. In the interior of each house they instal three stones or a Kalasa to represent their tutelary deity which is either, Gurumûrti or Chokkamma Dévaru over a bed of rice spread on a plank. In front of the deity they burn a light fed with ghee, and spread an *Ede* consisting of boiled rice and curds over a plantain leaf. For the purposes of other marriage ceremonies they consecrate another Kalasa to be portable. The bride's father or her brother and in the absence of both, the bridegroom, offers *pûja* to the deity by placing over it flowers and sandal paste and burning incense. A he-goat is sacrificed in the bridegroom's house and a she-goat in that of the bride. If the diety worshipped happens to be Chokkamma, the slaughtered



animal is concealed behind a screen. The flesh of both the victims is mixed and served to the bridal party. At the end of the feast, the bride and the bridegroom are treated with Nalagu.

On the following day in the morning, *tambúlas* are distributed to the marriage guests, in order of precedence. In the afternoon, a potter is made to sit exhibiting his pots under a tree and two men are employed in decorating them with lines of chumam. Two *Nèralè* twigs are planted in two pits near the place. A party of married women and men going in procession, buy his pots after presenting him with a *tambúla* and provisions including oil and soup-nut for a bath. They also bear the washermen's charge for washing his clothes that day. The *Nèralè* twigs are pulled out by the women and carried with them to tie up to the milk post by way of decoration. In the meanwhile the bridegroom has paid twelve rupees as *tera* (bride price) to the bride's father and given presents to the bride of a white *Sire* and some quantity of pepper, garlic and spices.

In front of the Milk Post, five plantain leaves are spread in each of two rows, and some sweet cakes are placed on them. These offerings are meant for Rudra and Virabhadra. One of the elderly men of the caste ties a *Linga* on the arm of the bridegroom and one on that of the bride. He answers for Rudra and another acting for the deity Virabhadra, both blow on conch shells and ring bells and then eat up the cakes on the leaves.

In the course of the night, *Arivèni* or the sacred pot brought from the place where the potter had exhibited his wares in the afternoon are installed over a bed of manure spread opposite to the tutelary deity Gurumúrti or the Milk Post. Lamps fed with castor oil are lit in saucers placed over these pots.

On Wednesday morning, the nails of the bridal pair are pared by a barber and after their bath Nalagu is performed. The bride and the bridegroom dress themselves at their best and after tying chaplets to the head of each other, enter the marriage booth. Then the parties go in separate processions to an appointed spot, where a washerman spreads a cloth for the whole party to sit on. As they meet, a screen separates the bride and bridegroom, but they tie the *kankana* to each other putting forth their hands over the screen. The bride pushes her foot below the screen, and stepping over it, the bridegroom ties the *lālī* round her neck, after obtaining

the formal consent of the assembly. The couple then pour rice over each other's head. Then the elders of the caste knot together their fingers and tie the ends of their clothes and the married couple prostrate themselves before the assembly and receive their blessings. This part constitutes the *dhàré* or the essential part of the marriage.

Dinner is served to the whole party assembled for the *dhàré*, when the new bridal pair do *pūja* to the *aricēni*. After this the *Simhāsana pūja* is performed, for which a quantity of betel-leaves and nuts are heaped over a blanket and incense burnt before it, conch shell and bell being sounded. The bridegroom repeats the various names of Siva and presents the first *tāmbūla* to the priest. Then the Kulam-Pedda (the head of the caste) Gaḍḍigāḍu (*pūjari*) and Buddhivanta (wise man) each in order receive their share. Then the various functionaries of the village and the other persons present are given *tāmbūla* in order.

In the evening, the bridegroom with his bride worship an anthill and carrying some of its earth, raise an altar with it round the milk post and place a quantity of cooked rice over it, and before each of the pillars of the pandal. *Nalugu* is again performed at this altar. With a toy plough, the bridegroom ploughs the soil round the milk post while the bride throws seeds into the furrows, as her brother goads his new brother-in-law with a stick.

Music and dances are eschewed in their marriages.

The expenses of marriage generally amount to about thirty-five rupees of which twelve is the *tera* or bride price, four or five rupees the price of small ornaments, and a similar amount, of cloths, the remainder being used for food and drink.

Polygamy is rare and polyandry unknown.

Marriage of widows in *Kūtike* form is permitted. A Widow may not marry any of her husband's *gnātis* and has also to avoid those of her father's sept. The essential portion of the ceremony is for the husband to tie a string of *ruirākshi* beads round her neck in the presence of the elders of the caste. Such a woman cannot take part in ceremonial functions, and she loses all claim over the property and the children left by her deceased husband. Marriage.

Either party may obtain a divorce after paying some fine to the caste, and a divorced woman may apparently marry another man in *kūtike* form. If the wife is guilty of adultery, her paramour has to pay the husband all his Divorce.

marriage expenses and the cost of her jewels, together with a fine of seven rupees to the caste and half the amount of *tera* to her father. If a wife is divorced without her fault, she does not lose her right to maintenance, as she would for adultery. Adultery involves loss of caste. If the husband condones the offence, he has to pay a fine of seven rupees, in addition to two rupees for keeping the woman in caste. Sometimes, the seducer is also made to pay a fine of seven rupees.

Death  
Cere-  
monies

At the approach of death, the patient is generally removed to a verandah or other sheltered spot outside the house. Some water in which gold or the leaves of the sacred Tulasi plant are washed is poured into his mouth. The legs are crossed before *rigor mortis* sets in. The body is washed with warm water and smeared over with ashes, and wrapped in new cloth. A string of beads is placed round the neck, and pounded betel-leaves and nut stuffed in the mouth, the body placed in an upright position on a bier of *Kalli* wood. The corpse of an unmarried person is carried to the graveyard slung on a single bamboo stick. Flowers are placed over the body, incense is burnt before it and some cooked rice kept at the corners of the bier before it is carried to the last resting place. The chief mourner goes in front of the body with a pot in which cooked rice is taken, and the procession goes along with conches blowing and bells ringing. Four persons carry the body and rest it half way on the ground, when rice is again served at the four corners of the bier. The body is stripped of all clothing and buried with its head towards the south. Some balls of *vibhûti* are placed along with it, and the son and the wife of the deceased throw in the first clods of earth to fill the grave. A stone about two feet high is planted over the grave, and rice and water are placed over it for the use of the departed spirit. The mourners all return to the house, in which at the place where the deceased breathed his last, a lamp is kept burning and some food and water placed. They prostrate themselves before the lamp, and repair to the nearest tavern to have a carouse for the peace of the departed soul, which they euphemistically style "touching the Gangamma."

On the third day the house is cleaned and white-washed. Some rice boiled with the flesh of a fowl, and pulses and greens is placed over the grave, to be eaten up by crows, in which the spirit of the deceased is supposed to have taken its temporary abode. The carriers

get rid of their taint of contamination by bathing on the third day and drinking some cow's urine. The relatives of the principal mourner have to visit him before the twelfth day; otherwise they should meet only after exchanging cups and betel-leaves in a tavern.

The *sátuka* is got rid of on the twelfth day, when the old cooking pots are thrown away and replaced by new ones. They prepare their food that day under a new pandal with new earthen pots, and they are allowed to eat flesh of a goat or sheep for the first time after mourning. The deceased man's son goes with the *pújári* and drowns an earthen image of a bull in water. This ceremony, called *jaládi* (జలాది), is said to enable the spirit to live in water in the form of a bull till in its good time, it is called up to heaven. The widow removes her bangles and *táli*; and if a man has become a widower, he removes his toe-rings on the twelfth day. The *pújári* is then presented with flowers and a *dukshina* of 4 pies by each of the party who prostrate themselves at his feet, and have their foreheads touched with *vibhúti* by him. They all return after bathing in water, and the chief mourner is given some gruel to drink. This is styled milk drinking (పాలుతాపిచ్చేది). They have a look at the lamp at the place of death once again, and repair to the tavern to finish the mourning with drink.

The last part of the funeral rites consists of enrolling the departed soul among the ancestors (కర్మలొకచేరిచేడి). An image of a bull (cow), and a receptacle for oil are made of rice flour by the *Pújári*. The latter is lighted with a wick and the lamp and the bull are placed on a sieve made of a few twigs. After offering *púja* these things are lifted towards the sky, and the *Pújári* and the mourners all repeat the formula "Go to Kailásá holding on to the tail of the cow (ఆహుత్యం పట్టుకొని కైలాసానికిపో)".

They perform no yearly *Sraddhas*, but sometimes place offerings of new cloths, fruits and flowers on the grave on some festive days.

No special ceremonies are prescribed for those who die a violent death.

Ragi is their staple food, and rice is used occasionally as a luxury. They eschew the meat of uncloven footed animals, and of crocodiles, lizards and other vermin. The flesh of sheep, goat, wild cat, mungoose, rabbit, squirrels, fish and deer may be eaten. Of course they do not touch what remains after use by other people. They do not

Food.

believe they would become socially higher if they abstain from flesh or any other kind of food.

Social  
status.

They eat food cooked with water from the hands of Okkaligas, Kurubas, Gollas, Bédas, Banjigas and Modaliars; but they consider Vaddas, Rôyees, Mondaru, Hajams, Agasas and Korachas as beneath them. Dásaris eat the food given by Sanyásis. Modaliars are said to regard this caste with special regard and to feed them in their houses often.

In respect of going to temples, touching wells and getting services of barbers and washermen, they are not different from the higher classes of *non-dvijas*.

Inherit-  
ance.

They follow the ordinary law of inheritance, *Illátam* is not in vogue among them. A widow wishing to remarry has to return all the jewels and other property received from her deceased husband to his family. It is said that in default of heirs, the property of a Sanyási goes to his castemen or to Parvata Simhásana Maṭha.

Caste con-  
stitution.

They have a caste constitution consisting of a Guru, a Kulampedda (ಕೂಲಂಪೆಡ್ಡ-*caste head*), a Guḍigāḍu or Pújári and Buddhivanta or a wise man. These form a Pañcháyat and decide all caste disputes. The Kulampedda who is the head of the caste wields extensive executive powers and regulates the period of begging tours and levies fines on any persons who disobey his injunctions. For thefts and other misdemeanours these are punished severely by their own caste headman and Sanyásis, as a class, are free from any criminal tendencies.

Religion.

Though they worship the idols of Venkataramana, Akkamma Dévaru and Gangamma and others of this class, they are by preference devotees of Siva in his various forms of Veerabhadra, Rudra and Bhairava. To them Siva's Nandi or Bull is sacred and like Lingáyat priests they wear ashes on their body, tie a wreath of rūdrākshi (the berry of the tree *Elaescarpus ganitrus*) beads to their neck, dress themselves in kávi or ochre coloured cloth and carry a cane and a bell in the hand and with a begging pouch slung under their arms. They are not however Lingáyats and do not wear the *linga*, but are only disciples of Lingáyat maṭhas, of which it is said that there are seventy-two.\*

\* The principal of them are :—

Srisailla or Sivagiri	Gāḷisiddappa Maṭha	Kaveekantappa Maṭha <sup>a</sup>
Simhasana Maṭha	Nirvāṇaswāmi Maṭha	Karike Basappa Maṭha <sup>a</sup>
Niḍumāmudi Maṭha of	Mullayyanavara Maṭha	Babubudangire Maṭha <sup>a</sup>
Gulur	Sitappa Maṭha	Kurave Kallaijayya
Ialaraswāmi Maṭha	Sivagangappa Maṭha	and Manappa Maṭha

Before the Sanyási enters on his begging profession, he undergoes an initiation ceremony under his Lingáyat Guru who invests him with the insignia of a mendicant, viz., *jòliqè* (bag) beads, ochre coloured cloth, ashes, a conch, a bell, a gourd, a cane and twisted hair. The disciple in return has to pay some contribution of money annually to his Guru.

Once a year, they worship Akkamma a Goddess of topes. The *pújári* is generally a Koracha, and the devotees take offerings of fried Bengal gram, fried rice, pulses and cocoanuts. The *pújári* burns camphor and incense and returns the eatables as *prasàda*. Sometimes a sheep or a goat is killed, and women carry an offering of *tambattu*, sweet rice flour. They call this *púja*, పట్టికేపిచ్చేసి.

Ganganamma is a common village goddess to which all the castes including the Sanyásis show their reverence by attending its annual *játra*.

The yearly festival of Sivarátri is observed with peculiar reverence. The house is cleaned, all the members bathe, and besmear themselves with ashes. In the evening, they keep an image of a bull and their conch and bell on a plank and worship them with flowers, incense and offerings of fruit and unboiled cow gram. In their ecstasy they cry aloud and repeat the name of Siva turning towards the skies and blowing conch and ringing bells. During the night they keep a vigil sitting round a blazing fire and narrating stories of their wanderings. The next morning they have a rich breakfast to make up for the previous day's abstinence.

They consider all rivers as sacred and bathe in them whenever they get a chance.

When they purchase a new cloth they first dedicate it to an anthill, the supposed abode of serpents, before using it.

They believe in omens, oracles, and magic and sorcery. They often wear charms (Yantra) against attacks of evil spirits.

These believe that they have been living all along by Occupation mendicancy and that they are not permitted to practise any manual occupation. Even carrying earth or fuel for hire is considered an offence against the caste, and is punished with the fine of a *hana*, (4 As. 8p.). Few possess any lands and they never cultivate them personally. They are mostly illiterate, and such as know anything spend their

time in singing praises of Vira-bhiksha or of Naranappa Swami, the latter a jōgi who had gathered a number of followers and built an asylum for them at Kaivara in the Chintamani Taluk.

They seem to have had some connection with the watch and ward of cremation grounds, and it is said by them that one Vīrabāhu the ancestor of Kulavāis, succeeded in ousting them and usurping the office. The latter however recognise their more ancient right by giving them a share of the fees collected.

In their begging rounds, they sometimes perform feats of magic and jugglery, and they practice divination by professing to read the incidents of Ramayana and Bharata from a palm leaf book. They occasionally sell drugs of some medicinal virtue for stomach-ache, head-ache, jaundice, and scorpion bite.

#### Habits

As a class they are indolent and intemperate. They smoke ganja and drink liquor. Begging being their profession, they lead a wandering life and make their rounds principally in the *maidan* tracts. Their chief seats in the State are Chintamani, Srinivasapur, Mulbagal, Kolar, Malur, Chikballapur and Goribidnur and parts of Hassan. They do not move with bag and baggage and building materials as the Voddas and Korachas. They leave their women at home and before starting, consult among themselves as to the direction and probable period of each man's wanderings so that his whereabouts may be easily learnt. Each one is at liberty to change the direction of his tour or the country of his peregrinations but cannot prolong the period of his return unless detained by sickness or other good grounds. If he fails to appear within the period otherwise, he is tried by his Kulapedda and the Panchayat and is mulcted in a fine payable to the caste.

When pressed by necessity, their women may also go out for begging, but if they should stay away from home in the night without the company of another woman, they are liable to be outcasted.

Their houses resemble the temporary sheds ordinarily built by the raiyat class when they camp out during plague time. The sheds are generally built on waste lands, thatched either with straw or sugar-cane grass.

#### Dress

The men dress themselves in ochre coloured long coat and tie a waist cloth. They should not shave off their mustachios or the hair of the head. They do not dress

their hair but twist it into a rope by applying the milk of *Góni* or other fig tree or some gum. They wear a silver armlet and a brass ear-ring. Their women wear silver and glass bangles, nose ring (ಪುಕ್ಕ-ಞ) and a coil of palm leaf in their ear-lobes. They have a string of glass beads round their neck. There is no noticeable difference in appearance between their women and those of the other beggar classes.

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## APPENDIX.

## Exogamous Divisions.

Marriageable relations. Agnatic relations.

## 1. Māsivāndlu

మాసివాండలు

Seelingam

శీలింగం

Tirupati

తిరుపతి

Bandithiguru

బండితిగరు

Tripurataka.

(టీపురాటక.

Yeerlapalli.

యీర్లపల్లి.

Pálanki.

పాలంకి.

## 2. Tirupati

తిరుపతి

Kāvati

కావటి

Gantāvalḷu

గంటావాళ్ళు

Tirupātākam

తిరుపాటకం

Yeerlapalli

యీర్లపల్లి

Pálanki

పాలంకి

Jātāgatti

జాటగట్టి

Kandakúru

కందకూరు

Bandithiguru.

బండితిగరు.

Seelingam.

శీలింగం.

Veebhúti.

వీభూతి.

## 3. Vibhúti

వీభూతి

Māsivādu

మాసివాడు

Jātāgatti

జాటగట్టి

Tirupātāka

తిరుపాటక

Yeerlapalli

యీర్లపల్లి

Pálanki

పాలంకి

Gautāvalḷu

గంటావాళ్ళు

Tirupati.

తిరుపతి.

Seelingam.

శీలింగం.

Bandithiguru.

బండితిగరు.

Kāvati,

కావటి.

Kandakúru.

కందకూరు.

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXIV.**

**KUMBĀRAS CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## KUMBÁRAS.

Kumbáras are makers of earthen pots and tiles, and form an important section of a village community. They numbered, according to the Census of 1901, 43,418, of whom 22,839 were males. The largest number of them is found in the Mysore District, the rest being scattered in the remaining districts. Owing to the reluctance of the Siváchár section among them to return themselves as Kumbáras, it is likely that their number, according to the Census, is below the mark. General.

The caste is commonly known as Kumbáras (ಕುಂಬಾರರು). Name. One section describe themselves as belonging to the family of Gundā Brahma (ಗುಂಡಬ್ರಹ್ಮವಂಶದವರು) or Gundābhaktaru (ಗುಂಡಾಭಕ್ತರು), while another section say they are the descendants of Sáliváhana (ಶಾಲೀವಾಹನವಂಶದವರು), the reputed originator of the Era of that name. Those that have embraced Lingáyatism are gradually disowning the name of Kumbáras, and when pressed for an answer, say that they are Lingáyats who have adopted the profession of pot-making. Kumbáras have no other names. The proper honorific suffix of their name is *Seṭṭi*; but ordinarily men add *Appa*, *Ayya* or *Anna* and women *Amma* or *Akka* to their names. Kumbára is from Sanskrit Kumbhakára, maker of pots, and the other names mentioned refer to their supposed descent from persons bearing those names.

The progenitor of the caste is said to have been one Gundayya, also styled Gundābrahma. He is believed to have sprung from Gundā or the fireplace in which the three gods of the Triad together offered sacrifice. He was appointed to make pots for the use of earthly beings. The section who style themselves as Sáliváhanas separated from the main body in course of time. They trace their origin from Sáliváhana, said to have been begotten by a Brahman on a damsel of the potter caste. A learned Brahman, while away from home, discovered that offspring impregnated at a particular moment would become a mighty king, and was hastening back to meet his wife. When he arrived at the bank of the Krishna, a storm Origin.

overtook him and he was obliged to seek shelter in the house of a potter. The lucky hour was fast approaching, and the Brahman became more and more impatient. The potter, on learning what it was that was troubling the Brahman, begged him to allow his daughter to share the luck of the auspicious moment and Sáliváhana was the fruit of the union.

The boy was left with his mother in the potter's house and was duly instructed in the trade. As he grew up, however, he showed an inclination to neglect his proper work and took a delight in manufacturing toy soldiers, horses and implements of war. He stored them all carefully in a room, though his grandfather would have been glad if the boy would devote his time to the more useful work of making pots. The king of the country, who had a bad reputation as an oppressor of the poor, sent his messengers to extort money ; and when they reached the old potter's house, Sáliváhana jeered at them and drove them away with whips. The complaint reached the king who naturally got angry and ordered a small company of men to raze the potter's house to the ground and to drag the presumptuous boy to his presence. The young man in the meanwhile had opened the door of his magazine and sprinkled holy water on the toys that he had stored there. The men and animals came to life and a fully equipped army was ready at his service. The king's men were cut to pieces and later on the whole army was utterly routed and the king himself slain. Sáliváhana seized the throne and ruled the country very successfully.

#### Divisions.

There are three main divisions among the Kumbáras : Telugu Kumbáras (ತೆಲುಗು ಕುಂಬಾರರು), otherwise known as Sajjana Kumbáras (ಸಜ್ಜನ ಕುಂಬಾರರು), Kannada Kumbáras (ಕನ್ನಡ ಕುಂಬಾರರು), and Lingáyat Kumbáras (ಲಿಂಗಾಯತ ಕುಂಬಾರರು). There are said to be two more divisions styled Kudipaítala (ಕುದಿಪಾಟಲ) and Tamil Kumbáras (ತಮಿಳುಕುಂಬಾರರು). The former is a division found in almost all the castes, the women whereof wear their garment (Síre) so as to allow its loose end to fall on the right shoulder, and the latter division is linguistic and applies only to the Tamil speaking section, of whom there are few in the State.\*

\* NOTE. Nílígáras, spoken of in the Census Report of 1901, were, it appears, a division of Kumbáras who were dyeing cloth with indigo colour. This section is scarcely found now in the State. It is also reported that some Kumbáras drew toddy and were hence called Idiga Kumbáras.

These divisions are not only endogamous but do not sometimes eat together. The third division who wear the Linga, are, for all practical purposes, considered as Lingáyats, following the rites and ceremonies peculiar to that sect and having a Jangama as their priest.

There is little doubt that the Lingáyat section are recent converts from the main body. Some, however, namely, the Sajjana section, state that they were all Lingáyats originally but lost rank by taking to drinking and flesh-eating. It is said that one of them who was possessed of extraordinary powers was put out of caste for indulging himself in these forbidden practices. To revenge himself he sent plague and pestilence amongst them and would not relent till most of his castemen joined and partook of the forbidden food and drink. Only a few who had fled from their homes remained as Lingáyats.

Kannada Kumbáras have a large number of exogamous divisions, but many, especially those in the Mysore District, have forgotten them. The names, as usual, represent some material object, such as a plant or an animal, and the members of a division observe the usual prohibitions against eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing that division. The following are a few of them ;—Kastúri (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ musk) kula, Sámantigé (ಚಾಮಂತಿಗಿ crysanthemum) kula, Nágara (ನಾಗರ cobra) kula, Kendávare (ಕಂದಾವರೆ red lotus) kula, and Rávaḷa (ರಾವಳಿ drag) kula.

The Sajjana Kumbáras had, they say, one hundred and eight divisions formerly, but many of them having subsequently become Lingáyats, the number has been reduced to sixteen. Some of them bear the names of material objects to which they show the usual respect, while most of them bear territorial names.

The Lingáyat Kumbáras are also said to have similar exogamous divisions but those of them who live in towns give out, like other Lingáyats, five gótras named after Rénuka, Dáruka, Gajakarṇa, Ghantakarṇa and Visvakarṇa.

A woman is considered impure for ten days on giving birth to a child. During this period of pollution, the woman is confined in a room at the door of which are placed an old shoe and a crowbar to scare away the evil spirits. Old rags are received from the neighbours for the child's bed. On the eleventh day, the mother and the

Birth ceremonies.



child are bathed and the mother is given some stimulating drugs to keep warm. For the purification ceremony, the Kannaḍa Kumbáras invite a Brahman, while the others have their own priests. The child is named and put into a cradle in the evening. In some cases either an astrologer or a soothsayer is consulted as to the name.

Unlike the other Lingáyats, the Lingáyat Kumbáras observe birth pollution for ten days, but the ceremonies connected with the birth are the same as those among other Lingáyats. On the day of the birth of the child, a Jangama priest is called. His feet are washed and a drop of this water is put into the child's mouth. On the eleventh day, after the bath, a Linga is given to the child which the mother keeps with her till he is old enough to take charge of it.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. Mópúrappa may be taken as a name very commonly used among them. Opprobrious names are given, and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames such as Gidda (dwarf), Kariya (black), Kempa (red) are also common.

The confined woman becomes fully purified only at the end of the third month, when she offers Púja to Ganga at a well and visits a temple in the evening. The tonsure ceremony to the child takes place generally in the third year and in the case of Lingáyat Kumbáras, Diksha or the ceremony of initiation into the mysteries of the Lingáyat cult, takes place when the child is about ten years of age.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is allowed and practised when a man has no natural-born son alive. A brother's son or a boy belonging to the same division, is preferred; but if no such boy is available an outsider may be taken. A man may adopt his daughter's or sister's son, but cannot adopt his own brother. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes of a similar status.

#### Marriage.

Marriages may be infant or adult; but of late, owing to the influence of higher castes, such as Brahmans, infant marriage is becoming very popular among the well-to-do people and those living in towns. As already observed, they have both endogamous and exogamous divisions and there is nothing peculiar to the caste in the matter of prohibited relationships for marriages. Exchange of daughters is allowed but is not common. Polygamy is permitted and is practised only when the first wife either has no children or is afflicted with an incurable disease. But polyandry is unknown.

For settling the marriage, the bridegroom's party go to the girl's house announcing that they wish "to eat sweets." The Oppu Vilya, (ಒಪ್ಪು ವಿಲ್ಯ) or agreement by exchange of Tambúla, then takes place and some presents are given to the girl.

The marriage proper may take place either in the boy's or in the girl's house. The first day is devoted to the worship of their family god (god's feast) and to the propitiation of the deceased ancestors by the offerings of clothes and food, before a Kalasa installed in their name. On the evening of that day, a pandal is erected on twelve pillars, one of which, the milk-post, is brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle of either party and set up by married women. In the same night, Arivéñis (or sacred pots) are brought from another Kumbára's house.

Next day early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom get their nails pared and bathe in Maleniru. After presenting some bangles to married women, the girl is made to put on new bangles, and new clothes and ornaments. This is styled Banna Bangára Sástra (ಬನ್ನ ಬಂಗಾರಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) ceremony of clothing and ornamenting). The bridegroom, in the meanwhile, is dressed in new clothes and conducted to the temple. After a short stay there, when the clothes, jewels, turmeric and other articles are sent to the girl's house, he is taken to the marriage pandal by his parents-in-law, with a Bháshinga tied to the forehead, and a dagger in his hand. An Arati is waved before him at the entrance and then he goes and stands on the dais facing the west. The bride is brought there by her maternal uncle and made to stand opposite to him with a screen dividing the two.

Then the throwing of cummin seed and jaggory on each other's head at the appointed time, pouring of Dháre water, tying of the Táli and Kankaṇas and other items take place in the usual course as in other castes. After going round the "Milk-post" and worshipping the Arundhati star, the couple bow before the Arivéñi pots, get the Bháshingas removed by the maternal uncle and eat the common meal served in dishes before the Arivéñi pots.

Among the Sajjana Kumbáras, the Púja of their tribal deity Guṇḍa Brahma is held the next day. All bathe and put on Maḍi (washed) clothes. The image of the god is brought from their Kaṭṭémaṇe for the occasion and the

Púja is done by a man of the Dévara sub-division. After worship, the idol is taken in procession through all the Kumbára streets. On return to the house, the bridal pair make their offerings to the god. Then Tírtha and Prasáda are distributed to all.

The Nágavali takes place the next day, in which the chief events are the bringing of ant-hill earth, worshipping pandal posts and the worship of Sinhásana in the evening. The Sajjana Kumbáras are very punctilious in the matter of distribution of Tábúlas. For example, fourteen Tábúlas must be given for Gauḍa division, eight Tábúlas for each of Dévara and Chāndri divisions and six Tábúlas for Madanapu division. Tábúlas are also set apart on this occasion for other sections of Kumbáras. This night "Milk-post" is loosened and the next day the bride and the bridegroom, with some of their relatives, go to the bridegroom's village, and after a sojourn of a few days there, the bride returns to her father's house.

Some of them get a Brahman to regulate their ceremonies while others perform them under the direction of their own Gowḍa.

The bride price varies from twenty-five rupees to fifty rupees. A widower has not to pay anything more but, as a matter of fact, an additional jewel styled Savati Bangára (ಸವತಿಬಂಗಾರ co-wife's gold) is generally demanded.

If the girl has already come of age, the couple are generally allowed to live together from any subsequent auspicious day, without any further ceremony, but some observe the custom of having a separate ceremonial for it. In such a case, the ceremony begins on a Thursday and ends on a Saturday. It is the custom in some places to allow a period of three months to elapse between the marriage and the consummation ceremony.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, when she is made to live in a shed of green leaves. The usual precautions against the attacks of evil spirits are taken and an elderly woman sleeps with the girl during the nights. She bathes on the fourth day, but is not admitted into the inner part of the house till the sixteenth day has passed, when she is taken to a river and does Gangápúja. If the girl has been already married, the Osage ceremony takes place this day. In the case of unmarried girls, Osage is not observed now but is put off to some day before the ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence.

Widow marriage is generally allowed, but is not popular with some sections, especially that of Sajjana Kumbáras, though some of them seem anxious to reintroduce the practice. Widow marriage.

The remarried widow labours, as in other castes of a smiliar status, under such disadvantages as not entering the marriage pandal and her offspring forming a separate line at least for three generations. The bride-price is Rs. 12½. No regularly married woman takes part in the ceremonies and in some places they do not see the face of the remarried widow for three days.

Divorce is not popular, and takes place only among the more backward portion of the caste living in villages. The divorced woman may not marry a second time. If the divorce is brought about by the adultery of the woman with a man of the same caste, the latter has to pay the aggrieved husband his marriage expenses. Adultery with a man of the same caste may be condoned on payment of a small fine. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste may be married to him in the lower form of marriage styled Kúḍaváli (union). Divorce.

Except in the case of lepers or persons who meet with an unnatural death, by wild beasts or otherwise, the corpses of Kumbáras are buried. All carry the dead body in a lying posture, except the Lingáyats, who carry it in a sitting posture and bury it according to the ceremonies observed by other Lingáyats. Among the Sajjana Kumbáras persons carrying the corpse put on a Janivára (sacred thread) and also invest the dead body with one. These threads are removed and thrown into the grave while filling it up. If a widow survives, she is made to exchange Tumbúla with the dead body, as indicating a final farewell. After interment all go to a well or a river, bathe and return to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. Death ceremony.

The third and eleventh day ceremonies take place as in other castes, such as Okkaligas. They observe pollution for ten days for the nearest agnates, and three days for more distant ones. For the death of a daughter's son, they simply bathe over head to get rid of the pollution. They do not observe Sráddhas, but on the Mahálaya New-moon day, they offer rice doles and money to Brahmans to propitiate all the deceased ancestors.

Kumbáras worship both Siva and Vishṇu as well as the ordinary local deities. Even the Lingáyats among Religion.

them, reverence Vishnu and sometimes bear Vaishnava names. Their tribal god is known by the name of Kumbhésvara (god of pots) to whom the non-Lingáyat Kumbáras offer animal sacrifice. At Minakanagurki, in the Goribidnur Taluk, there is a temple dedicated to one Kondappa who had been an Avadhúta during his life-time. An annual Játra is held at this spot and they generally take advantage of the occasion to settle their caste disputes.

They worship also the implements of their profession, such as the kiln, Chakra or the wheel, Kòlu or the stick with which they turn the wheel, and the stone used for beating and finally giving shape to the vessels. They hold a grand worship of their tribal god during marriages on the day after the Dháre.

Mópúri Bhairava is another of their special deities of which they often keep an image in their houses for worship.

Occupation.

Kumbáras have generally adhered to their original industry, that is, making of pots and tiles. They used to dye cloths formerly, but that profession has almost completely gone out of use now. The potter is one of the recognised village functionaries, and in places still under the influence of the old customary régime, he gets his yearly fees in kind and supplies earthen pots free to the raiyats. He was also bound to supply pots required for communal purposes, such as Púja of the village deity or common feeding. He ranks higher than the washerman and the barber.

The Kumbára works with the most rudimentary tools. He gets his earth out of a field set apart for the purpose, or digs it out of the bed of a tank. The clay is well mixed by being trodden on, and is generally transported in carts to the place of work. The wheel is made of twigs and leaves bound together on two cross twigs and plastered over with mud mixed with hair or other similar binding material. It turns on a pivot (an iron peg or nail) fixed on a pedestal of mud. He turns it about deftly with a long stick which helps him to do work without bending his back.

The tiles and pots are turned out with considerable speed and they are all dried in the sun and afterwards baked in a round oven in which the articles are placed.

Social  
status.

Kumbáras are regarded as pretty high among the Súdra classes and come next only to Okkaligas and Kurubas. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The Kannaḍa section of the Kumbáras, it is said, admit persons of higher castes into their own, but the other division strictly prohibit

such conversion. But all sections readmit persons thrown out of their caste, the usual ceremony, such as procuring them Tirtha and Prasáda, slightly burning the tongue with a gold bit or a margosa twig, being observed. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas and Kurubas, and Bestas, Agasas and Bédas eat in their houses. Kumbáras are flesh eaters, but abstain from liquor. They belong to the Eighteen Phaṇas and their caste sign, namely, the wheel, is shown on the spoon and the ladle, the insignia of the Eighteen Phaṇas, and they are served by the Chalavádi, the servant of their Phaṇa group.

Kumbáras are a well-organised body and each section has its own caste government, but it is said that whenever an important question affecting the whole caste has to be considered, the headmen of all these divisions join together. During marriages not only are the heads of their own groups respected, but those of other divisions are given Maryáda Támbúlas. Thus, it is said, that when a marriage takes place in the house of a Kumbára of the Lingáyát persuasion, Támbúlas are given or sent to the headmen of the non-Lingáyát Kumbára group.

Tribal  
organiza-  
tion.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. The women of the Sajjana Kumbára section do not put on the nose screw; and when questioned as to the origin of the custom, they say that the man who went to fetch it during a marriage did not return in time and the marriage had to be performed without it. Hence the women could not wear the ornament afterwards. Kumbára women get tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty, with such ordinary designs as a plantain tree, and a bunch of glass bangles (ಬಳ್ಳವೆಣ್ಣು).

Miscellane-  
ous.



(Preliminary Issue.)

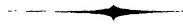
**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXI.  
UPPĀRA CASTE.**

BY

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## U P P A' R A S.

Uppáras or Uppaligas as they are called in the General. Mysore District are found all over the State. Their number according to the last Census (1901) was 106,207, consisting of 53,836 males and 52,371 females. The distribution of these people by districts shows that they are most numerous in the Mysore District. Their rate of increase for the decade ending in 1901 was about 19 per cent.

Their common name is Uppára (ಉಪ್ಪರ) or Uppaliga (ಉಪ್ಪಲಿಗ) in the Mysore District. They call themselves Mèlsakkareyavaru (ಮೆಲ್ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯವರು) and in formal correspondence, they address one another as Sagaravamsadavaru (ಸಗರವಂಶದವರು). Korèbandiyavaru (ಕರೆಬಂದಿಯವರು) is a less usual name. Setti and Gaúda are the honorific suffixes added to their names besides the general titles, Appa, Ayya and Anna. Those Uppáras who are engaged in the manufacture of earth salt are sometimes addressed with Bóyi added to their personal names. Amma (mother) and Akka (sister) are added to names of women.

Uppára and Uppaliga both mean manufacturers of salt, Uppu being the word for salt. They call themselves Mèlsakkareyavaru, *i.e.*, those of Mèlsakkare, the latter word (literally, sugar of a better sort) being used as a euphemism for salt. Sagaravamsadavaru (*i.e.*, descendants of Sagara) must have been invented for them by some ingenious person, as according to a Purána story, Ságara or the Sea was dug out by the children of Emperor Sagara, thus connecting the name again with salt. The name *Kèrèbandi* is given to them on account of their being entrusted with the task of attending to repairs of tanks, for which they generally hold some inam lands. Meanings  
of terms.

The language which they talk varies with the place Language. they live in. In the Kolar and Bangalore and parts of Tumkur Districts, they talk Telugu and in the rest of the State, Kannada. Some of the Uppaligas who live in the Tamil country and are called Uppaligars, speak Tamil;

and it is reported that this diversity of language does not act as a bar against eating together or intermarriage.

**Origin.**

They have, as usual, some fantastic stories concerning their origin. One is that Párvati finding food tasteless complained to her lord, who created a man from a drop of his sweat, and commissioned him to manufacture salt out of earth; and as he pleased his divine patrons, he was blessed with a large progeny, who were directed to have salt making as their profession. The other story is that they are the descendants of the sixty thousand sons of Emperor Sagara, who unjustly treated a Rishi named Kapila as a thief of their father's sacrificial horse and were reduced to ashes by the power of his curse. The slender basis on which both these stories rest, seems to be the salt found both in the sweat of the body and in the water of the sea which was believed to be dug by Sagara's sons.

They profess to have lived originally in the tract round Kási, and thence to have migrated south through Ratnagiri and Dharmavaram. They gradually spread in the Mysore State. They are said to have carried with them their tribal god Channakésava, for which they have built temples, such as that in Korlahatti, Chitaldrug District.

**Divisions.**

The Uppárs were probably a single homogeneous caste originally, but they are now divided into a number of endogamous groups on account of dispersion in different places and adoption of different professions. Some of them despise the original name and style themselves Banājigas—an appellation adopted by a large number of persons who wish to rise in social status. By language, Uppars are either Telugu or Kannada, and there is no intermarriage between these sections. Those who are bricklayers and masons and are generally in easy circumstances call themselves, especially in and about Bangalore, Telugu Banājigas; they are also known as Gáre Uppáras (Mortar Uppáras). Other divisions are Sáda-Uppáras (Pure Uppáras) and Sunṇa Uppáras, the latter being lime-burners.

Kallukutiga Uppáras (ಕಲ್ಲು ಕುಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಉಪ್ಪಾರರು), also called Janivara Uppáras (ಜನಿವಾರ ಉಪ್ಪಾರರು) who wear the sacred thread, work as stone masons.

Uppaligas who live in the Mysore District and the adjoining British territory, where they are known as Uppalians, constitute also a separate division.

Móle Uppáras are mostly Telugu speaking people

except those in the Mysore and other purely Kannada districts. They are so called because they still adhere to their original occupation, making earth-salt. They are also called Kerébandiyavaru and keep herds of he-buffaloes which they employ to carry earth for repairing tank bands. These are looked down upon by the other division and are, as a matter of fact, little better than Oddās.

There is also said to be a division known as Dombar Uppāras (ದೊಂಬರ ಉಪ್ಪಾರಸರು) who like the Dombars are itinerant acrobats and tumblers. They, however, do not dedicate their women as Basavis or allow them to play in public.

The exogamous divisions are known as Kulas or Bedāgus. The names given are of some plant, animal or other material object, which the members of that division refrain from cutting, eating or otherwise utilizing. Those of the same kula cannot intermarry, and their union is considered incestuous and brings on expulsion from caste. The division is based on relationship through males.

A list of exogamous divisions is given in the Appendix.

It is considered not quite proper to allow the newly married woman to remain in her husband's house for her first confinement. She is taken to her parent's where she is treated with special care and precautions against real and fancied dangers. When a child is born, a washerman carries the information to the father who gives him a present. On the third day a pit is dug in the yard of the house the navel cord and the afterbirth are buried in it in an earthen jug and a branch of Ekka plant and of Kallī are stuck on it. Cooked food is offered at the place and distributed to children. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the eleventh day, when the mother and the child are bathed and thus get rid of the pollution. The usual dinner is given to the castemen. In some places Brahmans are called to purify the house and to bless the mother and child by placing consecrated rice (ಅಕ್ಷತೆ) on her head.

Birth ceremonies.

The name usually given is that of an ancestor or of the family deity. But if the child should subsequently fall ill, it is considered as inauspicious and changed in consultation with an astrologer or a soothsayer or a flower oracle\* in a temple. The giving of opprobrious names is also

\* When a person wishes to know whether a given course is propitious or not, he gets Pūja made in a temple, and prays for guidance.

common as among other castes of a similar status. There are no peculiar names among them. As most of them are Vaishnavas, the names of this deity are more common than those of Siva. Names of endearment such as Puṭṭu, Sāmi, Magu, are very common.

The tonsure ceremony takes place in the 3rd or the 5th year of the child. It is always held before the shrine of their family deity, to which they go on an auspicious day with some relatives. The ear holes of the child are also bored then and a caste dinner is given. The relatives present the child with some coins and fried grain and the barber is given some presents.

Adoption is allowed as among other castes. A brother's son is preferred but any one may be taken, provided he is unmarried. When a boy is adopted into a different exogamous group, he has to eschew marriage with members of both his natural and his adopted group.

#### Marriage.

It is not obligatory to marry a girl before puberty but such marriages are becoming the fashion, in imitation of the higher castes. In marriages after puberty, some ceremonies are said to be omitted, and they are sometimes styled Māle-hākuvudu (ಮಾಲೆ ಹಾಕುವುದು), i.e., marriage by putting on a flower garland. This however entails no loss of status. Women may remain unmarried if they choose.

In intermarriage, not only the same Kula but allied Kulas are also to be avoided. An elder sister's, but not a younger sister's daughter may be married. Two sisters may be taken in marriage by the same man, provided he does not marry the younger before her elder sister. The remaining degrees of prohibited relationship are the same as are generally kept in other castes. There is no objection to the exchange of daughters in marriage between two families.

Uppáras are cut up into a number of professional groups, which have in course of time become endogamous divisions: thus the Gáré Uppáras who were originally of the same division as the salt making Uppáras now decline to intermarry with the latter, and have given them the nickname of Koracha Uppáras, as Korachas follow the trade of selling salt.

Sálávuḷi or suitability of the couple (as shown by a

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If a flower drops especially to the right side of the idol at the time, it is taken as an auspicious sign and it is said that the god or goddess has "given a flower."

certain agreement in names) is examined by an astrologer. Then the match is settled by the ceremony of Vilyada Sāstra (ವಿಲ್ಯದಾಸ್ರ) when the father of the boy with some persons go to the girls' house with turmeric, Kuunkuna, cocoanuts and other things and present her with a Siré and a bodice cloth and some times a jewel.\*

The actual marriage extends over five days. On the first day the boy and the girl are separately anointed, bathed and besmeared with turmeric. This is called Madavaniga Sāstra. The second day is styled Chappara or Dévarūta. This day the marriage pendal is erected on 12 pillars with a Hálukambha. Arivēni pots are brought and installed in the house. A party of married women proceed to a river and after worshipping Ganga, bring water styled Sāstrada Niru (ceremonial water) and use it for preparing food that day. In some places a second ceremony styled Naḍumadavaniga Sāstra (ನಡುಮದವನಿಗಾಸ್ರ) is observed when, as on the first day, the boy and the girl get a second smearing of turmeric. The next day takes place the ceremony of Dhāre.† The boy and the girl undergo separately the nail-paring ceremony, and are bathed in Māleniru. Then the boy goes to the temple where he is decorated with Bhashinga tied to his forehead and is led to the marriage house in state, being accompanied by a best man known as Jōḍu Madavaniga who brings with him a dagger rolled up in a red handkerchief. When he approaches the pandal an A'rati is waved to him and he is made to stand on the dais. The girl is conducted there by her maternal uncle. Then the bridal pair throw gingelly and jaggory on each other's head. The Tāli-tying, which is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony, takes place amidst the din of the attendant musical band. Then the couple sit together, and tie Kankanas to each other, after which the rice-pouring ceremony takes place. Then they rise with the hems of their garments knotted together, go round the milk post three times, the bridegroom leading the bride by the hand, look at the Arundhati star and go into the room where pots Arivēni are installed and bow to them. The maternal uncle removes the Bhashingas of the couple and

\* In some places, on the day when the Brahman astrologer fixes the day for Dhāre, he also names the persons who have to attend to the several items of marriage, such as, besmearing the pair and bringing the ceremonial water.

† The Uppaḷigas perform the Dhāre ceremony in the evening, while the other sections observe it in the morning.



the latter with their nearest relatives sit together to eat Buvva. Then the giving of Muyyi or wedding presents takes place. This evening, the bridegroom steals a vessel from his father-in-law's house, runs away and hides in his own house. The bride goes in procession, finds him out and brings him back.

Next day Nágavali takes place. The couple sit together and have their nails pared and after bathing, worship the pillars of the marriage pandal in the usual way. The couple go to the river in the Maḍi state, worship Ganga and bring two pots of water, which is used for cooking the day's dinner. Then the usual pot-searching ceremony, and the removing of the Kankapas take place.

This afternoon is observed the worship of Simhāsana or the improvised seat. The Yajamán of the caste officiates at it and a sheep is generally killed near it. The Tímbugas are distributed in the prescribed order. The marriage proper closes that evening with the procession of the married couple in the streets. The next day a dinner on a large scale is given, and the bride, the bridegroom and some others go to the bride's house, and the bridegroom returns one or two days after. The milk post is kept for about a month and it is removed after some milk is poured on it.

The bride price which they have to pay varies in different localities between 12 and 30 rupees. A widower has to pay twice the usual sum, the additional amount being styled Sauti Bhangára (ಸೌತಿಭಂಗರ co-wife's gold). The total amount spent at a marriage varies with the condition in life of the contracting parties. It may be roughly estimated at about Rs. 300 for the bridegroom and about Rs. 100 for the bride.

#### Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept aloof in a corner of the house for three days and on the fourth, she bathes and retires to a shed made of green leaves. She remains there for about 5 days when she is exhibited every evening in the company of married women who are invited. At the end of this period she is again bathed and taken into the house. A dinner is given to the caste people. In some places, the girl does not get rid of the pollution for about one month. About five or seven days before the end of the month, she bathes and dressed

in washed clothes, she is taken in the evening to a river or a tank in the company of married women. She does Púja to Ganga and brings home a potful of water. If she is already married, she washes the feet of the husband with the water; but if unmarried, she throws the water on some flower plant, such as jasmine. Consummation of marriage takes place afterwards. The consummation of marriage of a girl married after puberty is put off for three months after the marriage, as there should be no childbirth within a year of the marriage.\*

Widow marriage is permitted and is freely practised. It is said that a woman may marry as many times as she pleases, provided that at the time of her marriage, she is either a widow or has been divorced. A widow cannot marry either her husband's brother or any of his agnates and sometimes she has to avoid the whole Kula of her late husband. A bachelor is not generally allowed to marry a widow, but if he insists on the connection, he is first married to an Ekke plant (*Calatropis gigantea*). It is necessary that the consent not only of the father of the widow, but of the caste has to be obtained for such a marriage. In some places, her late husband's relatives have also to give their assent. The Tálit tied by the previous husband along with other property belonging to him is returned to his heirs with a Hapa styled ಹಿರಿಯ ಹಣ, i.e., release money. The ceremony takes place in the evening at sunset and only widows or remarried women assist at it. In some places the ceremony takes place either before a temple or in an unoccupied house. In the assembly of caste-men, the intended husband presents her with some jewels and a Sire and a bodice cloth. She then puts on bangles and black glass beads which are the signs of married state of a woman. The ceremony generally takes place during the dark fortnight. The woman is seated in a dark place, either a room or a temple, behind the door; the husband, with the permission of the caste people who take their seats outside, pays down the Tera and a fine of Rs. 12 for the benefit of the caste people. He then goes to the spot where the woman is sitting and ties the Táli. The Biniga

\* It is possible that this practice of putting off the actual consummation for three months, which is fairly common, originated as a means of making certain that the married woman introduced no foreign offspring into the family.

† When a woman loses her husband, she does not remove the Táli, unless she wants to marry again.

Gaṇḍa or the Kólkar of the caste, throws rice on their heads, and in some places gives three strokes with a rattan to the woman, and five to the man and declares that they have become husband and wife, repeating the following formula :—“ಒರೇ ಗುರುವಿನ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಯಾಗಿ, ಬಸಗಪ್ಪರ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಯಾಗಿ, ಈ ಮಣ್ಣನ್ನು ನಿನಗೆ ಹೊಡೆತಿ ವರಾಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನೀನು ತಪ್ಪು ನಡೆದರೆ ನಿನಗೆ ಅಡ್ಡಾಯವು.” (In the presence of the elder Guru, in the presence of the kinsmen, this woman is given to you as wife. If you fail her, you will be liable to punishment.)

It is the custom in some places that this marriage cannot take place in the village of the father or the second husband and should be celebrated in a different place. The pair do not return to their village for some time and the woman does not show her face to any married woman for three days. The remarried widow is not admitted into all the privileges of the caste and in some places her issue form a separate line; but the difference between these two lines is, however, lost in two or three generations. Rights of inheritance, so far as her previous issue are concerned, are not affected by the woman's subsequent marriage; and her issue by one husband cannot succeed to the property of the other husband.

The bride price for this alliance is half that of a regular marriage, and is always taken by the father of the woman.

**Divorce and adultery.**

If the husband and the wife fall out with each other on account of the continued ill-treatment of the latter by the former or when the wife commits adultery or the husband loses caste, a divorce is permitted. In such cases, the matter is laid before the caste Panchayat, who adjudge the separation and the compensation to be paid by the party at fault. In cases of adultery, the paramour of the woman is made to pay the marriage expenses of the husband in addition to some fine to the caste council. Then the woman is made to return the Tālī tied by the husband, after which she may marry again in the Kútike form.

Adultery with a man of a lower caste entails forfeiture of caste. In other cases, it may be condoned at the option of the husband by payment of a small fine to the caste. An unmarried woman who has lived with a man without marriage may be subsequently married by him; and if she has had a liaison with a man of a higher caste,

she may be married to a caste man by Kúṭike. Those of the Gáre section, however, do not tolerate such irregularities.

Uppáras do not dedicate girls as Basavis and fallen women are put out of caste. They are branded with Vaishṇava symbols by Dásayyas, and when they die their bodies are disposed of by the same fraternity.

Uppáras bury their dead, except the bodies of lepers or pregnant women, which are always burnt.\* Disposing of the dead bodies by burial under heaps of stones (Kallu-sóve or Kallubána) is also in vogue. As most of the Uppáras are Vaishnavas, the ceremonies peculiar to the non-Brahman castes of that persuasion are observed. As soon as life is extinct, the information of the event is sent round to all their castemen and the Yajamán and other people assemble. The Sátáni priest is sent for and he makes a Chakra out of some twigs and worships it before the corpse with the offerings of food and liquor which he partakes of and distributes to the rest. The body is carried generally on a bier, laid flat, but sometimes a Vimána is built and the body clothed and placed in a sitting posture. Dásayyas muster strong on the occasion and repeat songs in praise of Vishnu, as the procession is going. About midway the body is kept on the ground, which is on that account called Harischandra's temple, and the Dásayyas and the Tóṭi are presented with some money (styled Peddarúka ಪದ್ದಾರುಕಾ = Rs. 2½). Then the carriers change sides and carry the corpse straight to the grave. It is taken three times round the pit and is then buried as in other castes, the son throwing the first sod of earth to close up the grave. Doles of grain and sometimes money are distributed among the poor people ; and all return home, after bathing, to see the lamp lighted on the spot where the deceased expired.†

Death ceremonies.

In cases of cremation, the ashes are collected on the third day and thrown either in water or on a green plant. Food, milk and ghee are offered on the grave and then on the 11th day, the important ceremony is observed. Those that call in the services of a Sátáni priest worship the Chakra in the graveyard and then in the house at midnight (*vide* the Gella account). He gets a fee of about Rs. 1¼ with some raw rations for his services.

\* In some parts the bodies of persons dying on Fridays, whether lepers or healthy, are burnt.

† They keep a lamp and some water on this spot for 12 nights.

The next day a feast is prepared at home, to which all the relatives are invited. In the evening, the chief mourner with some others, goes to the Vishṇu temple to have the gates of heaven opened for the departed soul and after the usual Púja returns home for dinner. The maternal uncle and other near relatives present him with some new cloths before they return to their places.

The period of Sútaka is ten days for near agnates and three days for children. But some of it is believed to stick to the nearest agnates till the end of the first month, when a Kalasa is set up and worshipped in the name of the deceased and a dinner given. They do not observe any pollution for the death of a daughter's son, but only bathe once. During the period of mourning, they observe the usual abstinences, such as, not putting on the caste mark, and eschewing milk, sugar and flesh. They do not bury anything else with a corpse. When it is brought out of the house, they tie some rice in the shroud, but before it is interred, the rice and the cloth are thrown out on the grave, on which a three-pie piece is kept, which is taken by a Holeyá.

They do not perform Sárddhás; but once a year on the Maháláya Amávásya day, they do Púja to a Kalasa in the names of all the deceased ancestors and distribute raw rice, and other things to Brahmans, Jangamas and Sátánis. On the Mahánavami and New Year days, they offer new clothes, etc., to a Kalasa and some resort to their family burial ground and apply sandal paste, burn incense and break cocoanuts before the tombs.

#### Religion.

Uppáras are mostly Vaishnavas, their tribal god being Chamakésava. They also worship Siva and several of them have this god as their family deity. They make pilgrimages to Tirupati, Kadiri and Nanjangud. They observe the important Hindu feasts such as, the New Year's day, Gowri and Ganesa, the Dasara and Dípavali. On Sivarátri day they fast till the evening and then give doles of raw provisions to Brahmans and Jangamas.

They worship all the village goddesses and the other minor gods and goddesses such as Durgamma, Yallamma, Máramma and Sunkamma. The other objects of their worship are the mounds of earth called ಉಪ್ಪುಸವಣಿಗಳು on which they manufacture salt. On important feasts they repair to these places, burn incense and break cocoanuts and offer Púja; but they do not sacrifice any animals to them.

Their Gurus are Srivaishṇava Brahmans, who pay them periodical visits, give them Tīrtha and get some fees. Some have Sātānis as Gurus in place of Brahmans.

Uppáras, as their name implies, are the manufacturers of earth salt. In the interests of British Indian salt revenue, this industry is altogether prohibited within 5 miles of the British frontier. Elsewhere also it is in a languishing state and is dying out gradually. The process of making salt is simple. The circular mounds of earth which may be seen occasionally, with cups at the top are known as Uppina-mōḷē (*i.e.*, saline heaps), and are generally formed of the earth from which salt has been drained off. The crater or cup at the top is made about 5 feet in diameter and 2 feet in depth and its sides and bottom are roughly plastered with lime. A number of them are connected by open channels with a reservoir lower down which is also made with chunam-plastered sides and bottom. In the dry season, saline earth is collected wherever it is found and carried to the mounds on buffaloes. It is thrown into the basins on a bed of straw so as to fill them, and water is poured in. The salt is dissolved and the brine is carried off by the channels into the reservoir. The useless earth is removed and more saline earth and water are added, till the reservoir is filled with brine. The liquid is then carried by vessels and poured into the pans which are shallow basins about 3 feet square, where it is evaporated by the heat of the sun in the course of three or four days. The salt left, which is of dirty yellow colour in small grains, is then scraped off and carried on pack buffaloes for sale. The article thus made is somewhat bitter in taste and has more impurities than the sea salt, and on account of the comparative cheapness of the latter, is not appreciated except by the poorest in out-of-the-way villages. In British India the manufacture of earth salt was absolutely prohibited in 1880; and here it is all but extinct.

As a consequence, most of the Uppáras have changed their original occupation and taken to agriculture. Those that are living in large towns are bricklayers and contractors and are in comparatively easy circumstances. Some in the Shimoga District are kitchen gardeners.

Uppáras are a settled people and live in substantially built house. The bricklayers and the contractors have built for themselves good houses, spacious and well ventilated,

Occupation.

Social status.

while those that are agriculturists are hardly distinguishable from others whose original occupation is agriculture. They live in the same quarters as other castes, and do not suffer from any disabilities such as not being allowed to draw water from the common village well. But in large towns, they have separate quarters for themselves. The washerman and the barber give their services to the Uppáras without any objection. Uppáras living in the adjoining British territories often immigrate into this State during the salt-manufacturing season and after a temporary residence go back to their native home. A section of the Uppáras who are tank diggers often emigrate to places where their labour is in demand and then live in temporary huts.

Brahmans are invited to help them in conducting marriages and to purify their houses after the pollution of birth and death. They may render such services without lowering themselves in the eyes of other Brahmans.

**Admission  
of outsiders**

Persons belonging to higher castes may be admitted as members on undergoing certain ceremonies, one of which is to go round the caste assembly carrying a basket of salt on the head. Such admissions are, however, rare, and the issue of such union are kept separate as a new line for one or two generations, after which they become merged into the main body.

They follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance and have belief in the omens, magic, etc. In the Mysore District whenever they have to swear in a caste council, they improvise a seat (ಸಂಘದಿ) styled Sangamésvara's seat and swear by it (by touching it). They consult soothsayers whenever necessary and seem to have considerable faith in their prognostications.

**Tribal constitution.**

Uppáras have a tribal constitution like other castes of a similar status. The Kattēmanes are presided over by the Settles and Yajamāns, who have under them a beadle, styled Bandári or Kólkar. Their offices are hereditary and they get the usual perquisites of pan-supari on all important occasions. The Uppáras belong to the Eighteen Phana section and as such command the services of the Chhalavádi, the servant of this faction, whose insignia, the bell and the ladle, bear also the Uppáras' professional mark.

**Miscellaneous.**

Uppáras are flesh-eaters and eat mutton, fowls, venison and fish but not beef, or any reptiles. They are said not to

drink liquor, but are not very punctilious in this matter. The bricklayers, carpenters and contractors are very clean and bathe regularly, but those employed as salt-makers and tank-diggers are hardly distinguishable from Oḍḍas.\* There is nothing peculiar in their dress and ornament, but in some places, women wear the big nose screw, which is also the characteristic ornament of an Oḍḍa woman. Their women got tattooed with the common designs.

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\* *Vide* Oḍḍa account Monograph XI, p. 14.

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## APPENDIX.

## List of Exogamous Divisions.

Agila	ಅಗಿಲ	A tree.
A'le	ಅಲೆ	Vegetable herb.
Andala	ಅಂಡಲ	Palankeen.
A'ne	ಆನೆ	Elephant.
Arasina	ಅರಸಿನ	Turmeric.
Arasu	ಅರಸು	King.
Bélada	ಬೇಲದ	Wood apple.
Belli	ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ	Silver.
Chandu	ಚಂದ್ರು	The moon.
Chatri	ಚತ್ರಿ	Umbrella.
Chilume	ಚಿಲುಮೆ	Spring of water.
Doddi	ದೊಡ್ಡಿ	Yard attached to a house.
Gauda	ಗೌಡ	
Honge	ಹೊಂಗೆ	Pongamia glabra.
Honnu	ಹೊನ್ನು	Gold.
Hulivāṇa	ಹುಲಿವಾಣ	
Jógula	ಜೋಗುಲ	
Kágala	ಕಾಗಲ	A tree.
Kaggallu	ಕಗ್ಗಲ್ಲು	Black stone.
Kalaga	ಕಲಗ	A tree.
Karaga	ಕರಗ	Pot
Kāthāri	ಕಠಾರಿ	Dagger.
Kastūri	ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ	Musk.
Kenda	ಕಂಡ	Burning cinder.
Kottumbari	ಕೊತ್ತಂಬರಿ	Coriander.
Kudure	ಕುದುರೆ	Horse.
Madārasa	ಮದಾರಸ	
Majjana	ಮಜ್ಜನ	Bath.
Mallige	ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ	Jasmine.
Mánuka	ಮಾನುಕ	
Muchchala	ಮುಚ್ಚಳ	Lid
Muttu	ಮುತ್ತು	Pearl.
Náchala	ನಾಚಲ	
Nágara	ನಾಗರ	Cobra.
Nari	ನರಿ	Jackal.
Nérāle	ನೇರಳೆ	Jambolana.
Sakkaro	ಸಕ್ಕರೆ	Sugar.
Sannakki	ಸಣ್ಣಕ್ಕಿ	Pine rice.
Santatti	ಸಂತತ್ತಿ	
Setti	ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ	Headman.
Talaga	ತಲಗ	A tree.
Tuppa	ತುಪ್ಪ	Clarified butter.
Yalapa	ಯಾಲಪ	



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXIII.**

**MONDARU CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

— ♦ —

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## MONDARU.

Mondaru (మండరు) form a small caste low in social scale which has been erroneously included under Jógis in the Census reports. It is therefore not possible to give any estimate of their number. The caste is said to have sprung from a couple belonging to the Mandala sub-division of the Bédā caste who married each other in ignorance of their belonging to the same exogamous section and were therefore put out of caste. Even now a beggar of the Mondaru caste never enters the houses of Bédās and is not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala section. General.

The caste is generally known as Mondaru and sometimes Banda in Telugu. The terms have come to denote obstinacy coupled with a lack of shame, but it is not easy to say whether the caste acquired the name on account of their character or the word its meaning as being the name of such a caste. They have no special caste titles added to their names, but they claim to belong to the Setṭi Phaya, that is, the right-hand group of castes. Name.

They seem to be Telugu beggars and speak Telugu generally. They also know the language of the country they live in. They have a dialect which resembles that of the Dombars.\* In their dialect they style a man of their caste as Makárigáḍu (మకారి గాడు). Language.

The caste which originally was one has recently become divided into four or five endogamous groups, Uru Mondaru (అరు మండరు), Banda or Kákalu Mondaru (బండ ఆకలు మండరు), Sikhandi Mondaru (సిఖండి మండరు) and Kastúri Mondaru (కస్తూరి మండరు). Uru Mondaru live in villages and are a little more advanced than the others. The second lead a wandering life and are so called as they eat crow's flesh. Sikhandi Mondaru are those who lie down in the streets for begging, covering the entire face with filth and mud to attract the attention of passers-by. They are perhaps so styled (Sikhandi means a hermaphrodite) as the men often appear covered in a woman's cloth. Kastúri means musk and the term is applied ironically to this Divisions.

\* See Appendix of the Dombar Caste. Monograph XIII.



class as they smear themselves with ordure and bring it with them in a gourd while begging, to compel persons to dismiss them soon with alms.

They have exogamous divisions of which some are the following :—Salla (సల్ల), Kamádula (కమడల), Mailúru (మైలూరు), Tella Mékala (తెల్లపేకల) Maddibutla (మద్దిబుట్ల), Gavaraddi (గవరడ్డి) and Sáke (సాకె).

Birth ceremonies.

On the birth of a child a woman is kept in a separate hut and is unclean for three days. Their own midwife attends at the delivery and remains with her all the three days. A crow-catching net is hung at the door of the hut to ward off evil spirits. The navel cord with the afterbirth is put into an earthen vessel and placed near the woman, after smoking it with incense. On the third day the midwife offers Púja to it burning incense and breaking a cocoanut and buries it in a hole dug in front of the hut. The child is then bathed over this hole along with the mother. A dinner is given to the caste people and the child is named. When the child is a month old, white glass beads are tied to its neck and when it is five or seven years old, the tonsure ceremony is observed for both sexes before the temple of their god.

Marriage.

Mondaru observe the same prohibited degrees of consanguinity as the other Hindus. A man may marry his elder sister's daughter or the daughter of maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may be married either by one man or two brothers. A man may marry more than one wife but polyandry is not known. Marriages are generally adult but infant marriages are also allowed. Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the boy's family. If the girl's family consents to the match, the boy's party take betel leaves and nuts and four rupees in money to the girl's house for the ceremony of "Spreading the blanket." The girl's father is paid four rupees and a caste dinner is given. Four or five days before the day fixed for the marriage, the boy and his party go to the girl's house and there settle with the girl's father as to the number of invitations to be issued for the marriage and other important matters. On the morning of the wedding day, the pair are bathed and presented with new cloths. In the evening a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a blanket is spread. The boy and the girl are seated there facing each other with Kankanas of turmeric

root tied to their wrists. Two Arivéni pots filled with rice and dhal and covered with lids are brought by married women and placed one near the bridegroom and the other near the bride. The boy and the girl are besmeared with turmeric paste and all the married women individually present the girl with rice and other articles placed in her garment. Then the couple rise with the fringes of their garments knotted together and are taken round both the Arivéni pots three times. A man of the Sáke section unties the knot and then the boy and the girl go into their huts. Then a dinner is given to the caste.

Next day in the evening, the girl puts on a white Sádi. The bridegroom and the bride are seated on a Kambli between the Arivéni pots. All the people assembled throw some rice on their heads. The couple then rise and stand facing each other. The boy takes the Tali in his hands and placing his left foot on the right foot of the girl, ties it to her neck. This finishes the marriage ceremony. Then all the assembled married pairs present pour Sáke over the married pair. Next day the father of the girl gives a dinner to all; and if the girl has already attained puberty, the consummation of marriage also takes place.

The Mondaru who have settled in villages observe the ceremonies more elaborately and put up a Pandal and pour Dháre. The ceremonies are continued for five days and either a Jangam or a Brahman is also invited to conduct the ceremony.

The amount of Tera varies between six rupees and sixteen rupees. As regards the cost of marriage, the expenses of the first two days are to be paid for by the boy's family and those of the third day by the girl's.

When a girl attains puberty she is considered impure Puberty. for five days and sits by herself in a shed of green leaves. Before putting up the shed, a cocoanut is broken on the spot selected and the maternal uncle, or in his absence, a man who is in marriageable relation to the girl procures the materials. On the fifth day, the girl is bathed and the shed is pulled down and burnt by the uncle. On the day the girl bathes, her relatives present her with dry cocoanut, jaggory and fried grain.

Widow marriage is permitted and freely practised. Widow They avoid the same prohibited degrees of relationship for marriage.

such marriages as for the regular marriages. A widow is not permitted to marry her deceased husband's brother. A fine of six rupees is paid to the caste and the Tera, which is half the amount required for a virgin marriage, is paid to the relations of the woman's deceased husband. A bachelor may marry a widow and disparity of age is no bar. The ceremony is held in the evening and no auspicious day is necessary. In the presence of the caste people, the husband presents a cloth to the woman which she wears, and ties the Tali; and it is said that married women may not only be present when the ceremony takes place, but actually assist at it

#### Divorce.

Their morals are believed to be lax and a separation may take place on very slight grounds. The party at fault may freely marry again, provided the expenses of the previous marriage are reimbursed and a fine paid to the caste. A woman suspected of adultery may have her fault condoned by either corporal punishment inflicted by the husband, or in very serious cases by payment by the husband of a fine to the caste.

#### Funerals.

Mouḍaru dispose of dead bodies by burial. The corpse is rolled up in a new cloth and carried by hands to the burial ground where it is stripped naked and interred in the grave. The party wash their hands and feet and repair to a toddy shop, where they all drink and have a few drops of the liquid sprinkled on their heads as a mark of purification. Thence they all return to the hut of the deceased and look at a lamp kept alight on the spot where he breathed his last. On the third day or Chinna Dinam (ചിന്ന ദിനം) they cook together all such articles of food as the deceased was fond of, including crow's flesh, and place it on the grave on a plantain leaf. On the eleventh day the spot on which the deceased died is cleaned. Food is cooked there in a new earthen vessel and an Ede offered before a lamp-stand (എടം) after Púja is performed by a Dásayya. Each of the deceased's relatives puts a little incense on the fire kept near the stand and prays to the ghost of the deceased for his welfare. They do not perform Sráddhas but on the Mahálaya Amávásya all bathe and placing new clothes near a Kalasa, burn incense and offer cocoanuts in the names of all the deceased ancestors.

#### Religion

They worship all the Hindu gods but their favourite deities are Máramma, Kollápuramma, Sunkalamma and other minor goddesses. Once a year, on a Tuesday or a

Friday, they set up a stone in the names of these goddesses at the foot of a margosa tree and sacrifice a pig, which they cook and eat on the spot. Gurumūrti is another god they worship, to which they offer Pūja on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Ashāḍha (July-August) month. They believe in the existence of devils and say that persons who die an unnatural death become devils and always hover on large trees and at the meeting of three paths. The spirit of a man always catches a woman and that of a woman catches a man. They resort to exorcising it with the help of a devil-scarer.

Monḍaru occupy a low place in the social scale. They are regarded as unclean people and are not generally touched even by non-Brahmans. They are a wandering class and live in huts pitched outside villages or under trees or in deserted temples or Maṇṭapas. They are, however, allowed to use the common well of the village. The barber shaves them but does not pare their nails and the washerman does not touch the cloth worn by a woman during her monthly sickness. Those of them who have succeeded in attaining a better position in life than their confreres have settled down in villages and are treated socially somewhat like Bédars. They admit outsiders into their caste. They follow the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, pigs and also crows and drink toddy and other country and foreign liquor. They do not eat beef or the flesh of monkeys, kites, vultures or snakes or the leavings of other people. No other castes, not even Mádigas, eat in their houses.

Social  
status.

They are beggars by profession but some have settled down to agriculture. Even the latter have to go out begging at least once a year. They wander about singing or rather warbling, for they utter inarticulate words, and if money or grain be not given to them they sit obstinately in front of houses and compel the owners by various practices to comply with their demand. They go about on their begging excursion almost naked and are distinguished by iron bangles worn on their forearms, a band of twisted rags on their right upper arm, and a band of human hair round their left wrist. Their object is evidently to make themselves as disgusting in appearance as possible and they add to their personal charms by cutting themselves with a blunt knife so as to draw blood and smear their limbs with it. They also vomit forcibly

Occupation.

or spit out gruel which they carry in a gourd for the purpose. As they approach a house, they announce their presence by making a peculiar whirring guttural sound and belching as if ready to vomit. They beg from all castes including Mádigas, but when they go to houses of Bédars, Akkasáles and Mondaru living in villages, they must receive what is voluntarily given and should not resort to annoyance for enforcing compliance.

Caste or-  
ganisation.

The caste is divided into several groups, each of which has the right to collect alms within a particular area. If any of them trespass into another's tract against his will, he will be punished with a fine by the caste Pancháyat. Each of these groups has a headman called Gudigádu. They have no caste servant, but whenever any meeting of the caste is called together, the man at whose instance it is convened has to collect the people. They meet periodically to decide the more important disputes.

Miscella-  
neous.

When they are not begging, they put on the ordinary dress. Men grow their hair long and matted, which they tie round into a conical shape when begging.

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## GANGADIKARA OKKALU.

Gangadikaras form an important division of the large group known as Okkaligas, corresponding to Vellalas in the Tamil and Kunbis in Mahratta Country. Though allied to other divisions, they do not intermarry with them. There are no other names to the caste. The title used by male members is Gauda, meaning headman.

They are found mostly in the western and southern parts of the State, and they are almost the only class of Okkaligas found in the Hassan and Mysore Districts.

The term Okkaliga means a cultivator and is probably derived from the word Okku (ఒక్క), which means to thresh (the grain out of ear stocks). The Telugu equivalent Kapu (కాపు) means a supporter. As agriculture forms the mainstay of the people, in general, the agriculturists are pre-eminently styled supporters.

Gangadikara is a contraction of Gangavādikāra, that is, a man of the country ruled by Ganga Kings, a dynasty which flourished in the 10th Century A. C. and had sway over the central and southern parts of the present Mysore State. Similarly another section of the Okkaliga community came to be known as Nonabas as they occupied the northern part of the same territory which was under the rule of a dynasty known as Nonambas.\*

Gangadikaras speak Kannada as their home language and have kept to it even when scattered outside of Mysore. Some of them have received good education and know also English.

There are two main divisions which are endogamous, namely, Pettigeyavaru (ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆಯವರು) and Bujjanigeyavaru (ಬುಜ್ಜಣಿಗೆಯವರು). The former derive their name from the custom of carrying marriage articles in a bamboo box (ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ) and the latter from the custom of carrying them in a covered basket (ಬುಜ್ಜಣಿಗೆ). Of late, however, there have

\* It is somewhat amusing to find that some persons anxious to find a Sanskrit pedigree have converted Nonabas (ನೋಣಬ) into Makshika Gotra (ಮಕ್ಷಿಕಗೋತ್ರ), as both Nona in Kannada and Makshika in Sanskrit mean the same thing, namely, a house fly.



been instances of intermarriage between these sections, There are two other sections which are based upon religion. Mullujana, who are Saivas and Dasajana, followers of Vishnu. The Dasajana are sometimes called Nāmadhāris and sometimes, though less commonly Darsanikaru (ದರ್ಶನೀಕರು). They are also styled ironically as those who are entitled to Tirtha Prasāda, meaning those who indulge in drink. The Mullujana are perfect teetotallers.

The Bujjanige section is otherwise known as Dhāre marriage section (ಧಾರೆಮದುವೆಮನೆಯವರು), while the Pettige section are styled Vilyada Maduveyyavaru (ವಿಲ್ಯದಮದುವೆಯವರು). Dhāre section observe their marriage ceremonies more elaborately, and the Vilya section do not consecrate Arivēni pots, set up no milk post and use no Bhashinga. Where, as noted above, there are intermarriages between these sections, the ceremonies observed follow those in vogue in the family of the bridegroom.

There is a third section of the caste called Chēlūru Gangadikaras. They are pure vegetarians, and strictly abstain from liquor.

Gangadikaras living in the Bangalore and some parts of the Mysore District have a large number of exogamous divisions,\* named after material objects, with the usual prohibition against cutting, using and sometimes touching such objects. But the people living in Hassan District have totally forgotten the restrictive rules.

#### Birth Ceremonies.

A pregnant woman is taken for the first delivery to her father's house either in the fifth or the seventh month and on an auspicious day the ceremony of Basaru Osage (ಬಸರುಹೂಸಗ) is formed when the woman is presented with a new Sire and a Ravike and puts on glass bangles after presenting some pairs to married woman. The husband is invited for the occasion which is held as festive and castemen are regaled with a dinner.

After delivery, the woman is confined in a room into which no one except the midwife is admitted. The woman is considered impure for ten days, and the husband also remains in pollution during the period. On the eleventh day, the woman is dressed in white clothes and is exhibited with the child in the company of married women and presented with turmeric and kunkuma. The neighbours bring from each family a potful of warm water and some soap-nut. The woman and the child are seated on a hole dug

\* For a list of these see Appendix.

in the front yard of the house and are bathed in warm water. A Brahman Purohit is invited to purify the house. The house is whitewashed and the earthen vessels used for cooking are all thrown away. In some families, the name giving ceremony is observed as among other higher castes, but this practice is not general. In the evening, an elderly woman does Pûja to the cradle by burning frankincense before it and the child is put into it and rocked. They have no names peculiar to the caste and give names of the usual deities. They have the belief that fate can be deceived by naming children after trivial objects.

Adoption is allowed and practised. The boy must not only belong to the same subdivision, but in some places must be of the same exogamous sept. An exception is made in the case of a sister's son or a daughter's son. A brother's son is the most proper person to be adopted and in this case the boy may be of any age and may be even a married man. The ceremonies observed are the same as those of Morasu Okkalu. Adoption.

A woman may marry at any age but infant marriages are becoming more and more common. An unmarried woman may marry a paramour by Kûlike, but this license is also becoming restricted. Sometimes she is compelled to undergo a purificatory ceremony before being admitted into society. The prohibited degrees are the same as in other castes. Where two families are allied by marriage to a third, there can be no intermarriage between them. Two sisters may be married by either one man or two brothers, the younger marrying the younger, the elder the elder brother. Exchange of daughters is allowed but does not find much favour. Marriage.

The boy's father goes to the girl's house to settle the marriage and pays down six rupees as part of the bride price together with a Hana which is returned. They consult an astrologer to ascertain mutual compatibility according to the names of parties or their natal stars. They are particular in observing signs and omens while negotiating for marriage. They take with them turmeric and Kunkuma, fruits, flowers and a Sire and Ravike to the girl. On their arrival, the party are received with the usual honour and in the evening, in the presence of the castemen and a Brahman Purohit, two letters fixing the day of marriage (ಎನ್ನಪುಕ್ಕಿ) are written and exchanged by the fathers of the boy and the girl. Then married women

seat the girl on a plank, smear her with turmeric and present her with the new cloths.

The marriage generally takes place in the bridegroom's house. The other preliminary ceremonies, such as putting up the pandal, bringing Arivêṇi and setting up the milk post are observed this day. Some Gangadikaras do not set up the milk post or the Arivêṇi pots.

On the Dhare day, in the morning the pair undergo the nail-paring ceremony separately and bathe in Male-niru. The bridegroom is given new cloths, ties a Bha-shinga, and is conducted under a canopy to a temple and is seated in front of it with a Kalasa before him and along with the best man, styled Jôḍu Madavaṇiga (ಜೋಡುಮದವಣಿಗ). From this place, the articles to be presented to the bride are carried in a wicker basket or a box (according to the section to which the parties belong) to the bride's house, going with music three times. After this the girl's party, proceed to welcome the bridegroom and take him to their house. At the entrance, the bride's sister washes the boy's feet and waves Ārati, and after each party pelting the other with handfuls of rice, the boy is led to the marriage seat. The girl is then brought by her maternal uncle who makes her put gingelly and cummin seeds on the boy's head. The boy repeats this and then the ceremonies of Dhare, Kankana tying, and Tali tying take place in the usual way. The couple are then led, holding each other by the hands, round the milk post, and are asked to see the Sun, the Moon and the Arundhati Star and the Brahman priest then announces that the marriage is complete.

After Brahmans in the assembly are dismissed with the usual presents, the couple are made to sit below the dais and offer Pūja to a Kalasa and cocoanuts.

Three men from the bridegroom's party deposit the Terā amount (minus six rupees paid on the Vilyada Sastra day) and retire. Then two persons of the same name, one from the bridegroom's side and the other from the bride's are made to sit near the plates and are subjected to much fun by having turmeric, Kunkuma and Vibhuti smeared over their bodies and cakes (ಪದ್ಧತಿ) broken on their heads. Then the man representing the bride's party asks the bridegroom's representative why he came there, to which he replies that he came to eat rice and dhal. The bride's man says he will give it and asks what else he wants. The latter says "We want the girl." The other man says "We give the

girl" and gets a reply "We take her." Then an announcement is made thrice that such a girl is given in marriage to such a man. May they prosper (ಫಲವನಕೂಲವ ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಫಲವನ ಕೂಲವ ಗೌರವ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ—ಸೂಬಾನೆ). Then the plate containing the Tera amount is handed over to the bride's representative. The married couple rise and passing round the milk post, go back into the house to eat the common meal. In the evening, the bridal procession, the mock childbirth and offering Puja to the milk post take place. Next day the couple are made to eat together again out of a common plate and in the evening are taken in procession to a temple along with the Ariveni pots and seedlings of staple grain sown two or three days previously. On their taking seats, a measure of paddy is kept in a dish before them. To the palms of the couple some ghee is applied and a Hana placed thereon. The maternal uncles who first tied the Blashingas take hold of their hands and press them on the paddy. The grains which stick to their palms are thrown on their heads. Then the Blashingas and Kankanas are removed. The water in the Ariveni pots and the seedlings are thrown on a Bilva tree. After offering Puja to the God, the party return home. The next two days are spent in a visit to and return from the bride's house.

The amount of bride price varies between twenty and thirty-five rupees. Out of this, a small sum, one or two rupees, is returned under a pretext that there should not be an outright sale of the girl. The custom of paying the price has undergone much change, and while in some places exorbitant prices are paid for the girls, in other places no money is demanded and the customary Tera is used for buying some jewel for the girl.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure Puberty. for three days when she is kept outside the house in a shed of green leaves put up by the maternal uncle. After the bath, Osage is performed by the girl's relations for eight or ten days. If she is already married, rice, butter, jaggery and other things necessary for a day's Osage are sent by the husband's family and if unmarried, the maternal uncle has to do her this honour.

Widow remarriage is permitted and is commonly practised but a widow may not marry her deceased husband's brother. A widow may marry any number of Widow Marriage.

times but she rarely does so a third time.\* A bachelor may not marry a widow. The ceremony is simple and lasts but one day, except in some places where it is prolonged for three days. The bride price is half of that for a regular marriage and is handed over to the heirs of her previous husband. A remarried woman is not allowed to enter a marriage pandal and if she survives her second husband, she is not eligible to perform his funeral rites.

#### Divorce.

Divorce is fairly easy; the woman is made to return her jewels and Tali at a caste Panchayet. The divorced woman may be married to her paramour. If a girl is discovered to be pregnant before marriage, her lover is made to marry her in Kutike form. There are no Basavis in this caste.

#### Death Ceremonies.

They bury the dead, but if the deceased when alive had expressed a desire to have his body cremated, this may be done and the ashes thrown into water. The custom of disposing of the dead bodies by Kallu-sève, that is, by heaping stones over it, is also prevalent. The Mullu section of the caste observe the third and the eleventh day ceremonies as in other castes and get rid of the pollution, but the Dasa section perform ceremonies peculiar to them on the fifth and the eleventh day when they worship a chakra with the assistance of a Satani (see the Golla account Monograph XX, page 12). The Mullu section place food for the crows but the Dasa section do not do so. The Gangadikaras observe pollution for ten days for adults, but for the death of infants and a daughter's son, they have only to bathe.

They do not perform any anniversary Sraddhas for individuals and on the Mahalaya Amavasya day, a kalasa is set up in the name of all the ancestors and water libations are offered. They call in a Brahman priest to help them and present him with some money and raw provisions. This ceremony is sometimes repeated on such important feasts as Ugadi, Dipavali and Gauri.

The ghost of a husband who dies young is believed to haunt his wife, and even her parents are afraid of extending any support to her lest the spirit should attack them. It is not considered safe either to remarry her or otherwise help her until the spirit has been completely exercised.

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\* Some believe that persistent remittant fever (quartan ague) is cured if the person suffering from it drinks water given by a thrice married woman.

Gangadikaras worship both Siva and Vishnu, and have also family gods to whom they show special reverence. They worship minor gods and goddesses such as Munisvara, Maramma and Durgamma. Bhairava Dēvaru of Chunchanagiri near Nagamangala is the family god of many of them. There is a Maṭha in this place presided over by a Gosayi from northern India. He has an assistant who tours round and collects the customary fees. He also decides caste disputes submitted to him. Religion.

They have a few individuals who take Nomee (Dikshe), piercing their ears with a knife and hanging a whistle by a woollen thread round their necks. These are found in all castes worshipping Bhairava Dēvaru. They bathe every day before taking meals and have to blow their whistle before eating the first morsel.

Gangadikaras are high in the scale of castes and occupy the same position as the Morasu Okkalu. They employ Brahmans to conduct their marriage and other auspicious ceremonies; but for funerals, Dasajana invite Satanis, and some of the Mullujana call Jangama priests and Jogayya to conduct them, the service of Brahmans being required only to purify the house by Punyahavachana. Social Status.

They do not admit outsiders into their caste; but if a Gangadikara man has a concubine belonging to a higher caste such as a Lingayat, she may be taken into the caste and married to her paramour under Kutike.

They eat the flesh of sheep, goats and fowls. They do not eat beef and some eschew pork. Mullujana are teetotallers, but the Dasajana drink liquor. There is now a movement among the latter to give up their habit, and a resolution was recently passed to that effect in Hassan. They eat in the houses of Brahmans and Lingayats. Gangadikaras and Kurubas eat in one another's house.

They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance, and some practice Illātam.

They are mostly agriculturists and follow that profession in the main. Some have taken to other walks of life such as Government service. The agricultural operations are conducted in much the same way as in other castes and they have similar beliefs and superstitions.\* Occupation.

\* Vide Kurubas, page 1 and Morasu Okkalu, Monograph XV Appendices.

Caste  
Council.

They have Kattamanes presided over by the Gauda and Yajaman whose authority they obey. The beadle or servant of the caste is styled Hattara Manushya (The ten's Man) or Kolkar and acts under the orders of the Gauda.

Miscella-  
neous.

Gangadikaras have Hale-makkalu among the Gangadikara Holeyas, who give them the usual services, and get presents. †

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† See Morasu Okkalu Caste, pages 26 and 27.

## APPENDIX.

*Exogamous Divisions.*

- Alavi (ಅಳವಿ) Franany.  
 Anche (ಅಂಚೆ) Bird.  
 Ànc (ಆನೆ) Elephant.  
 Atti (ಅತ್ತಿ) Fig tree.  
 Àvi (ಆವಿ).  
 Ayyalu (ಆಯ್ಕಲು).  
 Bachchala (ಬಚ್ಚಲ).  
 Balame (ಬಲಮ).  
 Belli (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ) Silver.  
 Beraḷu (ಬೆರಳು) Finger.  
 Chandra (ಚಂದ್ರ) Moon.  
 Chattri (ಚತ್ತಿ) Umbrella.  
 Chinnada (ಚಿನ್ನದ) Gold.  
 Dālabandra (ದಾಲಬಂದ್ರ).  
 Enme (ಎಮ್ಮೆ) Buffalo.  
 Eṇi (ಏಣಿ) Ladder.  
 Guḍi (ಗುಡಿ) Temple.  
 Hasube (ಹಸಬೆ) Double bag.  
 Hòḷūru (ಹೋಳೋರು).  
 Honge (ಹೋಗ) Pongamia glabra.  
 Huvvu (ಹುವ್ವು) Flower.  
 Kūjjāya (ಕುಜ್ಜಾಯ) Cake.  
 Kallī (ಕಳ್ಳಿ) Plant.  
 Kamba (ಕಂಬ) Pillar.  
 Kasturi (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ) Musk.  
 Kōlu (ಕೋಲು) Stick.  
 Komme (ಕೂಮ್ಮೆ) A herb.  
 Kotti (ಕೊತ್ತಿ) Cat.  
 Kōvc (ಕೋವ).  
 Madana (ಮದನೆ).



- Màle (ಮಾಲೆ) Garland.  
 Mallige (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ) Jassamine.  
 Mani (ಮಣಿ) Glass beads.  
 Mòtu (ಮೋಟು).  
 Muchhalā (ಮುಚ್ಚಳ) Lid.  
 Muttu (ಮುತ್ತು) Pearl.  
 Sàme (ಸಾಮೆ) Panicum.  
 Savanti (ಸಾವಂತಿ) A flower.  
 Tene (ತೆನೆ) Ear of grain.  
 Ummara (ಉಮ್ಮರ).  
 Vāle (ವಾಲೆ) Ear ornament.  
 Valli (ವಲ್ಲಿ) A cloth.
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## NAGARTAS.

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This caste according to the Census of 1901 numbered <sup>Population.</sup> 9,318 souls, of whom 4,542 were males. Variation by districts shows that the majority of them are found in the Bangalore and Kolar Districts.

Nagarta (ನಗರ್ತ ) is the usual name and the term Ayó- Name. dhyánagaradavaru (ಆಯೋಧ್ಯಾ ನಗರದವರು) is less frequently used. They style themselves Vaisyas and the claim is generally admitted. The honorific suffix added to their personal names is Setty.

The term Nagarta means a dweller in a Nagara or town, and they are also styled Ayódhyánagaradavaru (or citizens of Ayódhya) as they claim Ayódhya (or Oudh) as their place of origin.

The Bhéri division of the caste speak Telugu and the <sup>Language.</sup> rest Kannada.

They claim to have been the residents of Ayódhya <sup>Origin.</sup> (Oudh) during the time of Sri Rama and to have come to the south many centuries ago.

The story of their origin as given by them is nearly the same as that of the Kómatis to whom notwithstanding their rivalry, they seem to be nearly related. Being Vaisyas, both the tribes claim to have sprung from the loins of Brahma and continued as one united tribe for long ages.

One of them by name Sudharma performed austere Tapas and obtained from Surya (the sun) the power of traversing through the different worlds at pleasure. But he abused his power by ravishing an Apsaras female whom he met in one of the upper worlds. This brought on him and his tribe the penalty of total annihilation to which they were doomed by the curse of Brahma.

The Creator was moved to relent by the prayers of the assembled gods and commissioned a Rishi named Val-kala to restore this useful class of earthly beings. After performing a sacrifice, the Rishi made one thousand images of men out of Kusa grass and infused life into them by

force of his mantras. The beings thus miraculously endowed with life were subsequently married to the thousand daughters of Kubéra and became the progenitors of the new Vaisyas who claim to have one thousand gótras. Subsequently there was a split in their camp and a section separated from the main caste and became known as Kómatís. The rest settled in Ayódhya and became known as citizens (Nagaraváralu or Nagartas) a name which is now applied to one division. They have taken to the worship of Siva who is regarded as having been incarnated as one among their thousand progenitors and their god was known by the special name of Nagaresvara.

The caste contains two main divisions, Vaishnavas or Námadhári Nagartas and Saivas or Lingadhári Nagartas. They are again divided into five endogamous divisions, namely, (1) Bhéri ( ಭೇರಿಯವರು ) also known as Bhéri Kómatís, (2) Bétappa's followers ( ಬೆಟಪ್ಪನವರು ), (3) Honnapa's followers ( ಹೊನ್ನಪ್ಪನವರು ), (4) Yammalanádu ( ಯಮ್ಮಲನಾಡು ) and Dévandahallí ( ದೇವಂದಹಳ್ಳಿಯವರು ).

Of these groups, Yammalanádu and Dévandahallí are Lingadháris and wear a Linga like ordinary Siváchar people, in addition to the sacred thread like the rest of the caste. Intermarriages among these divisions are prohibited and elderly women of one division do not dine in the houses of another division.

They believe they have one thousand gótras named after one thousand Rishis which, as usual, are exogamous. The following are a few of them: --

- |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Chandramaulésvara | ( ಚಂದ್ರಮೌಲೇಶ್ವರ ) |
| 2. Chólendra         | ( ಚೋಲೇಂದ್ರ )      |
| 3. Dévendra          | ( ದೇವೇಂದ್ರ )      |
| 4. Komaréndra        | ( ಕೊಮ್ಮರೇಂದ್ರ )   |
| 5. Kóvendra          | ( ಕೊವೇಂದ್ರ )      |
| 6. Máchendra         | ( ಮಾಚೇಂದ್ರ )      |
| 7. Mándavya          | ( ಮಂದಾವ್ಯ )       |
| 8. Nágendra          | ( ನಾಗೇಂದ್ರ )      |
| 9. Purushéndra       | ( ಪುರುಷೇಂದ್ರ )    |
| 10. Sáčendra         | ( ಸಾಚೇಂದ್ರ )      |
| 11. Vapanka          | ( ವಾಂಕ )          |
| 12. Varṇa            | ( ವರ್ಣ )          |

These gótras are found in all the five divisions and none of them appear to be totemistic.

The term Bhéri Setṭi was once applied to denote all the five divisions of the caste, but now it is confined to one section of the Nāmadhāri Nagartas. It is said that this name is derived from their employment in connection with the royal ceremony of Tulā Bhāram at which when the king was weighed against gold, it was the function of a true Vaisya to balance the scales.<sup>†</sup> As may be expected, this claim is challenged by their rivals of the Kōmatī caste.

The names Bētappa's followers, and Honnappa's followers are known after a well-known individual of each group, Bētappa and Honnappa, while the terms Yammalanādu and Dēvandahalli are territorial names and apply to such of the Nagartas as were living in or emigrated from these places.<sup>‡</sup>

Formerly Lingadhāri Nagartas used to marry girls below ten years of age belonging to the Nāmadhāri section by subjecting them to a process of Prayaschitta or expiatory ceremony, that is, slightly burning the girl's tongue with a heated gold piece, procuring her Tirtha or holy water from their Guru and investing her with a Linga. In such cases, the girl permanently remained in the Lingadhāri section and was not allowed to eat with the people of the section of her birth. This practice is still said to be prevalent in the Madras Presidency, but has almost gone out of use in Mysore.

Among Bētappa's section there is a sub-division known as Kūgūru who are considered to be a little inferior to the others of that division. The Kūgūru section marry girls belonging to the remaining section of the Bētappa's division and eat in their houses but the latter neither eat with Kūgūru section nor marry their girls.<sup>§</sup>

The inferiority of this sub-section is attributed to the fact of one of the families having by mistake carried away with them some children of an inferior caste while running away from their village to escape the raids of freebooters in the time of the Mahrattas.

The first and generally the second delivery of a woman takes place in her father's house, and it is a common belief

Birth ceremonies.

<sup>†</sup> The correctness of this derivation is however doubtful.

<sup>‡</sup> Yammalanādu is said to mean some place below the ghauts near Kumbhakonam.

<sup>§</sup> It may be observed that this is quite opposed to the idea of hypergamy of which indeed traces are somewhat rare in Southern India. There is a common saying that a girl given away is lost to the caste (ಕೊಟ್ಟು, ಪೋಗು ಕೂಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರುತ್ತಾ).

that for the third delivery, a woman should not be brought to the house of her parents. When the woman is in her fifth or the seventh month of pregnancy, a ceremony variously known as Simanta(ಸಿಮಂತ) or decking with flowers (ಹೂಮಂಟಿಸುವುದು), is observed when she is presented with a new Siré and puts on glass bangles after presenting some to married women. In the evening, she is exhibited in the company of married women, has her garments filled with rice, betel leaves and arecanuts, cocoanuts and other fruits, in the usual manner. The day is observed as a festive occasion and a dinner is given to all the caste men in honour of the event.

On delivery, a woman is confined to a room for sixteen days during which period the whole family observes pollution. The superstitions such as the confined woman being liable to the attacks of the evil spirits, are also common in this caste and with the view of preventing any molestation from them, such precautions as placing a crowbar, an old shoe or a winnow at the door of the confinement room are taken.

The confined woman and the child are bathed on the sixteenth day by married women. At about 10 o'clock in the morning all the caste men and women and Brahmans gather by invitation. The confined woman and her husband are seated in the assembly on planks with the child on the mother's lap. The purificatory ceremony is performed with the help of a Brahman Puróhit and the child is named. The ceremony observed is nearly the same as among Brahmans and the day is observed as a festive occasion.

Among the Lingayat Nagartas, the ceremonies observed are those peculiar to the followers of that religion. On the tenth day, after the mother and the child are bathed, the husband and the wife with the newborn child in her arms are seated on planks. The Puróhit who is a man of the Lingayat Aradhya sect is invited to officiate at the ceremony. He installs five Kalasas and makes Púja to them. The mother with the child is made to stand outside the threshold of the house. The priest's feet are washed and the water styled Dhúli Pádódaka (ಧೂಳಿ ಪಾದೋದಕ) is sprinkled over their head and body. The feet of the priest are again washed for the second time and the water styled Kriyá Pádódaka (ಕ್ರಿಯಾ ಪಾದೋದಕ) is sipped by the mother and a drop of it is put into the child's mouth. Then

the mother with the child enters the house and sits on a plank along with her husband. Then the priest consecrates a new Linga by washing it in the remaining portion of the Kriya Pádódaka, otherwise styled Karuṇa or holy water and tying it in a piece of ochre-coloured cloth, fastens it to the child's neck. He also applies Vibhūti ashes to its forehead and ties a Rudraksha bead round its neck. The Linga is then removed and given to the mother to take care of it till the child becomes old enough to wear it. A name is then given to the child. In the evening the cradle is worshipped with the burning of incense and breaking a coconut, and the child is put into it by married women. The persons gathering there present the child either with money or jewels. Sometimes the confined woman is taken to three or four neighbouring houses and is presented with turmeric paste and Kunkuma.

The names given are those of their deceased ancestors or family gods. If a man, whose parents have died, has a child, it is named after the father if male and mother if female. Sometimes a name formed by the names of both the family god and the ancestor is given to the child. Nāmadhāri Nagartas have no names peculiar to them, but among the Lingadhāris the following names are common which are not ordinarily found among others- *e. g.*, Kantappa (ಕಂತಪ್ಪ), Maguvāḷappa (ಮಗುವಾಳಪ್ಪ) and Māligappa (ಮಾಲಿಗಪ್ಪ) among males and Kantamma (ಕಂತಮ್ಮ) and Māligamma (ಮಾಲಿಗಮ್ಮ) among females. They are said to be names of their family gods. Opprobrious names such as Tippa (manure heap) are sometimes given to a child born after the death of his elder brothers.

The mother and the child are taken to a temple in the third month and get Tirtha after which the mother becomes completely purified and may thereafter attend to her household duties. Before the year is out, the mother and the child should stay in a different village or house at least for a night. The ears are bored in the fifth or the seventh month and sometimes this is put off to a later date. But it is said that it is necessary that a girl should have her ears bored before puberty. The first feeding with rice takes place in the eleventh month, and a male child is shorn of its hair in the third year.

For the Lingayet section, the initiation is performed in the tenth year. This is popularly styled liberation

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<sup>1</sup> If a girl attains puberty before the ear-boring ceremony, she is said to lose her caste.



from captivity (ಸರ ದಿವಸವು) and also Dikshe. A Lingayet Guru is invited to officiate at the ceremony and as he enters the house his feet are washed and a little of the water, which is known as Kriya Pádódáka is sipped as Tirtha. On a spot prepared for the purpose, the priest installs five Kalasas and makes Púja to them. The Linga which was tied to the child at birth is washed first in Panchagavya (ಪಂಚಗವ್ಯ) or the five products of the cow and then in the water with which the Guru's feet were washed and tied to the boy and Upadésa is given to him by the Guru initiating him with some secret Mantras. From that day till death the boy has to do Siva Púja both morning and evening and must before eating offer food first to the Linga.

Upanayana or investing the boy with the sacred thread takes place generally as a part of the marriage ceremony. But if for any reason the marriage does not take place, the ceremony is performed by itself.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is practised under the general law and Brahman priests are employed to officiate at the Hóna and other ceremonies connected therewith. Those who are Lingayets also invite Jangam priests and give presents to them. The boy is taken before Upanayana and the waist thread is removed and sometimes he is made to drink soap nut water, apparently to cleanse his body of impurities contracted while in the natural family.

#### Marriage.

A man must, of course, marry a girl of his own sub-caste. There are one or two apparent exceptions, such as that a man of the Yammalanadu section may marry a girl of Bétappa's division; the girl, however, altogether passes to her husband's section, and is not allowed to eat in her father's house. Even this practice is said to be dying out.

Marriages between persons belonging to the same Gótra are prohibited. Elder sister's daughter is generally among some preferentially married, but the daughter of a younger sister is never taken in marriage. Two sisters may be married by one man but at different times, especially when the first wife is barren or is suffering from an incurable disease and to avoid the quarrels in the family if a stranger girl is married, the sister of the living wife is preferred. Two sisters may not be married to uterine brothers. Polygamy is allowed, but polyandry is unknown.

Marriages are infant among the Nāmadhāri Nagartas, but among the Lingadbāris they may be either infant or adult. Among the latter the marriage of a girl may be postponed till the girl is even twenty years old and they say they are not aware of any prohibition against a woman living unmarried all her lifetime but such instances are extremely rare. The average age of marriage for boys has, of late, considerably risen and may be taken to be 20 years.

For Nischitārtha or the preliminary engagement, the bridegroom's party repair to the house of the bride and present her with a Sīrē and fruits and flowers in the presence of an assembly of their caste men and Brahmans. Lagnapatrikas are exchanged and Dakshine is given to Brahmans and the guests are entertained at a dinner. After this engagement, though neither party can withdraw from it without incurring penalty, it is not irrevocable.

The actual ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence with the Dēvarūta or God's feast which takes place on a Monday, Tuesday or Thursday according to the custom of each family. A Kalasa is set up and worshipped and some money is set apart for service for their household god.

On the second day is held the ceremony known as Hiriyara-ūta (feast of elders). A Kalasa is installed to represent the ancestors and new cloths and jewels intended as presents to the persons to be married are placed on a silk cloth spread on a wooden plank and Pūja is done to it. Among the Lingadhāri Nagartas, an Ārādhaya is invited and the ceremony of Kriya-katle (ಕೃಯಾಕಾತಲೆ) is gone through.

The marriage is generally celebrated in the bridegroom's house at which a pandal is erected on twelve pillars. His maternal uncle cuts down a twig of an Indian fig or margosa tree and deposits it at the foot of an Asvatththa tree (sacred fig), from where it is brought in state to the marriage house. Cloths dipped in turmeric are wrapped round it and a bundle containing nine kinds of staple grains and a Kankaya are tied to the post. It is fixed by five married women as a central pillar in a pit in which are thrown a bit of gold, a pearl, a coral bead and some milk.

\* This consists of washing his feet and receiving a little of the water as Tirtha.

The next item is the Nischitārtha. The bridegroom repairs in procession to the bride's residence and presents her with jewels and clothes and the formal proposal and acceptance of the contract are made in the presence of an assembly.

The parties to be married are then smeared over with turmeric paste and the bridegroom is dressed in new clothes presented by his father-in-law and is made to put on silver toe-rings. They are then regarded as bride and bridegroom (ಪೆಂಡೆಪುಟ್ಟ, ಪೆಂಡೆಗಂಡ). Then Ariveni pots are brought from the potter's house and consecrated in a separate room. In nine earthen dishes, nine kinds of grain are sown in a bed of earth and manure mixed together, and cotton thread is wound round them.

Some families observe an additional ceremony to propitiate the departed spirits. At about midnight, the bridegroom is dressed in new clothes and is taken in procession and with music to a place where four roads meet, the head of the family carrying a dagger or a sword. A plantain leaf is placed on a spot washed with cowdung and cooked food of various kinds is heaped on it. After offering Pūja to the heap, the man with the dagger goes round it three times and the party return home in silence, leaving behind the musicians who return to the marriage house by a different way.

Others, especially the Lingayet section substitute for this, the offering of Pūja to a lamp kept in a Kundāna or an iron cylinder. The ceremony scrupulously is observed and any irregularity in it is believed to bring on misfortune to the family. Again after the installation of this lamp, it is obligatory that the marriage must take place and if, by any chance, the match is broken, the light must be kept burning and Pūja continued to it till another match is settled and the marriage is over.

A Kundāna is placed in a freshly cleansed room on a plank and three measures of paddy are heaped within it. Castor oil specially drawn for this purpose by women in Maḍi state is poured in an earthen saucer and a wick is lighted in it. This is placed on the paddy within the cylinder and carefully tended during the whole period of the marriage. A Kalasa and an image representing Gauri are

\* This cylinder is placed over a stone mortar to prevent grain or other articles being scattered about while pounding.

placed near this and the bridegroom's parents and the married women present offer Pūja. Then the worship of Karaga (earthen pot) takes place. An earthen pot, newly got from the potter's house, is decorated and carried in state to an Asvaththa-kaṭṭe on the head by the mother of the bridegroom, the tree bringing water in a small vessel. The procession with the bridegroom walk under a canopy and an empty palankin is also carried. The Karaga is placed at the foot of the Peepul tree and Pūja is offered with the help of a Brahman Puróhit. Bhāshinga is tied on the forehead of the bridegroom who with his parents goes round the tree five times, passing cotton thread round it in five lines. Then he is made to sit in a palankin, the mother carries the Karaga on her head and the procession returns to the marriage pandal with great pomp and show, passing through the principal streets prescribed for the caste. At the threshold, an Ārati is waved round the Karaga and the bridegroom by married women and all enter the house, the Puróhit chanting appropriate Mantras. The Karaga is placed near the sacred lamp. The mother is seated on a plank and is presented by the relatives with flowers, turmeric paste Kunkuma and some money and clothes for the special service of having brought the god into the house.

On the next day, which is the principal day of the marriage, the bridegroom is first made to undergo the various sacramental ceremonies, such as, naming, shaving and Upanayana and puts on the sacred thread. Then Upadēsa is given by the father to the boy under the direction of the Puróhit.

The ceremonies in connection with the marriage proper commence. The mock pilgrimage to Benares and other ceremonies including the Dhare and the tying of Tālī are carried on in much the same way as among the Kómatis or the Brahmans. In place of Bhāshinga, they tie a thin gold plate on the forehead of the bride, and the Tālī except among the people of the Bhēri section is made not in the usual shape but in the form of a star with three points and is called Pusti (पुष्टि). After it is tied, the couple rise from their seats on the dais with the hems of their garments knotted, and, holding each other's hands go, round the Aupāsana pot and the milk post and then do Pūja to Arundhati. They are then conducted into the room in which the Kundāna lamp is

burning and bow before it. They are seated before the lamp on planks and five married couples put Sâse to them.

On the following two days, there are no ceremonies except the performing of Sandhaya and Aupâsana and the exhibition of the couple in the company of married women, when they (the bridal couple) smear each other with turmeric and Kunkuma and present each other with flowers, pansupari and other articles. This is styled Uraṭane (ಉರಟನೆ). On the fourth day the articles of presentation to the bride and the bridegroom are paraded in the streets, the party going in procession with music. This is known as Peṭe Osage (ಪೆಟೆ ಎಸಗೆ).

Early in the morning on the fifth day takes place the Sêsha Hôma. The couple undergo the nail-paring ceremony, bring in procession earth from an anthill and turn it into balls. They place the balls at the foot of each of the pandal pillars and offer to them on platters boiled rice and sweets. They then burn incense and wave lighted camphor before them. The cooked rice and other eatables placed there are taken by the washerman. Next the couple are taken for the worship of Hasti Yugma (ಹಸ್ತಿಯುಗ್ಮ, a pair of elephants). The surface of the dais is decorated with quartz powder and Nagavah pots are arranged on it. Two elephants one of dhall and the other of salt are drawn on the ground to face each other, and the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand on them. The bridegroom asks the bride to exchange his elephant with hers and *vice versa* and they change places with each other. Then take place in order the tying of the second Tâli with black glass beads by the husband to the wife, Sapta Rishi Pûje (worship of the seven Rishis), and going to the temple of their tribal deity Nagarêsvara. After returning from the temple, the couple remove the Kankanas from each other's wrists and five married couples pour Sâse on their heads. Next follows the Pûja of Pâlikes, that is, the earthen dishes in which nine kinds of grain have been sown. The seedlings have now grown about six inches high. The newly married couple worship them and they are carried by married women in the evening to a well or a brook and the dishes emptied in the water. In the night the bride and the bridegroom seated in a Palankin are taken in procession with great pomp and show and this is said to be an essential event even in poor families. On

return the couple are seated together and are given wedding presents. The pot-searching ceremony and the mock birth of a child and housekeeping play then take place. Afterwards the Kundāya lamp is worshipped and the light is extinguished.

Next day the girl is made to pound a quantity of paddy, cook sweetened rice (ಪರಪ್ಪನ್ನೆ) out of it and serve it to her husband.

They do not give any bride price.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for ten days and is made to sit by herself in a shed, improvised for her by placing a large sugar boiling caldron leaning against a wall, with some Laukile leaves stuck on it. She bathes every day and renews her clothes. In the evenings, she is exhibited before a company of women, and turmeric paste, Kunkuma, flowers, and pansupari are distributed to them. She enters the house on the eleventh day after a bath. Puberty

If, as is generally the case, the girl has been already married, the consummation takes place within sixteen days and the ceremonies are the same as those observed among Kōmāṭis.

Widow marriage is not allowed. A woman cannot be divorced unless it be for her proved incontinency. A divorced woman cannot be married again. Adultery is regarded with abhorrence and entails loss of caste. They do not dedicate girls as Basavis. Widow Marriage,

Nāmadhāri Nagartas burn, but the Lingadhāris bury their dead. Some of the latter carry the corpse in a Vimāna, while others roll it up in a Kambli and carry it to the burial ground by hands. As soon as life is extinct, the Setṭi and the Yajaman are sent for and they arrange for the corpse-bearers. The body is washed and wrapped up in a new cloth. Nāmadhāris invite a Brahman Purōhit. The corpse is placed on the bier and is carried by four men on shoulders preceded by the son who carries fire. On reaching the cremation ground, the dead body is taken thrice round the funeral pyre and placed thereon with the head turned towards the north. The cloth is taken off the body and the son sets fire to the pile after performing some purificatory ceremony. All sit at a distance till the body is half-burnt and then go to a river Funeral ceremonies.

or a well to bathe. After bathing all return to the house in wet clothes to see a light kept on the spot where the deceased expired.

On the second day, the son and some others repair to the cremation ground to examine if the body has been fully converted to ashes and to perform the daily funeral ceremony. On the third day the ashes are collected and thrown into water. The remnants of the bones are sometimes preserved in a vessel and sent to Benares to be thrown into the Ganges.

From the fourth to the fifteenth day, the son accompanied by the Puróhit goes to the burning ground, bathes there and offers libations and oblations to the manes of the deceased. On the sixteenth all the agnates bathe and the ceremonies known as *Vrishabhótsarga* (setting free of a bull) and *Ājya Srāddha* (oblation in ghee) are performed by the son.

The next day all their caste men are invited to a dinner meant to help the deceased's entry into heaven (*Vaikuntha*). They observe the monthly and other *Srāddhas* as among the *Kómatís* and *Brahmans*.

The funeral ceremonies observed by the *Lingadhári Nagartas* are a mixture of the Brahmanical and the Lingayet ritual. As soon as a person is dead, an *Ārádhya* priest is called and the son makes *Pūja* to the dead body under his direction. The corpse is then carried either by hands or in a *Vimāna* to the burial ground and carried round the pit three times. At the four corners of the grave are buried copper plates with some characters inscribed on them meant to guard it from desecration. This is styled *Chakrasthapana* (ಚಕ್ರಸ್ಥಾಪನ). Incense is burnt and a coconut is broken before the grave and the corpse is put into it. If it has been carried in a *Vimāna*, it is buried in a sitting posture in a niche excavated in one of the walls of the grave. It is then packed with *Vibhūti* ashes and *Bilva* leaves (*Aegle Marmelos*). The priest places his foot on the head of the corpse and calls out *Ughe* (ಊಹೆ Hurrah). The pit is then filled up and a mound formed over it into which a stone is stuck and a *Tumbe shrub* (*Phlonis Indica*) is planted on it. The priest is made to stand on the grave, and *Pūja* is offered to his feet with

\**Ughe* mean Hurrah! It is an exclamation of joy. The Lingayet doctrine is that when a Lingayet leaves this mortal body, he goes straight to Kailasa and there is no death.

fruits, flowers and incense. They then distribute some grain and money as charity and return home after washing their hands and feet in some brook or pond. As they approach the house, an old woman scatters a small quantity of paddy on the ground and pours water over it and they pass treading on that spot. A lamp is lighted on a heap of paddy on the spot of death and those returning from the grave smother the flame with pomegranate flowers. The whole house is then cleansed with cowdung. A meal is cooked that night for which the necessary provisions are bought fresh from the bazaar. A Jangama priest is invited for dinner and is served food on a leaf placed on the spot where the deceased expired. All the preparations are served to him at once and the prescribed fees are paid then and there. The Jangama eats the food without speaking and goes away without looking back. Then all the agnates join and eat in the deceased's house.

On the third day, a party headed by the son go to the burial ground, place fried grains of five kinds and some milk on the grave, remove the stone set up there and return after washing hands and feet in a water course.

No ceremonies take place on the eleventh day. This day all bathe to remove pollution. A Brahman Puróhit is invited and performs Punyahavachana. Then an Árādhyā priest does Kriya Kaṭle by having his feet washed and giving Pirtha. On the twelfth day a dinner is given to which all the agnates and some Jangama priests are invited. After dinner, the nearest relatives of the son present him with a new cloth which he wears and an arecaput which he puts into his mouth and spits out. Then he washes his hands and feet and comes into the assembly where flowers, sandal and pansupari are given to him. They then visit the temple of their family deity and have Mangalārati service performed to the god. On return from there, the son and some elderly persons, including the Setṭi and the Yajaman repair to the deceased's shop. They formally hand over the account books kept by the deceased to his son and on a slate or kadata (कदत) he is asked to write the names of five gods or rather five names of god Siva. Then he is made to write that such and such a man (meaning of course his father) went to the presence of god Siva on such and such a day. Then the Setṭi and the Yajaman and other caste men and relative, offers condolences and give him advice as to his future career.



From there the relatives who have come for offering condolences go away to their villages or towns without any formal leave-taking, and it is said that they should not see the lamp burning in the deceased's house that day.

Lingadhári Nagartas generally omit the monthly ceremonies but perform the annual ceremonies like others.

Religion.

There are both Vaishnavas and Saivas among the Nagartas, but all worship both the gods. Their tribal god is Nagarésvara whose temples are situated in large centres to which they make pilgrimages. They also offer cocoanuts to all the minor gods and goddesses such as Munisvara and Māramma.

Their Guru is styled Dharma Sivacharadavaru who pays them periodical visits to give them Tirtha and Prasāda. As he is a Brahman, the Lingayet Nagartas take only milk from his hands as Tirtha.

Siriyāla, Hēmapāla and Dharmapāla are the great names whose memories they respect. They are said to be men of this caste who acquired great repute as virtuous, charitable persons.

Social status.

Nagartas do not admit members of other castes into theirs. They are strict vegetarians. Nāmadhāri Nagartas eat only in the houses of Brahmans and Lingadhāri Nagartas in the houses of Jangamas and Ārādyā Lingayets only. Bēdas and Mādigas eat in their houses.

Nagartas belong to the left hand (Nine Phana) group of castes and are said to be at the head of this group for which reason, it is popularly known as Nagarta Phana. They follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

Occupation.

Nagartas are merchants by profession and have mostly adhered to this calling, though some have taken to agriculture. They are bankers, contractors and grain merchants.

Tribal constitution.

They have a well organised tribal constitution. The whole caste is divided into territorial jurisdictions styled Kattēmanes, at the head of each of which are a Setṭi and an Vajaman. These offices are hereditary and if the heir of the deceased functionary is either too young or otherwise ineligible, another man may be chosen by the consent of all, either for a temporary period or permanently. In some places, they have a caste servant, known as Pēte Basavi whose duty it is to invite the caste people whenever necessary. The headman of the caste has, as in other castes, power to enquire into and adjudge caste disputes. Whenever their Guru visits them, information of

the event is sent to the Setti and Yajaman, and they arrange for his reception and always fix the amount to be given by the Kattēmane as Guru Dakshina. During such important ceremonies as those of marriage, birth and death, these headmen have the management of the whole affair. It is said that in some places, the Setti and the Yajaman have Inam lands given to them by Government and are said to be exempt from paying the mohatarfa tax (shop and house tax) to the Government.

In some places the Nagartas have reserved for their exclusive service a set of dancing girls, who are not allowed to exhibit themselves before any assembly of the eighteen Phana castes.



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## APPENDIX II.

Notes on Désayi Chetty by the late Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastru



## TELUGU BANAJIGAS.

The caste known as Banajigas or traders is found General.  
scattered throughout the State, the largest number being  
in places of commercial importance.

The Census of 1901, estimates their population at 132,467, of whom 66,825 or 50·4 per cent are males. It is recorded of them that “during the famine (of 1877) this caste suffered severely, so many as 28,098 or 23 per cent. having either died or gone away to other places in 1881. Since that period, the caste has been rapidly recovering so that, in the present Census (of 1901), there are 10,439 or 8·5 per cent more than what they were in 1871, and 26,074 or 24·5 per cent more than in 1891.”

The large increase however has at any rate partially to be accounted for by the eagerness of some of the lower castes to enrol themselves under this title to mark a rise in their social scale.\*

Distribution by districts shows that nearly a third of the entire Banajiga population is to be found in the Kolar District and another third in Bangalore and Mysore Districts, the other five districts put together accounting for the remainder.

The name by which the caste is generally known is Name.  
Banajiga. But the name Balaja which appears to be a later form of the word Banajiga is most popular with one section of the caste styled Telugu Banajiga, which constitutes by far the largest portion in the caste. There is another name which is more recent, namely, Gauravulu (గౌరవులు). This is not generally known in this State and appears to be a variation of the term Kavarai (కవరై) which again is “a corrupt form of Gauri, the patron deity of the caste.”† Some call it “Nayadu caste.” This is again not generally accepted and some Banajigas resent the term, while others especially the educated portion of the community have taken kindly to it. The term “Naydu” is

\* Vide Monograph on Nayindas XII, p. 14.

† North Arcot Manual, p. 203.

the same as Nayak in Kannada, and used as an honorific suffix to a name.

The term Banajiga is derived from the Sanskrit Vanik signifying a tradesman. Different derivations are however given to the word Balaja, which seems to be another form of the same name.

Some say that it means born of Bali or sacrifice, as their progenitor was born in the course of a Yāga performed by Gauri. Some others say that they are the descendants of Balarama, the brother of Krishna, and are hence known as Balajas. A third derivation of the term explains that they are the descendants of a king of Magadha country called Bali or Balija or Śubhakarā who was said to have been reigning in the country from 31 B. C. to 8 A. D.

The most common suffixes used after the names are Setti and Naydu. Some who have come into the State from the Telugu country use Rav Naidu after them, while a few persons in the town of Mysore who are said to have immigrated into Mysore from Vijianagar use Ravuta which means a warrior. The common affixes such as Appa and Ayya for males and Amma and Akka for females are also used, the suffix Ayya (for males) being more popular. Sometimes two suffixes, as in Ramayya Setti are used.

Origin.

The caste is a composite one, comprised of people who have trade as their occupation. It is a popular resort for those who cannot range themselves under any of the established castes. It is sometimes said that it is an off-shoot of Kapu or Reddi caste, and that Kammars, Vellalas and Gollas are found in it. But in this State, the Banajigas do not claim any affinity with Kapus and Gollas, and say that though many persons assume the name without a claim to it, they themselves have no difficulty in finding out who do and who do not properly belong to their caste.

Mr. (now Sir) H. A. Stuart writes as follows about the Balijas (Banajigas) in the Madras Presidency:—"The Balajas are the trading caste of the Telugu Country, but they are now found in every part of the Presidency. Concerning the origin of this caste several traditions exist, but the most probable is that which represents them as a recent off-shoot of the Kapu or Reddi caste. The caste is rather a mixed one for they will admit, without much

scruple, persons who have been expelled from their proper caste or who are the result of irregular unions.”\*

The following are some of the stories given to explain their origin :—

“The name is derived from Sanskrit words *bali*, a sacrifice and *ja* born signifying that the Baliyas owe their origin to the performance of a *yagam*. Their legend describes how one Dakshayani, daughter of a saint named Dakshaprajapati, dissatisfied with the ornaments bestowed upon her by her father desired more. Her father consulted Brahma as to how he might satisfy her, and the young woman was by the deity directed to perform a Yagam. With the assistance of a Brahman she did this, and from the sacrificial flames issued a personage bearing glass bangles turmeric and other auspicious articles, which he bestowed upon the girl. She accepted and wore them, directing that all women for the future should use similar ornaments. The person who sprung from the Yagam became the ancestor of the Baliyas, who are sometimes called Gauriputras, or sons of a woman, since their remote ancestor was the result of a woman’s Yagam. Originally the caste would seem to have been solely employed in making bangles, pearl or coral ornaments, and other sorts of female adornments; but now the greater part engage in agriculture.”†

It is stated by Buchanan “that all the Banajigas are descended from a person called Prithhivi Malla Chetty. By his first wife, who was of the Vishnu sect he had ancestors of their (Telugu Banajigas) caste, and by his second wife, who worshipped *Iswara*, or *Siva*, he had the ancestors of the Lingayantaru.”‡

It is claimed by some of them that they are the descendants of Balarama (Krishna’s brother) by a Sudra wife, who bore 101 sons. As these who were Sudras learnt the Vedas by hearing Brahmin pupils reciting them, rains held off and famine visited the land. Balarama on learning the cause got angry with them and sent them to their tribal goddess for correction. The goddess showed them their true origin, and directed them to earn their living by trade, presenting them with seven casks of coins as their starting capital.

\* Madras Census Report of 1891, p. 276.

† North Arcot Manual, p. 202.

‡ Buchanan’s Travels, Vol. I, p. 168.



It is claimed by some of this caste that they are Kshatriyas of the Lunar race, through the Narapatis of Vijayanagar whose descent can be traced by means of various authorities to the ancient Andhrakings and to the well-known Yayati Raja mentioned in the Mahabharata.

The following passage from the Madras Census Report, 1901 (p. 144), is interesting in this connection:—

“It is said to have two main sub-divisions, Désa (or Kôṭa) and Péṭa. The first of these includes those whose ancestors are supposed to have been the Balija (Náyak) Kings of Madura, Tanjore and Vijianagar, or provincial Governors in those kingdoms and to the second belong those, like the Gázulu (bangle-sellers) and Perike (salt-sellers), who live by trade. In the Tamil Districts Balijas are known as Vaḍugans (‘Telugu people’) and Kavarais. The descendants of the Náyak or Balija Kings of Madura and Tanjore claim to be Kshatriyas and of the Káśyapa Gôtra, while the Vijianagar Ráis say they are lineal descendants of the sage Bháradwája. Others trace their ancestry to the Kauravas of the Mahábhárata. This Kshatriya descent is not, however admitted by other castes who say that Balijas are an off-shoot of the Kammas or Kápus or that they are a mixed community, recruited from these and other Telugu castes. The members of the caste none of them now wear the sacred thread or follow the Vedic ritual.”

Divisions.

The divisions known as Désa (or Kôṭa) and Péṭa which are said to be prevalent in the Madras Presidency are unknown in this State. There are two broad divisions namely Lingayat Banajiga and Telugu or non-Lingayat Banajigas. The former will be treated along with the other Lingayats.

The number of sub-divisions of the non-Lingayats is fluctuating on account of new assumptions of the caste title. The better known ones are enumerated below :

1. Dasa Banajiga (దాస బంజిగ).
2. Ele Banajiga or Tota Banajiga (ఎల బంజిగ, తోట బంజిగ).
3. Dudi Banajiga (దుది బంజిగ).
4. Gazula Banajiga or Setti Banajiga (గజుల బంజిగ, సెట్టి బంజిగ).
5. Puvulu Banajiga (పువ్వులు).

- |                    |          |                        |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|
| 6. Nayadu          | Banajiga | (నాయడు).               |
| 7. Sukamanchi      | do       | (సుఖమంచి).             |
| 8. Jidipalli       | do       | (జీడిపల్లి).           |
| 9. Rajamahendram   | do       | (రాజమహేంద్రం) (Tel.).  |
| 10. Uppu           | do       | (ఉప్పు) (Kan.).        |
| 11. Goni           | do       | (గొణి).                |
| 12. Ravut          |          | (రవూత).                |
| 13. Rālla          |          | (రల్ల) (Tel.).         |
| 14. Munnta or Pusa |          | (మున్తా - పూస) (Tel.). |

Dasa Banajiga or as they call themselves Jaina Kshatriya Rāmānuja Dāsa Vāpiya, say they were formerly Jain Kshatriyas and were converted into Vaishnavism by Ramanujāchārya. They are very cleanly in habits, pure vegetarians and follow the doctrines of Ramanuja Charya. They are found in large numbers in Channapatna (Bangalore District). They do not eat food cooked even by Brahmans who are not Sri-Vaishnavas.

Ele Banajigas are, as their name implies betel growers; some of them are vegetarians.

Dudi or Cotton Banajigas are traders in cotton. They are also strict vegetarians and abstain from eating in the houses of others than Brahmans. They have some (eponymous) exogamous divisions, *e. g.*, Góvīla and Babhruvāhana and are found in small numbers in the Kolar District. They have a Purāna known as Lakshminarayana Puranam written for them by their Guru, Lakshminarayana Sastri.

Gazula or glass bangles section is also known as Setti Banajiga. This is considered a very respectable division, and it is not unusual for persons of other sections to claim this as their own. They are the dealers in glass bangles and are at the head of the 18 phanas. Setti is the title applied to the persons of this section.

Puvvalu or flower sellers are also said to belong to the Gazula division.

Náyadu.--This division is said to be same as the Kōṭa division referred to above. On behalf of these, it is claimed that they are Kshatriyas of the lunar race, and that the term, which is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit Nayak, came to be applied to them when, during the zenith of the Vijianagar rule, the King divided his whole kingdom into nine parts and placed at the head of each part a man of this caste under the title Nayak. This

division has become much mixed up, the title *Náyadu* being appropriated by many persons of doubtful origin such as children of dancing girls.

*Jidipalli* and *Rajamahendram* originated from the places inhabited by them, but they subsequently came to denote caste sub-divisions.

*Ravut* is a small section living especially in the town of Mysore. They are also known, as *Oppana Banajigas*. They are said to have been sent into the Mysore country from *Vijianagar* to collect the tribute due to that King. *Oppana* meaning appointment. They were all soldiers and were hence known as *Ravuts*.

The divisions *Uppu* and *Góni* have become separate castes with distinct accounts as to their origin. Their exogamous divisions are also different and they are not included in this account.

*Munnûta Banajigas* are wandering hawkers and beggars. They are otherwise styled *Dandi Dásaris*. They have all the customs of wandering tribes, such as having to meet at an appointed time for the settlement of their tribal disputes, performing many marriages at a time and a son-in-law having to reside with the father-in-law till the birth of his first child. They are looked upon as very low in the scale, and eat in the houses of many lower castes.

There are other divisions among some of the *Banajigas* which are neither endogamous nor exogamous. One set of such divisions is based upon the number of booths they erect during marriages and are styled *Onti Chapparuvállu* (of one pandal) and *Rendu Chapparuvállu* (of two pandals), the other set of divisions is based upon the number of *Siris* (woman's cloth) which they have to present to the bride in marriages, and are known as *Rendu Chiraluvállu* (of two *Sirés*), *Mûdu Chiraluvállu* (of three *Sirés*) and in places *Aidu Chiraluvállu* (of five *Sirés*) according as they have to present two, three or five *Sirés* respectively to the bride.

The *Telugu Banajiga* have a large number of exogamous divisions many of them perhaps totemistic, though the significance of the terms is forgotten. In addition, they have what are called house names "*Inti-pérlu*" which are also exogamous in their operation. Some of the exogamous divisions and house names are given in the Appendix.

Telugu is the language of the caste, but the Dāsa Banajigas and some of the Ele Banajigas speak Kannada at home. Language.

When a woman is pregnant for the first time, she is taken to her parent's house, where she is féted and presented with new clothes. During pregnancy, the husband abstains from such acts as killing animals, carrying any corpse or putting on of a roof over a house. He also abstains from shaving for a few months before delivery, and he may not touch the milk post of a marriage pandal. Birth ceremonies.

On the birth of the child, the mother is impure for ten days when she is kept in a separate room, at the entrance of which are placed margosa leaves, old shoes and brooms to ward off evil spirits. Some people attach significance to the ceremony of the severing the navel cord, after which they place a drop of honey or sugar in the mouth of the child, invoking the name of Vishnu at the time.

On the 11th day, the mother and the child are bathed in the usual fashion after performing the pit ceremony.\* Then the house is purified and the name giving ceremony is performed. In the evening, the child is put into a cradle and rocked in the presence of married women. The names given are the common ones but as Telugu Banajigas are more Vaishnavites in their religion, the names of Vishnu are more popular. Giving of opprobrious names are also in vogue and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames and pet names are also given.†

A man without male issue is allowed to adopt a boy who must, as in all other castes, be younger than the adopter. The boy may be of any age provided he is unmarried, but even this restriction is overlooked, if he is the adoptive father's brother's son. But the most popular and proper adoption is that of a young boy below 12 years of age. A man may take in adoption his brother's or daughter's son and often his sister's son but in the latter case, the boy is almost always adopted as an Illātan son-in-law and is married to the adopter's daughter. But in no case can a brother be adopted as son. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes.‡ The matter is notified to the head of the caste styled Dē-sāyi Setty who either attends in person or sends a deputy. Adoption.

\* Vide Gollas Monograph XX, p. 4.

† Vide Morasu Okkalu Monograph XV, p. 6-7.

‡ Vide Morasu Okkalu XV, page 12-13.

The caste servant called Chalavādi who is a Holeyā attends with his insignia, the bell and the ladle.

#### Marriage.

Marriages are either adult or infant and there is no limitation as to age prescribed either for a man or a woman, but as a rule a girl is married before the 16th year and a boy before the 20th. A woman may even remain without marriage without incurring any caste odium, provided her chastity is unquestionable, but when she dies, her funerals are modified to a considerable extent and are the same as those of infants. She cannot take part, in a few ceremonies, such as smearing the bridal pair with turmeric, etc. which are to be performed only by married persons.

There is nothing peculiar to the caste in the matter of prohibited relationship for marriage. Polygamy is rarely practised without some special reason such as sickness or childlessness: and there are no traces of polyandry.

The preliminary agreement for marriage is arrived at by the ceremony of exchanging betel leaves and nuts, and the gift of clothes, etc., to the bride and the delivery of marriage letter to the bridegroom's father.

The marriage ceremonies commence some time afterwards and last for five days. On the first day, the ceremonies called pounding of turmeric and distribution of betel leaves and nuts take place. The ancestors are worshipped in the evening. The bride and bridegroom fast till night that day. Some rice is presented to the temples in the place, and at night a Kalasa is installed in the names of the deceased female ancestors and new clothes intended for the bridal pair jewels such as nose screw, toe rings, bangles and also a dagger are kept and worshipped near it. Then the toe rings are put on the bridegroom's toes and he is smeared with turmeric. This is followed by a dinner. Next day, the putting up of the marriage booth on twelve<sup>\*</sup> pillars, and setting up of the milk post by the married ladies take place. The Muhurta or the chief ceremony takes place on the third day. Early in the morning, both parties get their nails pared and bathe in Maleniru. The bridegroom dressed in new cloths repairs to a temple. A party of married women go to a potter's house to bring pots styled Arivenis which are arranged in a row in a room and worshipped. The maternal uncle of the bridegroom

\* It is said that only unmarried men must bring the pandal pillars, but the milk post must be brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle.

ties Bhashinga to him. Then a party of married women and the father of the bridegroom take in procession coconuts, plantains, jaggery cubes, turmeric, kunkuma and clothes and jewels to the bride's house and present them to her and the ceremony styled Nischitartha (confirmation of agreement) takes place. Then the bridegroom holding a dagger in his hand and accompanied by the best man is conducted in procession to the marriage pandal under a moving canopy. Then the bride is also conducted to the pandal. The Purohit who is always a Brahmin repeats mantras and the bridal pair put jaggery and cummin seed on each others' head. This is followed by the Tāli tying, milk pouring, kankana tying and rice pouring ceremonies as in other castes. Then pau-supari and money are distributed among the assembled Brahmans. The bridal pair rise from their seats holding each other by the hand and having the fringe of their garments knotted together, go round the milk post three times and then worship the Arundhati star. Then they are conducted into the Ariveni room at the entrance to which the sister of the bridegroom bars the passage and gets a promise that the first born daughter would be given to her son in marriage. After dinner to the caste men, the bridal pair are exhibited in their company and undergo the Nalagu ceremony. Then wedding presents are given to the bride and the bridegroom. On the next day, the bridegroom feigning dissatisfaction with his wife, leaves the marriage house by stealth, and conceals himself in a garden or elsewhere. In the evening, the bride, her sisters and others go in procession to search for him. On meeting the bridegroom, they present him with new clothes and coax him to go back to the marriage pandal. The pair sit on planks and undergo Nalagu with much fun and frolic, when songs are sung relating to the flight of the bridegroom, his discovery and return. Then dinner takes place in the night. On the fifth day takes place the ceremony of Nagavale. Early in the morning the couple are seated together and undergo the nail paring again. Then they bathe and dressed in wedding clothes with Bhashinga on, go in procession to an ant-hill to fetch earth therefrom. They make balls out of it and placing near the pandal posts, worship them with offering of food.\* Then the pot searching ceremony and the removing of the

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\* *Vide* Mono. I Kuruba caste, page 14.

kankanás take place. In the afternoon after dinner they play at mock child birth, housekeeping and <sup>4</sup>ploughing a field. Then the Nalagu ceremony, distribution of cocoanuts with money, and Áratí take place. In the night the bride formally enters the house of the bridegroom (నాళుగవేళ). Then either that day or in the afternoon of the next day takes place the worship of Simhasána, when after Puja, Tāmbulas are distributed in the prescribed order. Near the Simhasana, they keep a bundle of glass bangles and also the bell and the ladle and worship them. Next day the milk-post is removed after having milk poured on it. Then the bridal party go to the bride's house where they stop a day or two and then return leaving the bride there. It is the custom in some places, that the bridegroom should steal some article such as a brass vessel or a hatchet when he returns from his father-in-law's house.

Most sections of the Telugu Banajigas pay bride price, the amount varying from Rs. 12 to 20. But some either do not receive any amount, or pay it back to the girl in the shape of some jewels.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for ten<sup>1</sup> days during which time she is kept outside the house in a shed of green leaves put up for her use by her maternal uncle or one similarly related. Each day she bathes and puts on fresh clothes supplied by the washerman. On the eleventh day, after bathing, she is admitted into some portions of the house. She does not get quite free of the taint of pollution till the sixteenth day. If the girl is already married, the consummation of marriage takes place that day. In the case of unmarried girls, the event is put off for three months after the marriage.

Widow marriage.

Widow marriage is strictly forbidden, except among the wandering division styled Munnúta Banajigas, who are regarded as being low in social scale.

Divorce and adulterers.

Divorce is not allowed and adultery is looked upon with abhorrence. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant is outcasted and is not readmitted. Girls are not dedicated as Basavis.

Death ceremonic

The dead are buried except those who were afflicted with leprosy whose bodies are cremated. The mode of

<sup>1</sup> Vide Golla caste Mono. XX, page 9.

<sup>4</sup> Some have reduced the period to three days as among Brahmans.

disposing of the body by Kallu-sève also prevails in some localities. There is nothing peculiar to the caste in the burial ceremonies. They are the same as those obtaining among the † Morasu Okkalu except that the Dāsavyas and some times Sātānis also assist in the ceremonies.

Telugu Banajigas are Vaishnavas in religion but they respect and offer pūja to Siva also. It is † written of them that they were originally Buddhists (meaning perhaps Jains) and then adopted Vaishnavism and Saivism and built many temples for these Gods. Some have Sri-vaishnava Brahmans as their Gurus while others follow Sātānis, from whom they receive Chakrankitam and Prasāda. They go in pilgrimage to Tirupati, Melkote and other Vaishnava shrines; also occasionally to the Siva's shrine in Nanjangud. Many of this caste take vows as Dasaris who are all worshippers of Vishnu and who go about begging with gong and conch, and are often invited and feasted by various Sudra castes on ceremonial occasions.

Religion.

The Telugu Banajigas observe all the feasts of the Hindus such as New Year's (Telugu) day, Gauri, Ganesa, Dasara, Dipavali, Sankranti and Holi, and also fast on the Ekadasis of the bright fortnights of Ashadha and Pushya, and on Sivaratri in Magha. They often form Bhajana groups among themselves.

Their characteristic occupation is trade, but those in villages have agriculture as their main business, both as landholders and as tenants. They are also well represented in other professions such as those of contractors and Government servants, the Nayadu Section being especially strong in Government service.

Occupation

Okkaligas and Telugu Banajigas may dine with each other. The latter occupy a fairly respectable position socially and do not admit outsiders into their caste. Those who have been outcasted may be taken back after payment of a fine and purification by burning the tongue with a piece of gold or a margosa leaf. They are flesh eaters†, and the use of liquor is only nominally forbidden. But Dudi Banajigas and Dāsa Banajigas are strict vegetarians and teetotallers. They employ Brahmans and Sātānis as priests and follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

Social status.

† Vide Monograph on Morasu Okkalu, XV, page 19 -22.

† Baliyavamosa Puranam by S. P. Narasimhalu Naidu, page 90-91.

† The division called రెండు శ్రీ సహస్రు (of two Sires) eschew goat flesh.



Phanas.

The caste is at the head of the organisation styled Desada Phanas, that is eighteen Phanas or the Right hand group. The origin of the two opposite Phanas called respectively the right and the left hand Phana is obscure and no satisfactory account is available. As usual, there are myths to explain the distinction and one of them is given in the account of the Holeyas (p. 2). The following is another version:--

Parvati, the consort of Siva, having had no issue, performed a Yāga to get children. Out of the sacrificial fire came a man called Rathakāra, carrying with him a hammer, an anvil and a firepot. The Goddess adopted him as her son and he made various jewels for his divine mother. She however wanted other things needed for a married woman, such as bangles, turmeric and other auspicious articles. She was enjoined by her consort to perform another Yāga, as a result of which was born a man called Pattabhadra who got her these articles. She was quite pleased with his work and as a reward gave him a number of insignia. God Siva invested the elder son Rathakāra with the headship of all the castes, enjoining him to govern in accordance with time honoured customs. But the boy utterly failed in the appointed task, and to allay the universal discontent that he aroused, he was deposed and the younger son was installed in his place. Under the latter's rule, the people were happy and contented and the praises of Pattabhadra were in every body's mouth. This roused the envy of the elder brother, who collected a large faction and fought with the other. The mother intervened and separated the combatants, and led the two sons to the presence of her husband to effect a reconciliation. The God settled the dispute by dividing the followers of each brother into an independent group under his headship. As Pattabhadra who had the larger following had been led by the right hand of Parvati, his adherents became the "right hand" faction, and the others for a similar reason, the "left hand" faction.

Another story is that the distinction originated at Conjevaram, where the goddess Kālī placed certain castes on her right hand and others on her left; and that ever since, each party has been disputing the relative honour accorded to the other.

A rational explanation is attempted to be given for the rise of this distinction by ascribing it to a later wave of immigration (that from outside Dēsa or country) overpowering the earlier settlers (in the Nadu or internal province) and claiming superiority over them.<sup>1</sup> Little value can however be attached to such conjectures, unless they are corroborated by the discovery of any contemporaneous epigraphical records. It is quite as likely that these associations arose out of a federation of trade guilds. Whatever the origin may be, it appears to have been more of a social than of a religious character.

The headman of the right hand group of castes is called Dēsa Setti or Dēsāyi Setti, who occupies a very influential position. He is usually of the Banajiga caste, and has certain assistants. The insignia of the office (the bell and ladle) is carried by the Chālavadi of the Holeyā caste.<sup>2</sup>

In important cities and towns, the Dēsa and Nadu sections have different streets, and processions of one party should not traverse the streets of another. On such occasions, a faction fight is sure to ensue. Cases are recorded where the carrying of an umbrella or wearing particular coloured flowers in the turban has given rise to severe outbreaks accompanied by bloodshed.<sup>3</sup>

The following extract is taken from Buchanan's Travels. - "The origin of the division of the Hindus into the right and left hand sides, is involved in fable. It is said to have taken place at *Kunji*, or Conjeevaram, by order of the goddess Kali; and the rules to be observed by each side were at the same time engraved on a copper plate, which is said to be preserved at the temple of that place. The existence of such a plate, however, is very doubtful; both parties founding on its authority their pretensions, which are diametrically opposite. The different castes, of which each sub-division is composed are not united by any common tie of religion, occupation, or kindred; it seems, therefore to be merely a struggle for certain honorary distinctions. The right hand side pretend that they have the exclusive privilege, of using twelve pillars in the *pandal*, or shed, under which their

<sup>1</sup> Mysore Census Report 1891, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> As to functions and privileges of the Dēsa Setti in Madras, see a note by the late Pandit Natesa Sastri reprinted as an Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Mysore Gazetteer, p. 224, Vol. I.

marriage ceremonies are performed; and that their adversaries, in their processions, have no right to ride on horseback nor to carry a flag painted with the figure of *Hanumanta*. The left hand side pretend that all those privileges are confirmed to them by the grant of *Kali* on the copper plate; and that they are of the highest rank, having been placed by that goddess on her left hand, which in India is the place of honour. Frequent disputes arise concerning these important matters; and on such occasions, not only mutual abuse is common, but also the heads of the divisions occasionally stir up the lowest and the most ignorant of their followers to have recourse to violence, and encourage them by holding out houses and shops of their adversaries as proper objects for plunder. A very serious dispute took place at *Seringapatam* since it fell into the hands of the English. Thirty families of the weavers, belonging to the left hand side, joined themselves to the *Telegu Banajigaru*, and were encouraged by them to use all the honorary distinctions claimed by the right hand side. This gave great offence to *Pancham Banajigaru*, and the *Holeyaru* were left loose to plunder nor could they be repressed without an exertion of military force, by which several people were killed. In order to preserve the peace of the garrison, and to endeavour to bring the two parties to an agreement, it has since been thought expedient to prohibit any marriages from being celebrated within the fort.”

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See also Abbe Dubois, Vol. I, pp. 25 to 27.

For an interesting account of the institution as obtaining in the Madras Presidency, see *Madura District Manual* by Mr. J. H. Nelson, pp. 4 to 6.

## APPENDIX I.

*List of Exogamous Divisions.*

(A) Apparently totemistic but this significance is now lost.

- 1 Achchyuta (అచ్యుత)
- 2 Akshintala (అక్షింతల) Coloured rice.
- 3 Appala (అప్పల)
- 4 Asvaththa (అశ్వత్థ) Don't cut pipal tree.
- 5 Avalu (ఆవులు) Cow.
- 6 Balli (బల్లి) Lizard.
- 7 Baggina (బగ్గిన)
- 8 Chira (చీర) Woman's cloth (sire).
- 9 Chintala (చింతల) Tamarind.
- 10 Chiravella (చిరవెల్ల)
- 11 Chitral (చిత్రాల) Drawing.
- 12 Dūli (ధూళి) Dust.
- 13 Gandham (గంధం) Sandal paste.
- 14 Gajjalu (గజ్జలు)
- 15 Janakala (జనకల)
- 16 Jilakara (జిలకర) Cummin seed.
- 17 Kasarichi (కాసారిచి) Tree.
- 18 Kori (కోరి) A rag.
- 19 Machi (మాచి) A herb.
- 20 Matteddu (మత్తెడ్డ) A spotted bullock.
- 21 Miriyala (మిరియాల) Pepper.
- 22 Mamidi (మామిడి) Mango.
- 23 Munaga (మునగ) Drum stick.
- 24 Mutyala (ముత్యాల) Pearls.
- 25 Nenuli (నైలులి) Peacock.
- 26 Nimmal (నిమ్మల) Lime.

- 27 Narikela (నారికేళి) Coconut.  
 28 Pagadala (పాదాల) Coral.  
 29 Palu (పాలు) Milk or habre.  
 30 Pasupunati (పసుపనాటి) Turmeric.  
 31 Patti (పత్తి) Cotton.  
 32 Ralla (రళ్ళ) Stone.  
 33 Ratnal (రత్నాలు) Precious stones.  
 34 Singani (సింగని)  
 35 Sivanandala (శివనందల)  
 36 Tota (తోట) Garden.  
 37 Tumu (తము)  
 38 Ungarala (ఉంగరాల) Rings.  
 39 Yenumal (యనుమల) Buffaloes.

(B) Eponymous (among the Dudi Banajigas).

- Babhruvahana (బభ్రువాహన).  
 Dhanunjaya Gandharva (ధనంజయ గంధర్వ).  
 Gopala Gandharva (గోపాల గంధర్వ).  
 Govila Gandharva (గోవిల గంధర్వ).  
 Kasyapa (కశ్యప).  
 Kasyapa Gandharva (కశ్యప గంధర్వ).  
 Kaladhara Gandharva (కలధర్మ గంధర్వ).  
 Manigriva (మణిగ్రీవ).  
 Manigriva Gandharva (మణిగ్రీవ గంధర్వ).  
 Paribhadra Gandharva (పరిభద్ర గంధర్వ).  
 Raivata Gandharva (రైవత గంధర్వ).  
 Rantideva Gandharva (రాంతిదేవ గంధర్వ).  
 Revanambara Gandharva (రేవాణంబర గంధర్వ).  
 Salaka Gandharva (శలక గంధర్వ).  
 Sarshishta Gandharva (శర్షిష్ఠ గంధర్వ).  
 Satambara Gandharva (సాతాంబర గంధర్వ).  
 Somadeva Gandharva (సోమదేవ గంధర్వ).  
 Supadra Gandharva (సుపద్ర గంధర్వ).

Supratika Gandharva (సుప్రతిక గంధర్వ-  
Vamadeva Gandharva (వామదేవ గంధర్వ-)

(C) House names (ఇంటి పేర్లు).

Akulu (అకులు).

Adi setti (ఆదిశెట్టి).

Batayi (బాతాయి).

Bhūpathi (భూపతి).

Challa (చల్లా).

Chilamutturu (చిలమత్తూరు).

Dūlapalli (దులపల్లి).

Elarūru (అలరూరు).

Gangipatti (గంగిపట్టి).

Kanchi (కంచి).

Karata (కరట).

Mārasetti (మారాశెట్టి).

Mōsuru (మోసూరు).

Nidaganti (నిదాగంటి).

Okkalu (అక్కలు).

Pyāra (పియార).

Rāvūru (రావూరు).

Sēlam (సేలం).

Tirumal (తిరుమల).

Udayagiri (ఉదయగిరి).

Vanga (వంగా).

## APPENDIX II.

*Note on Dēsāyi Chetty.*

“The word Dēsāyi means of the country. For almost every taluk in the North Arcot District there is a headman, called the Dēsāyi Chetty, who may be said in a manner to correspond to a justice of the peace. The headmen belong to the Kavarai or Balija caste, their family name being Dhanapala, a common name among the Kavarais which may be interpreted as “the protector of wealth.” The Dhanapala Dēsāyi Chetty holds sway over eighteen castes, Kavarai, Uppara, Lambadi, Jogi, Idiga, Paraiyan, etc. All those that are called Valangai, or right-hand caste, fall within his jurisdiction. He has an establishment of two peons (orderlies), who are eastmen and another menial, a sort of bugler, who blows the horn whenever the Dēsāyi Chetty goes on circuit. When any deviation in the moral conduct of any man or woman occurs in a village under the Dēsāyis’ jurisdiction, a report of it is at once sent to the Dēsāyi Chetty, through the Paraiyan of the village, by the Dēsāyi’s representative in that village. He has his local agent in every village within his jurisdiction. On receipt of a report, he starts on circuit to the village, with all quaint-looking paraphernalia attached to his office. He moves about from place to place in his bullock coach, the inside of which is upholstered with a soft cushion bed, with a profusion of pillows on all sides. The Paraiya hornblower runs in front of the carriage blowing the horn (bhanka), which he carries suspended from his shoulder when it is not in use. On the Dēsāyi Chetty arriving at a village, the horn is blown to announce his visit on professional matters. While he camps at a village, the people from the surrounding country within his jurisdiction usually go to him with any representations they may have to make to him, as the head of their caste. The Dēsāyi generally camps in a tope (grove) adjoining the village. At the sound of the horn, the eastmen on whose account the visit is made assemble at the place of encampment, with the Dasāyis.

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\* By the late Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri. (Published in the *Madras Mail* in 1901).

local representative at their head. The personal comforts of the Dêsayi are first attended to, and he is liberally supplied with articles of food by the party on whose account the visit has been undertaken. A large cup-shaped spoon is the ensign of the Dêsayi. On the outer surface all round its edge, are carved in relief eighteen figures, each one being typical of one of the castes of which the Dêsayi is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tâmil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers. The menial, taking up the cup, rings the bell attached to it to summon the parties. As soon as the sound is heard, the castemen amongst whom any offence has occurred assemble, each house in the village being represented by a member, so as to make up a panchayat (council). The Dêsayi's emblem is then placed in front of him in the midst of the panchayat and a regular enquiry held. Supposing a person stands charged with adultery, the accused is brought before the assembly, and the charge formally investigated with the advice of the panchayat, the Dêsayi declares the accused guilty or not guilty, as the case may be. In the event of a man being pronounced guilty, the panchayat directs him to pay the aggrieved husband all the expenses he had incurred in connection with his marriage. In addition to this, a fine ranging from ten to twenty rupees is imposed on the offender by the Dêsayi, and is collected at once. A small fraction of this fine, never exceeding four annas, is paid to every representative who sits in the panchayat the balance going into the Dêsayi's pocket. If the delinquent refuses to pay the fine, a council of the same men is held, and he is excommunicated. The recalcitrant offender soon realises the horrors of excommunication, and in a short time appears before the Dêsayi, and falls prostrate at his feet, promising to obey him. The Dêsayi then accompanies him to the village, calls the panchayat again, and in their presence removes the interdict. On this occasion the excommunicated person has to pay double the amount of the original fine. But disobedience is rare, as people are alive to the serious consequences of excommunication. The Dêsayi maintains a regular record of all his enquiries and judgments, and in the days of the Nawabs these decisions were, it would appear, recognised by the courts of justice. The same respect was, it is said, also shown to the Dêsayis' decisions by the early courts of John Company.



“ Every house belonging to the eighteen castes sends to the village representative of the Dêsayi, who is called *Pariyatanakaran*, a pagoda (Rs. 3-8-0) in cash, besides rice, dal and other articles of food for every marriage that takes place in the village. The representative reserves for himself all the perishable articles, sending only the cash to the Dêsayi. Thus for every marriage within his jurisdiction, the Dêsayi gets one pagoda. Of late in the case of those Dêsayis who have purchased their rights as such from the old Dêsayis, instead of a pagoda, a fee of two annas and a half is levied on each marriage. Every death which occurs in a village is equally a source of income to the Dêsayi, who receives articles of food and four annas or more according to the circumstances of the parties in whose house the death has occurred. As in the case of marriage, the local representative appropriates to himself the articles of food, and transmits the money to the Dêsayi. The local agent keeps a list of domestic occurrences that take place in the village, and this list is most carefully scrutinized and checked by the Dêsayi during his tours, and any amount left unpaid is then collected. Whenever a marriage takes place in his own house, all the houses within his jurisdiction are bound to send him rice, dal and other articles, and any money they can afford to pay. Sometimes rich people send large sums to the Dêsayi, to enable him to purchase the cloths, jewels, etc., required for the marriage. When a Dêsayi finds his work too heavy to attend to single-handed he sells a portion of his jurisdiction for some hundreds or thousands of rupees according to its extent to some relation. A regular sale deed is executed and registered.”

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## APPENDIX.

List of Exogamous Divisions	...	...	8-9
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## KUNCHIGAS.

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Kunchigas form a sub-division belonging to the group of castes known as Okkaligas. They are not separately tabulated in the previous Census Reports and hence their number cannot be ascertained. They are largely found in the district of Tumkur and in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. Most of them are agriculturists except in the two cities where they have taken to certain important trades and industries. Except in Mysore, they style themselves Kunchitigas or Kunchati Okkalu.

In rural parts, they affix Gauda as an honorific title. Elsewhere the usual suffix is Anna.

About the origin of the caste Okkaligas, see monographs on Morasu and Gangadikara Okkalu. The caste seems to be connected with the Kuruba caste, and the following story is given as regards its origin. The progenitor of the caste is given as Unde Yattarāya.

Some centuries ago, one of the chiefs of the Okkaliga **Origin.** caste who lived in Northern India fled from his country to escape the importunity of a Mussalman chief who wished to marry his beautiful daughter. On reaching the banks of the Gódāvari, he was stopped by the flood. But a Kuruba who was tending sheep offered to procure him a dry passage through the bed of the river on condition of his memory being faithfully preserved. He offered himself up as a sacrifice to the river goddess when a passage was let free, as for the Hebrews in the Red Sea. After this miraculous escape, the Okkaliga refugees adopted the name of Kunchigas from the Kunchi or the starching brush which the Kuruba weaver had left behind. Another variation of the same story gives out that the person who sacrificed himself and saved the refugees from pursuit beyond the river was one of two foundlings discovered by a Kuruba servant of Unde Yattarāya, named Biranna. The latter who was childless was tending sheep one day in a jungle where two beautiful boys

were lying in a golden cradle and nourished by a serpent and a fairy. On his approaching the spot, the nurses vanished and the shepherd brought his wife to take up the children. When she proudly pressed them to her body, her youth returned and beauty was added. They brought up the children and named them Áva and Jádi.

It was Jádi who sacrificed his head after stipulating that one of the daughters of his master should be married to his corpse. The promise was fulfilled and by the grace of Párvati and Ísvara he came again to life. These three characters Unde Yattaráya, Jádi known also as Jádi Bapparáya and Áva or Ávinakámaráya are apparently ranked among the progenitors of this caste, as we find that on all ceremonial occasions, Tãmbúlas are set apart in their names.

After crossing the Gódávati, they first settled \* in Vizianagar country and subsequently removed further south to Nandana Hosúr in Chitaldrug District whence they migrated to Sira which is still considered as the head quarters of this caste. They have a shrine dedicated to Jádi Bapparáya at Bijjehalli in the Sira Taluk, to which many of them resort in pilgrimage.

Divisions.

Kunchigas formerly had no endogamous divisions and formed one homogeneous community. Of late, some have embraced Lingáyatism and have become a separate division. It is said that even now Lingáyats marry girls belonging to the non-Lingáyats by tying a Linga to the girl and in some places, the two divisions even eat together, but Lingáyat Kunchitigas never give their girls to non-Lingáyats.

In the malnad, there is a caste styled Māròru. These are Kunchitigas who emigrated into those parts while trading in buffaloes. Even now they come to the maidan parts, buy buffaloes and sell them in the malnad where these animals are rather rare. Hence they are styled Māròru or sellers, but they have their god in the Sira Taluk where they repair for periodical worship and have the same exogamous divisions as the other Kunchitigas in the maidan.

Exogamous  
Divisions.

The tradition of the caste is that they lived originally near Delhi which they style Pandava Pura and were

\* The actual date given is Sunday, the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month Margasira of the year Prajòtpathi Salivahana Era 1226 (1304 A. D.)

divided into one hundred and one different Kulas. Forty-eight of these migrated to the south and we find forty-eight Kulas divided into sixteen exogamous groups. These Kulas and groups are given in the appendix.

The usages and ceremonies connected with the birth of children are similar to those of other Okkaliga castes. For naming the child, they invite Brāhman priests and well-to-do persons closely follow the Brāhmanical ceremonies. In other cases the paternal aunt gives the name to the child while putting it in a cradle for the first time. Birth ceremonies.

The tonsure ceremony for a male child takes place in the third or the fifth year and for this each family must repair to the shrine of the family god (Gudi Kattu).

A brother's son and in his absence, a daughter's son are considered the most eligible for adoption. It is said that this ceremony should also take place at the Gudi Kattu. Adoption.

Infant marriages are becoming more fashionable though a woman may marry at any age or remain unmarried all her life. Polygamy is allowed and is commonly practised when the first wife is barren or suffering from an incurable disease. In the former case, the consent of the first wife is generally taken to marry another wife. They observe the same prohibited degrees of marriage as other castes. They avoid not only their own exogamous division but also the allied divisions, these being considered as agnate divisions (ಪಾಪಂಪರಗೋತ್ರ). In some places, there is a rule that when two families contract marriage with a third family, the inter-alliance between the first two prevents their Kulas from inter-marrying although they do not belong to the same exogamous group. Marriages.

The first ceremony in connection with the marriage is, the Vilyada Sāstra or Nischitārta when the match is settled. The boy's party present the girl with a Sire and a Kuppusa and sometimes a jewel. Dévara Prasta or the God's feast takes place four days before the Dhāre day when a Kalasa is worshipped with the offerings of new clothes, etc., and the boy and the girl are separately smeared with turmeric.

Next day they do the Munniru Sāstra (ಮುನ್ನಿರುಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) which is the same as Male Niru Sāstra among the other castes but observed on the Dhāre day. The peculiarity is that cotton thread is passed round the necks of the vessels

(placed at the corners) by young children. On the third day the ceremony of putting up the Pandal takes place.

A party of men make Pūja to the weapons set before a Kalasa and then go outside the village to bring the posts required for the Pandal which they carry back and deposit in a temple from which place they carry them in state about midnight. Twelve pillars are set up, the two middle ones, known as milk posts being smeared with saffron and decorated with Kankanas tied round them. Arivénis are brought and set up in a room.

Next day the ceremony of Dhāre takes place. The pair are made to stand on the marriage seat facing each other. Cumin seed and jaggery are first placed on their heads. Then the Tāli tying, pouring of rice, and Kankana tying are done in the order mentioned. They then rise clasping their hands and with the fringes of their garments tied, go round the milk post, and look at Arundhati and enter the Arivēni room to bow before them. Their Bhāshingas are there removed and the couple eat Buvva.

The Simhāsana Pūja which takes place on the evening of the Dhāre day is an elaborate affair. About a maund of areca nuts with betel-leaves is heaped on a Kamblī and a purse containing the Tera amount is placed on it. After the usual Pūja by the married couple, Tāmbūlas are distributed in a prescribed order--the first to the gods, the second to the Guru and then to Sāle and Mūle. Then five Tāmbūlas are set apart in the names of Unde Yattarāya, Jādi Bapparāya, Āvinakāmarāya, Donnedhanakarāya and Virakyātayya. Two others, one to Iluliyur Margonda and the other to Mālugonda Singri\* are given.

Then Tāmbūlas are given to the representatives of all the exogamous divisions separately. The representatives of the Basle division get four additional Tāmbūlas, viz., Ashta Kaṭle, Nādu Nalige Vilya, Maṇḍu Gudli Vilya and one in the name of Vira Nāganuma. There are some more Vilyas which are distributed according to local custom.

Next day Nāgavali takes place when the Pandal posts are worshipped after lumps of anthill earth are placed at

\* This man is said to have done immense service to the community by having their Tera amount reduced from 101 varahas to 7 varahas. His representative Nādu Gowda gets three Tāmbūlas in every marriage besides a Haṇa from the groom's party and rice, etc., from that of the bride.

their foot. Then the pot searching ceremony, and the untying of the Kankāṇas take place. After the Nāgavali is over, the couple go to the temple where agricultural implements and tackle are placed in a heap. The couple sit on the heap and are then taken back in procession through the streets.

The bride price is said to have been formerly 101 pagodas in addition to other costly presents. Through the intervention of one Mālugonda Singri, it was reduced to seven pagodas with one white Sire, three rupees worth of silver bangles and a Tāli weighing  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a Haṇa. Now the only item that is taken as fixed is the money payment of nine Varahas or 27 Rupees. A widower has to pay 10 Varahas. Marriage expenses vary in amount according to the condition of the parties and there is no attempt made to keep them within limits. Bride price.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for 5 or 7 days when she sits by herself in a shed covered with green leaves of Margosa, Ankole (*Alangium lamarkii*) and Lakkile (*Viter negundo*). Puberty.

As the impurity diminishes by degrees, she has to bathe every day till on the 6th or 8th day she is admitted into the house but is not still allowed to enter the kitchen or god's room. For ten days after bathing, Osage is celebrated when she is decked with jewels and exhibited in the evenings in the company of married women. If the girl has been already married, the consummation of the marriage takes place on the sixteenth day, but if unmarried, the Osage ceremony takes place for three days before the date the marriage ceremonies commence. But the consummation of marriage cannot take place within three months of the marriage.

Widows are not generally allowed to remarry and it is stated that remarriages fell into desuetude about a century ago. But in some places, *e.g.*, near Kandikere such a marriage is permitted but the issue of the union form a separate Sālu or line (Kūṭike Sālu) who are admitted to dinners but have no other relations with the caste members. Widow marriage.

Divorce is not common and can take place only when the wife is guilty of adultery. When such a woman marries another, the couple drift into an inferior line and the woman returns the Tāli tied by her previous husband. Adultery is looked upon with abhorrence and is punished Divorce and Adultery.



with excommunication or in case of marriage with the paramour, with a fall in status. They do not dedicate girls as Basvis.

Death  
ceremon-  
ies.

Kunchitigas bury their dead. On the death of a person, the corpse is removed out of the house and bathed. If they belong to the Désabhāga section Nāmas (ನಾಮ) are put to the corpse and a Sātani priest is invited to worship Chakra in the usual fashion. If they are on the other hand Muḷlu Jana, they apply Vibbūti and Gandha. They carry the dead, some in a Vimāna in sitting posture and others laid flat on the hearse. When the body is carried, trumpets are sounded, guns are fired and parched grain and betel-leaves scattered along the way. When the corpse is buried, the chief mourner goes round the grave three times with a pot full of water and at the end of every turn, a by-stander throws a stone at it and breaks it. They all bathe in a river and return to the house where, after seeing a lighted lamp they settle about the ceremonies to be performed. On the third day, ghee and milk are rubbed on the shoulders of the corpse-bearers and food is offered on the grave to be eaten by crows. The Désabhāga section observe this on the fifth day when, they worship a Chakra and the food offered on the grave is thrown in water. On the fourth day they do the Thithi, when all bathe to get rid of the pollution and have their house purified by a Brāhman. They worship a Kalasa in the name of the deceased by offering new cloths and Yedes of food, distribute rations and money among Brāhmanas and others. They fast till the evening when they go to the graveyard, offer food on the grave and return home for dinner, to which all their relations are asked. The Désabhāga section do Pūja to the Chakra placed on the grave, and offer to it food and liquor. The Sātani priest, who conducts the ceremony, is given presents, which, however, have to be more costly if he condescends to eat food there. In this case, food consisting of flesh and liquor is served on a plantain leaf on the grave near the Chakra, and the relatives of the deceased sit round the grave and all eat food and drink. They do not perform Srāddha but on Mahālaya day, they offer Yedes to a Kalasa and present raw rations and money to Brāhmanas.

Religion.

Muḷlu Jana among them worship both Siva and Vishnu, but Dāsa Jana worship Vishnu by preference. The Lingāyat section of the community are of course exclusively Saivas. Kunchitigas have a number of family

gods and goddesses—one to each exogamous group and they show special reverence to them and on all important ceremonies, they invoke the aid of their family deity by special Pūja. They have patron saints of their community, *viz.*, Unde Yattaráya and others in whose names some of them keep idols at home and worship them. They worship the sun, deities of diseases such as cholera, Māramma, village goddesses, plants such as Peepul, Bilva and Tulsi and serpents. The headquarters of their tribal god is Sira to which all of them resort on special occasions to offer Pūja.

The chief occupation of the Kunchitigas is agriculture. Occupation. A large portion of them hold lands directly, while some are tenants and they eke out their living also by labouring for wages. They are very successful as carpenters in large places like Bangalore, while an appreciable number earn money as contractors and money-lenders. A good proportion of them are educated and occupy a respectable place in society.

Kunchitigas occupy the same social position as the Status. other Okkaligas, *e.g.*, Gangadikars and labour under no particular disabilities. They follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. Brāhmins freely officiate at their ceremonies. They do not admit outsiders into their caste.

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## APPENDIX.

*List of Exogamous Divisions.*

N.B.—The divisions in each group are regarded as allied (brother divisions).

## GROUP.

- |   |   |                                 |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 | { | 1 Jānakallōru (ಜಾನಕಲ್ಲೋರು).     |
|   |   | 2 Undénōru (ಉಂಡೇನೋರು).          |
|   |   | 3 Arasinōru (ಅರಸಿನೋರು).         |
| 2 | { | 1 Eradukereyōru (ಎರಡುಕೇರೆಯೋರು). |
|   |   | 2 Ālenōru (ಆಲೇನೋರು).            |
|   |   | 3 Sūrēnōru (ಸೂರೇನೋರು).          |
| 3 | { | 1 Kambaliyōru (ಕಂಬಳಿಯೋರು).      |
|   |   | 2 Eleyōru (ಎಲೆಯೋರು).            |
|   |   | 3 Māyōru (ಮಾಯೋರು).              |
| 4 | { | 1 Hunasénōru (ಹುನಾಸೇನೋರು).      |
|   |   | 2 Bathārādōru (ಬದಾರದೋರು).       |
|   |   | 3 Ullenōru (ಉಳ್ಳೇನೋರು).         |
|   |   | 4 Masa énōru (ಮಸಳೇನೋರು).        |
| 5 | { | 1 Jaldénōru (ಜಲ್ದೇನೋರು).        |
|   |   | 2 Hāvinavaru (ಹಾವಿನವರು).        |
|   |   | 3 Atténōru (ಅಟ್ಟೇನೋರು).         |
|   |   | 4 Rāgénōru (ರಾಗೇನೋರು).          |
| 6 | { | 1 Setténōru (ಸೆಟ್ಟೇನೋರು).       |
|   |   | 2 Góniyavaru (ಗೋಣಿಯವರು).        |
|   |   | 3 Alpenōru (ಅಲ್ಪೇನೋರು).         |
| 7 | { | 1 Ara énōru (ಅರಳೇನೋರು).         |
|   |   | 2 Garikénōru (ಗರಿಕೇನೋರು).       |
|   |   | 3 Sārangadōru (ಸಾರಂಗದೋರು).      |
| 8 | { | 1 Jallénōru (ಜಲ್ಲೇನೋರು).        |
|   |   | 2 Sāstradōru (ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದೋರು).     |
| 9 | { | 1 Alavinavaru (ಅಳವಿನವರು).       |
|   |   | 2 Dhānyadavaru (ಧಾನ್ಯದವರು).     |
|   |   | 3 Karadénōru (ಕರಡೇನೋರು).        |

- 10 { 1 Ráhutanóru (ರಾಹುತನೋರು).  
 2 Huttadavaru (ಹುತ್ತದವರು).  
 3 Gudiýóru (ಗುಡಿಯೋರು).
- 11 { 1 Bellénóru (ಬೆಳ್ಳೇನೋರು).  
 2 Andénóru (ಅಂಡೇನೋರು).  
 3 Jírigeyóru (ಜೀರಿಗೆಯೋರು).
- 12 { 1 Koggénóru (ಕೊಗ್ಗೇನೋರು).  
 2 Dasalénóru (ದಸಲೇನೋರು).  
 3 Hárénóru (ಹಾರೇನೋರು).
- 13 { 1 Basalénóru (ಬಸಲೇನೋರು).  
 2 Emménóru (ಎಮ್ಮೇನೋರು).  
 3 Huliyáróru (ಹುಳಿಯಾರೋರು).  
 4 Éróru (ಏರೋರು).
- 14 { 1 Vanamanóru (ವನಮನೋರು).  
 2 Moṇasóru (ಮೊಣಸೋರು).  
 3 Kágénóru (ಕಾಗೇನೋರು).
- 15 { 1 Jariyóru (ಜರಿಯೋರು).  
 2 Gáliyóru (ಗಾಳಿಯೋರು).  
 3 Baduванóru (ಬಡುವನೋರು).
- 16 1 Oraḷakallóru (ಒರಳಕಲ್ಲೋರು).
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## GĀṆIGAS.

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Gāṇigās (గాణిగా) or Gāndlas (గాండ్లవాళ్ళు) as they are called in Telugu are oil pressers. Their number according to the Census of 1901, was 39,655, of whom 19,897 were males. They are found in largest number that is 44 per cent of them in the Mysore District.

The common name of the caste is Gāṇiga, and they are also known as Jyōtiphaṇa people. The word Gāṇiga as well as the word Gāndla is derived from a word meaning oil mill. Jyōti Phaṇa, meaning the community of the lamp, has also reference to their profession of supplying oil for lamps. A division of this caste style themselves as Jyōtinagaradavaru or the people of the city of light.

Seṭṭi is the title of their caste and they attach this suffix ordinarily to their personal names as a term of respectability; and the ordinary endings of Appa, Ayya and Anna to men and Amma, Avva and Akka for women are also in vogue.

When Ísvara found it necessary to relieve the darkness of the world at night and to keep up the perpetual light (నెలమింక), he created a man from the sweat of his body, and commissioned him to follow the trade of oil pressing. This man is said to be the progenitor of this caste. The Jyōtinagaradavaru claim to be Vaisyas and say that Nagartas who are styled Ayōdhyānagaradavaru are only an offshoot of Jyōtinagara people and came originally from the North of India. The Lingāyat Gāṇigās who are styled Sajjanaru say that their caste took its origin in Kalyana Pattana during the time of Basavēśvara and that they follow one of the sixty-three professions organised by him. The other Gāṇigās admit they are Sūdras and came to be known as Gāṇigās on account of their profession. The Mysore Census Report of 1891 gives the following description about them.

“The account locally obtained connects this caste (Jyōtinagaradavaru) with the Nagartas, as forming the



leading communities of the Left hand faction in opposition to the Lingâyats and other castes composing the Right hand faction. Caste supremacy is ever associated in India with preternatural mythology. If the average Brâhman traces his nobility literally to the face of Brahma, according to the Vêdic Purusha Sûkta, every other castlet claims a patent of superiority in a similar miraculous origin. The Gàṇigàs allege that they immigrated from the North at a time beyond living memory. A Mysore noble, named Mallaraje Urs, established and first peopled the Pête (market town) of Bangalore, when the Gàṇigàs first came there, followed by the Nagartas, who are said to have been co-immigrants with the Gàṇigàs. Mallaraj made Setṭis and Yajamâns (headmen) of the principal members of the two castes, and exempted them from the house tax. The Gàṇigàs are both Vaishnavites and Sai-vites. Their Guru is known as Dharmasivâchârasvâmi in the Madras Presidency and certain Gôtras (family names) are said to be common to the Gàṇigàs and Nagartas, but they never eat together or intermarry. The Gàṇigàs claim the peculiar privilege of following the Vishnu image or car processions, throughout the Province, with flags exhibiting the figures of Hanumân and Garuda, and torches. These insignia are alleged to have been originally given to an ancestor, named Siriyâla Setṭi, by Rama as a reward for a valuable gem presented by him. The Gàṇigàs call themselves Dharmasivâchâr Vaisyas like the Nagartas, and the feud between them used often to culminate in much bitter unpleasantness. The order includes a small division of the Linga wearing oil-mongers, known as Sajjana (good men) whose population is a small fraction of the community. The Sajjanàs, however, hold no social intercourse of any kind with the other subdivisions”

Gàṇigàs are divided into three main divisions :—

Divisions.

1. Jyôtinagaradavaru, who claim to be Vaisyas, wear sacred thread and are treated almost like Nagartas.
2. Sajjanas who are Lingâyat converts from the main body of Gàṇigàs.
3. Other Gàṇigàs who call themselves simply Jyôtiphanadavaru and do not wear a sacred thread.

On the basis of language there are Kannada Gàṇigàs, Telugu Gàṇigàs and Tâmil Gàṇigàs, the latter being immigrants into the State from Madras and found only in large towns.

Gaṇigās are also divided into separate groups according as they yoke a single bullock or a pair to drive their mills, and according to a wooden or a stone mill which they use. Double bullock Gaṇigās are also known as Heggāṇigās and single bullockmen as Kiru Gaṇigās (big Gaṇigās and small Gaṇigās). All these divisions are not only endogamous, but they do not also eat together. Exogamous divisions.

The Jyótinagara division are said to contain like the Nagartas one thousand Gótras which are all eponymous. The following are only a few of them; Brahméndra, Aréndra, Kannéndra, Komāréndra, Parushéndra, Nagéndra, Dévéndra, Māchéndra, Uléndra, and Chandramauli. The followers of Kannéndra and Komāréndra Gótras are said to abstain from eating the herbs known as Kanne Soppu and Kammala Soppu.

The Sajjana Gaṇigās have all forgotten their Gótras and some have only a very faint recollection of their having heard their names, but now say that their Gótras are the same as those of other Lingāyats, namely Rénuka, Dāruka, Gajakarna and Ghantākarna.

The other division of Gaṇigās have a large number of exogamous septs, most of which bear the names of plants, animals or other material object which they abstain from using.

Birth ceremonies observed by the Jyótiphana section are the same as for Nagartas. The confined woman bathes on the 11th day and the purificatory and name giving ceremonies are performed with the aid of Brāhmans. The child is put into a cradle that night, a round stone having been first rocked, the underlying idea being that the child should grow as hard and be as long enduring as that stone. Birth ceremonies.

The Lingāyat section also observe pollution for ten days. The child is invested with a Linga which is kept in the custody of the mother. The Jangama priest purifies the house and gives a name to the child in the manner peculiar to the Lingāyats.

Among the other section of the Gaṇigās, the ceremonies observed are the same as those observed by Okkali-gas. The navel cord of the child is preserved after smoking it with incense and is tied to the rope of the cradle on the eleventh day.

Some of them invite a Dāsayya to do Pūja to a lamp post, and the child is handed over to him, and receives the name suggested to him by the parents.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. The Lingâyats give the names of Siva to their children while the other sections give names of both Siva and Vishnu. Names such as Mârappa, Mâstayya, Munappa are common among the third division of Gâṇigas. Opprobrious names are also given and for the same reason as in other castes, that is, to induce a belief in the evil spirit or the god of death, that the child is of no value to its parents and that it may not be snatched away from them.

**Adoption.** Adoption is permitted and practised when there are no sons. The third section of the Gâṇigas practise Illâtam, and all keep their son-in-law in their house and bring him up as a son if they have no male children.

**Marriage.** Both adult and infant marriages are in vogue among them and adult marriages are more common. Marriages are not said to be compulsory for either sex, and a woman remaining unmarried is not treated with any disrespect if her character is spotless. Persons dying unmarried whether male or female, are believed to become Îragârarus and are worshipped by them. They observe the same prohibited relations of marriage as other castes. Two sisters may be married either by one man or two brothers. Exchange of daughters is permissible but rarely takes place.

Polygamy is allowed but practised only when there is some strong reason.

The Vilyada Sâstra (exchange of betel leaves) is the preliminary agreement, which however is said to be irrevocable among the Lingâyata Gâṇigas. This however must mean that they rarely break it, and cannot as is alleged by them, really prevent the giving of the girl to another person.

The regular ceremonies of a marriage occupy five days, and do not differ much from what obtains in other castes such as Nagartas. The main events are, first two days, worship of the family god and applying turmeric paste to the bride and bridegroom; third day, putting up of a Pandal on twelve pillars, and in the evening, bringing water for the feast after worshipping Ganga in a river or pond, and the reception of the bride's party and the installation of the Arivêni pots.

On the fourth day early in the morning, the bridal pair are bathed in Maleniru and the Jyôtinagara section take the boy for Kâsiyâtra (pilgrimage to Banares), when

the parents of the girl meet him near an Asvaththa tree and after washing his feet, take him to the marriage Pandal. A fire is kindled and the young man is invested with a sacred thread before it.

The Dhāre, Tāli and Kankana tying then take place in the usual order. The third division of the Gāṇigās do not perform Hōma, and among a section of them they used to tie a cotton thread in 101 lines dipped in turmeric instead of the Tāli. Of late, they have given up this practice and taken to Tāli tying; and this forms the essential and binding part of the ceremony.

Before the bridegroom goes to the Pandal for marriage, the jewels and other presents intended for the bride are carried by his party in three successive trips while he is seated in a temple. He goes to the Pandal with a dagger in his hand which he keeps by till the conclusion of the ceremony. The sacred thread also is put on merely for the occasion. When the Kankanas are being tied, the parties hold some salt in their hands. Worshipping of the milk post of the Pandal and the Arivēni pots and gazing at the Arundhati star and the eating of the common meal, are not omitted. The Jyōtinagara section perform Hōma in a fire soon after the Dhāre, burning ghee and Asvaththa twigs. In the evenings and mornings for the next two days the couple are seated together in the company of married women and the Nalagu takes place.

On the Nāgavali day, the couple worship the Pandal posts as in the other castes, and the pot searching, bathing in Ōkuli or coloured water and the untying of the Kankanas take place. In the evening the couple are taken in procession in the streets in which they are allowed to pass by custom, and after the return from procession they go to a temple and get Tīrtha and Prasāda.

The third division of Gāṇigās worship a Simhāsana on that day, when the betel leaves and arecanut are distributed to all their castemen in the recognised order of precedence.

The next day, the milk post is removed after having some milk poured on it and the north-east corner post of the Pandal is also pulled down. The bride and the groom are sent to the bride's house, where they spend a day or two in feasting and the boy afterwards returns leaving the girl there.

If the girl has already come of age, the consummation of marriage takes place on the Nāgavali day, after the procession and the visiting of the temple are over. But the third division of the Gāṇigās allow in such cases a period of three months to elapse, and the girl is united with her husband on an auspicious day after the Gauri feast when she offers Pūja to this deity and gives presents of Bāgina\* to married women.

The Jyōtinagara section do not pay any bride price; the other two sections have to pay it. The amount varies between 12 and 26 rupees, but among the Lingāyat Gāṇigās it is very high, some times going up to Rs. 500.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for 4 days when she remains outside the house. People of the Jyōtinagara section keep her under the shelter of an inverted boiling pan on which are tied green leaves of Margosa. The Lingāyats do not erect any shed, while the other division put up a shed with green leaves brought by the maternal uncle or one of an analogous relationship. Before bathing on the fourth day, the girl carries the materials to some distance and throws them away, and in some places the uncle pulls down the shed and burns the materials.

Widow marriage etc.

Gāṇigās do not allow widow marriage and if either an unmarried girl or a widow is discovered in criminal intimacy with a man either of their own or of any other caste, she is expelled from the caste. Adultery is never tolerated and they have no Basavis.

Death ceremonies.

Dead bodies are buried. The Lingāyats carry the corpse in a sitting posture and dispose of it according to the Lingāyat ritual. The other section lay them flat on the bier and carry it with a new cloth wrapped over it. The Lingāyats worship the Jangama priest on the grave and pour water with which his feet are washed into the mouth of the corpse. The priest places his foot on the corpse and calls out "Ughe-the man has gone to Kailas." All observe the third and the tenth day ceremonies.

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\* Bāgina (ಬಾಗಿನ) consists of two bamboo winnows one of which is placed as a cover over the other, in which are placed some Bengal gram and other pulses with some articles of female toilet, such as turmeric, Kunkuma, combs, etc., and generally a new bodice cloth.

The Jyótinagara section perform Sráddhas annually. Of the others, the Lingáyats do not observe any ceremonies at all for the deceased ancestors and the non-Lingáyat Gānigās observe the Mahālaya and also offer Yedes and new cloths in the name of their ancestors on such important feasts as the New year, Mahānavami and Gauri feast.

Gānigās worship both Siva and Vishnu and respect all the other gods of the Hindu Pantheon. The Lingáyat Gānigās are Saivites, and worship Siva by preference. But they have besides, family gods whom they worship on special occasions. Some of the Lingáyat Gānigās have one or other of the several forms of Vishnu as their family God to whose shrine they go on pilgrimage. The family Gods of the majority of the Lingáyat Gānigās however, are Mallikārjuna Swāmi and in some places Parvata Mallayya. The non-Lingáyat Gānigās have besides such minor gods and goddesses as Munisvara and Yallamma whose names are very commonly given to their children. They have no patron saints, but the Jyótinagara section revere the memory of one Siriyālarāya and often sing the deeds of charity for which he was noted. In large towns where their numbers are great, they have the exclusive privilege of forming the rear of the processions of the Vaishnava gods, with their insignia of the flags containing the images of Hanuma and Garuda, a light (ଅମ୍ବୁଜାଳକ), an umbrella, and a Sūrēpāna. They have a bell-metal gong and sing monotonous songs in a drawling manner to the time of cymbals. It is also said that when the God's Marriage feast is celebrated in the temple of a Vaishnava deity, they have to supply the Tālī to be tied to Lakshmi by her consort.

They worship all the village gods and goddesses. Many of the Gānigās (of the third division) belong to the Désabhāga section and have Sātānics as their priests. Dāsaiyyas are invited on all important feasts to repeat Tirumantra or the sacred verse and worship their lamp-stand and do Mañē Séve. They worship their oil mills on all important occasions.

Gānigās are oil pressers and also oil mongers. They have kept to their original occupation in the main, but some have taken to agriculture and other walks of life such as trade. They mill almost all oil seeds and have their hands fully occupied. The mills or mortars are made of stone or wood. The stone mills are cut out of big

Religions.

Occu-  
pation.

granite and are made in large numbers at the village of Bettahalasur, about 15 miles from Bangalore. A stone mill is said to cost between two and three hundred rupees, and is carried on carts drawn by four or five pairs of good bullocks. The wooden mill is made of the heart wood of tamarind or other equally hard wood.

The mill is embedded in a pit about three feet deep, and rises three or four feet above the surface. The mortar scooped out on the top is capable of holding 20 or 30 seers of oil seeds. The seeds are ground by a thick wooden pestle bound with iron at the end, and the oil collects at the bottom of the mortar, the cake being held round the side, and scraped off after the pressing is over. The pestle is six or seven feet long and is connected with a horizontal or rather slanting pole at the top. The bullock (or bullocks) are yoked to this pole and go round and round the mill, making the pestle revolve in the mortar at its lower and loose end. By a piling of stone weights on the outer end of the pole, the pressure in the mortar can be increased and the whole arrangement though crude in appearance, is fairly effective.

The trade is decaying especially after the advent of the kerosene oil. They do not invest much in purchasing oil seeds but work such small quantities as they can get together at intervals, or work for wages or a share of the product with seeds brought in by others. In most villages of some importance, there are generally one or more mills for pressing oil.

**Status.**

Jyōtinagara group belong to the Nine Phana group and the rest to the Eighteen Phanās. Their social status is respectable, though oil-pressing is one of the occupations prohibited to the Dvija classes. They invite Brāhmins as priests, except the Lingāyats among them, who have recently given up the practice. The Jyōtinagara and Lingāyat sections are vegetarians and eschew liquor. The other divisions eat flesh but do not drink liquor.

They do not admit out-siders into their castes but those who have been thrown out for breach of caste may be re-admitted after Prāyaschitta.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XX.**

**GOLLA CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## G O L L A S.

Gollas or Gauligas (ಗೊಲ್ಲರು ಗೌಳಿಗರು) numbered 142,291 Name. according to the last Census, the males being about 2 per cent in excess of the females. Only about 3·8 per cent of their number have their traditional profession of cowherds as their principal vocation, the rest being either agriculturists or day labourers. They are as a class illiterate, only about 1·3 per cent knowing how to read and write. They are an indigenous caste in Mysore like the Kurubas, and are found largely in the Tumkur District, Chitaldrug, Bangalore and Kolar coming next in order.

This caste sometimes styled Uru Gollas (ಉರು ಗೊಲ್ಲರು—Town Gollas) has to be distinguished from Kádu Gollas (ಕಾಡುಗೊಲ್ಲರು) or Jungle Gollas. In parts of the malnad, the name Gauliga (which has the same meaning) is used instead. They sometimes style themselves Yádava-kula (ಯಾದವಕುಲ) or Krishna-kula, as they profess to belong to the same caste as Krishna. They also style themselves Gollarájulu (ಗೊಲ್ಲ ರಾಜು).

Gauḍa is the usual honorific suffix, but a division known as Kilári Gollas use the term Náyaḍu.

*Golla* is a contracted form of *Góvala*, which is derivative from Sanskrit *Gópāla* or cowherd. *Gauli* or Gauliga is another form of the same word. Their original calling was that of tending cows and living by the sale of milk and its products. This was carried on slings called Kávaḍi (ಕಾವಡಿ), and hence these men were sometimes known as Kaváḍigas. When illiterate, they generally affix the mark of a Kávaḍi (two slings balanced on a cross pole) to denote their signature.\*

The term *Golla-ráju* is meant perhaps to denote their superior status on account of their alleged connection with Krishna, who belonged to the royal dynasty of Yádavas.

\* *Turuvala* (ತುರುವಳ) is another old Kannada equivalent of the erm. *Turu* meaning a cow and *vala*, a masculine suffix.

Origin.

The Gollas are well-built, strong and muscular and may be easily identified by the Vaishṇava mark (a vertical red or yellow streak) on their foreheads. They claim to be the descendants of a Brahman maid married to a Kshatriya. Dévayāna, the daughter of Sukráchārya, the priest of the Rákshasas, became the subject of a curse, and was left by her companions swimming in a pond in a jungle without clothes which they carried away. She was helped out by the Kshatriya king Yayāti who had to supply her with half his cloth torn out to cover her body before leaving the water. As he lifted her by the hand, she begged him to marry her, as he was the first stranger to touch her hand.\* These Gollas claim to be their descendants. In course of time, the Gollas came to live in Brindāvan, following the profession of cattle-tending and selling milk and curds. It is commonly stated that Krishna mixed largely with Golla maidens and hence the Gollas claim to belong to the Yádava clan in which Sri Krishna was born. In the beginning of the Kali Yuga, they say, they were living in Répalli from which they migrated into the South during the time of one Rájamaréndra for want of patrons in their native country.

Formerly a section of the Gollas who are styled Bigamudreyavaru (ಬೀಗಮುದ್ರೆಯವರು—of the lock and the seal) were the custodians of the Treasury. They were noted for their staunch loyalty, and in the days of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan they were employed in guarding and transporting treasure. Even now, the menials who open and lock the Government Treasury and handle the money bags are known as Gollas.

Buchanan writes about them as follows :—

“ It is said that they may be safely intrusted with any sum ; for, each man carrying a certain value, they travel in bodies numerous in proportion to the sum put under their charge ; and they consider themselves bound in honour to die in defence of their trust ; of course, they defend themselves vigorously, and are all armed ; so that robbers never venture to attack them. They have hereditary chiefs called *Gettagaru*, who with the usual council settle all disputes, and punish all transgressions against the rules of caste. The most flagrant is the embezzlement of money entrusted to their care. On this crime being proved against any of the cast, the *Gettagaru* applies to the Amildar, or Civil Magistrate, and, having obtained his leave, immediately causes the delinquent to be shot.”†

\* The story is given in the Mahabhārata, Adiparva.

† Travels, P.

This caste is divided into a number of endogamous Divisions. divisions, though it is difficult to make out the *ratio divi-*  
*dendi* in each case. Two main divisions are known by the names Onti Chapparanu-Vállu (ఒంటిచప్పరమువాళ్ళు) and Rendu-Chapparanu-Vállu (రెండు చప్పరమువాళ్ళు), the former erecting only one Chappara or marriage pandal and the latter two pandals, one before the bride's and the other before the bridegroom's house. The other divisions are Yerra or Kilári Gollas (యెర్ర లేక కిలారి గొల్లలు) Punagu or Kudí Paítala Gollas (పునగు లేక కుడిపైటల గొల్లలు) Karne Gollas (కరణి గొల్లరు) Púni or Púje Gollas (పూని అథవా పూజి గొల్లరు) Bígamudre or Bokkasa Gollas (బిగమూద్ర అథవా బొక్కస గొల్లరు) Kanchu Gollas (కంజు గొల్లరు) Ráchha Gollas (రాతగొల్లరు) Mushti Gollas (ముష్టిగొల్లరు) and probably some more. The members of these divisions eat together but do not intermarry.

Yerra or Kilári Gollas appear to be superior to the other divisions and put on the sacred thread during marriages. Among the Karani Gollas there is a family styled Asádi Gollas (అసాది గొల్లరు) who beat on the drum and sing the praises of Máramma, during the festivals held in honour of the village goddess, like the Mádi-gas, but are otherwise regarded as in no way inferior to the rest. In some places, the members of this division are regarded as servants of the caste, corresponding to Kólkárs.

Bígamudre or Bokkasa Gollas (Gollas of the lock and seal section) are so called because they were the guards of the treasury in former times.

The people of the two-marriage-booths division eschew flesh of any kind during marriages till the Nága-vali is over. Meanings of the names of other divisions are not known.

Gollas have a large number of exogamous divisions named after some animal, plant or other material, and the members belonging to a particular division are prohibited from eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing their division. As in other castes, all the members belonging to the same division are looked upon as brothers and sisters whether there is any relationship traceable or not, and sexual union between a man and a woman of the same division is looked upon as improper and renders the parties liable to expulsion from the caste.

Another peculiarity is that if the object representing any division is not known or ascertainable, the members of that division treat the millet (*Panicum*) known as Navane, as the sacred object. It is generally said that there are 101 exogamous divisions but this is probably an exaggeration. A list of some exogamous divisions with the names of the material objects represented by them is given in the appendix.

Language.

The original language of the Gollas appears to be Telugu. But those that are living in the purely Kannada parts of the State use only that language. The divisions by language has, in some places, become so pronounced, that the Kannada Gollas and the Telugu Gollas do not intermarry.

Birth ceremonies.

A pregnant woman is considered to be specially liable to the evil influence of spirits and is not allowed to go out alone in the evenings. She is generally taken to her father's house and they take special care of her. A pregnant woman is not allowed to see an eclipse and the shadow of the night birds should not fall on her person. In cases of hard labour, a chunam pot is broken at a place where three paths meet.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered impure for ten days and is confined to a room at the entrance of which a crowbar washed in cow's urine, an old winnow and an old shoe are kept to ward off evil spirits. The midwife who attends the delivery gets a present of a *huna* (4 as. 8 p.) for a male child and half that amount for a female. On the third day, the child is washed and an *arati* is waved before it. Neighbours pay a visit to the confinement room, bringing with them presents of old cloths and castor oil to the child. The mother is given some stimulating drugs. On even days, such as the second and the fourth, the mother and the child are taken special care of, and the door of the room is kept almost closed, for fear that evil spirits might attack them. On the eleventh or any other subsequent odd day, the mother and the child are bathed in hot water prepared by immersing certain green leaves and omam roots. The water is consecrated in a new earthen pot in the usual way and the pit ceremony is performed as in other castes. After bathing, the mother warms herself by bending over a fire pan in which omam roots are thrown so as to allow the smoke spreading over the whole

body to keep off cold. Then a wristlet made of black woollen thread with the roots of *baje* (*acorus catamus*) and a waist-thread, if male, are tied to the child. Then the usual dinner is given to all the castemen. The agnates get rid of pollution by bathing.

In the evening an elderly woman consults a soothsayer for the name to be given to the child. There is no peculiarity in the names, but as the Gollas are mostly Vaishnavites, the names of God Vishnu are generally chosen. But the names of God Siva are not eschewed, and there are many Gollas who are the followers of this God. Names taken after the minor gods and goddesses are also found in the caste. Opprobrious names are sometimes given and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames, such as, Donka (డంక) the crooked, Gujja (గుజ్జ) the dwarf, and names of endearment like Puttu, Magu, are also common.

In the third month, the mother and the child are taken to a river, after bathing, to worship Gauga (water goddess) by the offerings of turmeric and kurkuma, and cocoanut. Then in the evening, they are taken to a temple where the god is worshipped and *tirtha* is sprinkled on them. The woman gets rid of the pollution completely and may attend to the household duties thereafter. The child is weaned only after two years.

The first tonsure ceremony for the child, whether male or female, takes place near the temple of their family god, in the third year. The barber is presented with a *haya* for a male and half a *haya* for a female child, together with a new cloth and provisions. The child after bathing, is taken into the temple where the god is worshipped and *tirtha* and *prasāda* are given to it. In the evening, the lobes of the child's ear are pierced with an ear ring presented by the maternal uncle, the relatives of the child who have collected by invitation, present the child with some coins and fried grain, and they all return home in a procession.

Adoption is allowed and practised, the son of a brother or other near agnate being taken by preference. They say they may adopt the son of either a sister or even a daughter. The ceremony observed is the same as in other castes, such as renewal of the boy's waist-thread, and caste dinner. *Illátom* is common in the Telugu parts Adoption.



of the State and an *illátom* son-in-law gets a share in the property equal to that of a son and in the absence of any sons, becomes sole heir to his father-in-law.

#### Marriage.

Marriage is generally between adults, but as in other similar castes, there is a feeling that infant marriages are more respectable. They even say that adult marriages are an innovation, though the reverse is the probable truth. Boys are not generally married before they are twenty, and the parents arrange the match for both parties. Polygamy is allowed, but is not, as a rule, practised unless for such good reasons as want of issue by the first marriage or incurable disease of the first wife. When a man marries for the second time, during the life-time of the first wife, he generally obtains her consent. Polyandry is unknown. A person whether male or female may remain unmarried without incurring any social odium, but an unmarried woman is not admitted into all the privileges of one in the married state. Thus she may not touch the bridal pair or carry the *kalasa* at a marriage procession. When such persons die, their funeral ceremonies are not observed in an elaborate manner, but are finished within three days. Sometimes, however, they are elevated after death to the rank of *Iragárara* and worshipped in that guise.

Gollas are rather punctilious in the matter of contracting marriage relationship. They do not go beyond the place of previous alliances, thus practically still further splitting the recognised endogamous groups. But, within the recognised circle, there are no prohibitions based on such adventitious conditions as social or religious status, distant living, etc. They have exogamous divisions known as *Bedagus* or *Kulas*, the relationship to which is always traced through males. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle paternal aunt or elder sister is allowed, but the daughter of a maternal aunt, or of a paternal uncle is considered equal to a sister and union with her is incestuous. Two sisters may be married to the same man or to two brothers. The division or sept in which one's own mother was born is preferred to other *Kulas* for marriage. The other relationship should not be that of a brother or sister by analogy or parent and child. By the operation of this rule marriages are sometimes prohibited between persons of two divisions which are connected with a third by marriage. Exchange of daughters is allowed, but is viewed with disfavour except when the parties are poor.

The offer of marriage comes generally from the father of the boy; but when the match is between the boy and his sister's or maternal uncle's daughter, the negotiations may be commenced by either party. The usual preliminary negotiations are carried on and the marriage generally takes place in the boy's house.

Marriage proper lasts for five days, during which time both the families are very busy. On the first day, the boy and the girl are anointed with oil and bathed in their houses. The boy takes a shave and then is rubbed with turmeric and bathed again. This is the first smearing of turmeric. Some matrons after bathing go in the *mudi* state to an ant-hill and worshipping it in the usual fashion, pour milk into the snake-holes. On their returning home, a *Kalasa* is set up in the central part of the house and is worshipped in the names of all the deceased ancestors by placing new cloths and jewels near it and offering incense and cocoanuts. Then a coconut is offered to the family god and a dinner called *Dévarûta* (ದೇವರೂಟ—God's feast) is given to the castemen. Five married women are presented with glass bangles to propitiate the deceased female ancestors.

The pandals are next erected (one before each house in case of "two-pandals" section, and only one in other cases) with twelve pillars, a branch of the fig tree brought by the maternal uncle being tied to a central pillar. Arivénis (sacred pots) are brought in by married women and placed apart in a room on a bed of ant-hill earth and manure. Lamps are lighted near them, and sweet cakes strung together on a string are suspended before them. The nine kinds of staple grains are sown in the earthen dishes by married women.

Among the Karani Golla section is observed, at midnight this day, the ceremony of *Biragudi Sástra*. Two persons of the bride's house and an unmarried man and a woman, and two of the bridegroom's fast from morning. At about 11 o'clock at night these four persons bathe and put on washed clothes. They are taken, in state, under a canopy to a place where three paths meet. There a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a drawing of a human figure is made with *raugóli* (quartz powder). Púja is done to it and on a plantain leaf offerings of cooked rice, 101 sweet cakes, 101 betel-leaves, 101 areca nuts, glass

bangles, etc., are placed. A small fire is kindled before it and the four persons go round and round the fire. Then *prasāda* is distributed to all, and they return home without making any noise. Then they worship the Arivéni.

Early in the morning, the next day, the bridegroom and his brother are seated together and rubbed with turmeric. A barber pares the toe-nails of the bridegroom after which he is seated within a square formed by placing four vessels in the corners and bathed in *malaniru* water. While yet in wet clothes, his maternal uncle lifts him and carries him bodily and depositing him at a distance in a wicker basket kicks away the vessels and walks backwards. This is styled the ceremony of freeing from bondage (*Sere bidisuvudu ಸರೆ ಬಿಡಿಸುವುದು*). The maternal uncle is then dismissed with the present of a *támbúla*. The bridegroom puts on fresh clothes and goes out in state to a temple. The bride is likewise bathed in *malaniru* and is also "freed from bondage."

The bridegroom and his party come from the temple, and are stopped near the entrance of the pandal. Overcoming this mock obstruction, the bridegroom enters and sits on the marriage dais and the bride clothed in wedding dress is brought and seated opposite to him. The Brahman Puróhit chants mantras and the placing of jaggery and gingelly on each other's head, tying of *Kaukaṇas*, *táti* tying, and the *dháre* take place in succession as in Morasu Okkalu\* caste. Then the rice-pouring ceremony takes place and the married women put *sáse* to the bridal pair. Pan supari is distributed to the persons assembled there.

Then the couple rise holding each other by the hand and with the hems of their garments tied together. They are taken round the milk post thrice and are shown the star *Arundhrítí*. They then go into the Arivéni room, bow to the pots, take off the Bháshingas and sit together to eat *Burca* (ಬುರ್ವು) served in a single dish. Then a general dinner is given to all the relatives. Among the "two pandals" section of Gollas, the whole ceremony is repeated in the evening before the bride's house. This is called the second *dháre*.

Next day, the Bandári or the Pújári of the caste worships the Arivéni and the new-married couple have to eat a second *Burva*. This afternoon, the worshipping of

\* Vide pp. 15-16 of Monograph XV.

Simhāsana\* takes place. The Bandāri officiates at this and distributes the betel leaves and nuts in a cup in the prescribed order, under the direction of the headman of the caste. It is said that for every one cup he distributes, he gets his customary fee of two leaves and two nuts.

Next day takes place the worship of the pillars with the earth brought from the ant-hill and other offerings. This is called *Nāgaoli*.† Then the couple are seated on Kundānagalu (hollow wooden frames to be kept on the mortar when pounding rice), and the pot-searching takes place. They are then made to play at house-keeping. A doll is given to the man's hand who transfers it to the wife with the formula that he has work in the field and so she should take up the child; she again, in her turn, hands the child back as milk is boiling over and may be spilt if she did not go. In the evening the couple are taken, in state, to a field where the bridegroom ploughs. The bride brings food and her husband has to eat it at her request. Then the water kept in the Arivéni pots is taken to a well with the sprouts of grain sown in dishes and thrown into a well. On return, a part of the pandal is removed and in the night the bridal procession takes place.

Next day the newly married couple with some relations go to the bride's village, and remain there a day or two and return, leaving the girl there.

It is said that in the houses of Yerra Gollas, all the marriage ceremonies, including the *dhāre* and the *tāṭi* tying are observed in the night and the marriage is over before dawn the next day.

The bride price called Ōli (५०) in Telugu and Tera (30) in Kannada is Rs. 15; the amount varies in different places and sometimes well-to-do parents do not demand it at all. It is said that a widower has to pay an additional sum which is often given in the form of an extra jewel to the wife. There is a story current that the *tera* was 101 pagodas formerly and that many Gollas had to go without marriage, and therefore to grow their beards long, for by the prevailing custom, unmarried men were not then allowed to shave their hair. The evil became so great that one of the kings of Vijayanagar found it necessary to fix a scale of marriage

Bride price.

\* *Ibid* p. 17.

† *Vide* Morasu Okkalu, p. 16.

expenses by a royal mandate, issued in consultation with the leaders of the caste. The *tera* was reduced to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  rupees, and the presents to the bride were to consist of a *Táli* of  $\frac{1}{2}$  pagoda of gold, silver bangles worth 3 rupees, a silver armlet worth 7 rupees, and ear-plugs worth 10 rupees. This brought about a large number of marriages at once and for want of time to erect marriage pandals, they performed them, it is said, under *Avarike* and *Bandari* plants.

When a girl is married before puberty, she remains in her parent's house till she comes of age.

#### Puberty

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered unclean for 16 days, the first three nights of which she remains in a shed made of green leaves. During this period the leaves are renewed, so that the covering may always be green.\* As in other castes, the girl is exhibited every evening in the company of married women who fill her garments with presents of fruit, cocoanuts, etc. Her mother-in-law, if the girl is married, or the maternal uncle's family bear the expenses of one day's *osage*. Bathing on the 16th day, the girl does *Ganga pūja* and is rid of the impurity. In her periodical sickness, a woman is treated as unclean for three days and becomes pure after bathing and putting on washed clothes on the fourth day.

The consummation of marriage, in the case of a girl who has attained puberty before marriage, is put off for three months after the marriage. This has resulted in a customary rule that such a girl can live with her husband only after offering *Bágina* (बर्गिन) to the *Gauri* in the *Gauri* feast, which occurs in the *Bhādrapada* month, exactly three months after the close of the marriage season.

#### Widow marriage.

Widows are not allowed to remarry. But if a widow lives in concubinage with one of her own caste, they do not put her out; her issue become a distinct line; and though intermarriage is prohibited with them, the members of the caste do not object to dine in their company.

#### Divorce.

The husband may give up his wife for her unchastity or loss of caste and the wife may also separate herself from her husband for habitual ill-treatment or his loss of caste. When the divorce is effected, the head of the caste and the

\* Formerly the girl used to be kept, it is said, at a distance from the village. This practice is still observed by the *Kālu Gollas*. See *Monograph XIV*, page 7.

Panchayatas meet and adjudge separation. The divorced woman may not remarry but may live in the keeping of a man of the same caste.

Adultery with a man of a different caste entails expulsion from the caste. It is generally looked upon as degrading though occasionally it is condoned by payment of a small fine.

Gollas do not permit a girl to be dedicated as a Basavi. There is said to be a wandering section of the caste, devotees of the goddess Yellamma, who have this practice. But none of them are found in this State.

Death  
ceremonies.

Gollas bury the dead, but the dead bodies of those suffering from leprosy and other cutaneous diseases are cremated. Just before death, a bit of gold or a *hana* and the leaves of Tulasi are put into the mouth of the dying person and all the nearest relatives pour some water, as their last service. When life is extinct, the body is bathed in warm water and a fire is kindled in front of the house.\* Dās-ayyas are sent for and beat on a gong and blow a trumpet to announce the event. The chief mourner cooks rice in a new earthen pot before the house. The body is wrapped up in a shroud and placed on a bier made of bamboos. A little of rice is tied in a corner of the shroud and the relatives put some rice on the closed eyes of the dead body. It is then carried by four men on the shoulders accompanied by a band, beating of the drum and firing of guns into the air. As the corpse is passing, betel leaves and parched paddy are thrown on it. As in other castes, the body is placed on the ground once while half way and the carriers change sides. Then it is carried to the burial ground where a grave has been dug and kept ready. The son gets his head and moustache shaved and then the dead body is lowered into the grave. The shroud is taken and thrown out, and the body is buried quite naked, the chief mourner putting the first sod of earth followed by the other relatives of the dead person. A water pot is, as usual, broken on the grave after it is closed up. Then all go to a water-course, have a plunge and with wet clothes go home to see a lamp kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. They bury the dead with the face downwards and the head turned to the south. They do not bury anything with the dead body, the popular

\* It is considered inauspicious to kindle fire right in front of a dwelling house on other occasions.

saying being as a man came into the world so must he go out of it. When a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday, a wooden bolt of a door and a live chicken are buried with the body.\*

The third day ceremony is observed as among other castes.† Among the Kilári Gollas, an extra ceremony is observed on the 7th day, when a *kalasa* is worshipped along with all the jewels and clothes which the deceased wore when alive. The eleventh day ceremony is observed as usual. The Kilári Gollas make the figure of a man out of *Kusa* grass, carry it on a bier to the burial ground and cremate it on the eleventh day. The ashes are collected and a human figure is drawn thereon, which is worshipped with the offerings of an *Ede* (food) and milk. They then throw the ashes in water, bathe and return home. A Brahman is invited to purify the house and the rest of the eleventh day ceremony is observed as among the Morasu Okkalu caste.†

Gollas have a large section known as Désábhágadavaru or Tirunámadhâries who are branded with the symbols of Vaishṇava faith, Sankha and Chakra. Among them as soon as a man dies, a Sâtáni priest is called in to officiate at the ceremonies. He makes the symbol of Chakra near the corpse, offers it cooked food and liquor, distributes some of it as Prasáda to the relatives of the deceased and partakes of the remainder. These people do not observe the third day ceremony, but perform a similar one on the fifth day. On the midnight of the eleventh day, the chief mourner and the other immediate relatives resort to the burial ground with cooked food and a large quantity of liquor. The Sâtáni priest, who accompanies them, draws a figure of the deceased on the grave, and offers to it food and liquor, of which he tastes a little. When they return home, he instals a *kalasa* in the central part of the house and more liquor is brought in and offered to the *kalasa*. After *pūja*, all the members of the family both male and female with their friends of the same faith (Désábhága) join together and drink copiously, all differences of caste and sex being forgotten. All this, however, is kept secret, and strangers even of their own caste who do not drink (and are known as Mullujana) are strictly excluded.

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\* This practice is traced to a popular belief that when a man dies and is buried on a Tuesday or a Friday, this will be followed by two more deaths in the village. The bolt and the chicken are intended as substitutes for the two persons.

† See Morasu caste, Monograph XV, pp. 20-1.

Gollas observe pollution for ten days, but the more distant relatives bathe on the fourth day. During the period of pollution, they do not use their caste mark or eat sugar or flesh. They do not perform Sráddhas but observe the Mahálaya new-moon day when they offer an Ede to a *kalasa* in the names of all the deceased ancestors and distribute doles of raw rations to Brahmans. That day some people go in the evening to the burial ground, apply sandal to their family graves, burn frankincense, break cocoanuts and pray to the spirits of the ancestors to keep them and their families safe. They cook their food and eat it after returning home.

Gollas are Vaishnavas and worship Krishna under various names. Some of them have also adopted Siva as their family deity. They also worship minor deities such as Máramma, Yellamma and Gangamma, and sacred animals and trees. Persons of their family dying as bachelors are deified as Iragàraru, and their figures are cut on stone slabs as riding on horse-back and set up in fields with female figures on either side. *Púja* is offered to these images on feast days like the new-year's day and the Gauri.

The Karani Gollas of the Kolar District have four Maṭhas situated in Gúḷur (Bágepalli Taluk) founded in honor of certain saints of their caste, to whom *púja* is offered in those places, by the devotees who go there on pilgrimage. Rájulamaṭham (రాజుల మఠం) and Purigóni Maṭham (పురిగోని మఠం) were set up for two brothers of this caste named Peddaráju and Chinnaaráju; Dévónimaṭham (దేవోనిమఠం) and Mékalónimaṭham (మేకలూని మఠం) have one Bommala and Dévaru as their patron saint. The headmen of the caste residing in this village have charge of these institutions.

The most important of the feasts observed by the Gollas is the Sankrānti (13th or 14th January). The feast is dedicated to the worship of the god *Kāṣamarāya* (కాశీమరాయ). All bathe in the morning, wash their cattle and paint their horns with red and white stripes. The boys grazing the cattle are given fresh holiday clothes and are sent to graze them after a sumptuous dinner. In the evening when the cattle are returning from the pasture grounds, a bonfire is prepared outside the village, and

Religion.

Feasts.



the cattle are driven through the flames. On the boys reaching home with the cattle, cooked rice and sweet cakes are given to them to eat. In some places, it is the practice to boil pods of Avare (ಅವರೆಕಾಯಿ) with salt and give them to the cows and buffaloes. Milk is boiled in the courtyard and distributed to all.

Mushṭi Gollas perform periodically another feast of cattle (*Arula Pandaga*—ಅಶ್ವಸಂಹ). Contributions are levied among them, and all meet at a particular place. A bull (an uncastrated one) decorated and fully caparisoned is taken in state to the courtyard of their temple and is made to lie down on a kambli. The Pújári worships it in the usual fashion, and it is fed with milk, rice and sugar boiled together. *Mangalārati* is waved and prasāda is distributed to all present. Then the bull returns to its usual place with same honors as on arrival. They hold a general feasting, and the poor of the other castes are also fed on the occasion.

The Púje Gollas occasionally hold meetings called Nandana Gudāranu (ನಂದನ ಗುಡಾರನು Nanda's tent), when they exhibit a number of Krishna's pictures descriptive of different feats. One of the elderly men assembled recites stories about Krishna in whose honor they perform the *púja* and have a feast.

The dedicating of men for the service of God as Dásayyas is very common among Gollas. The novice is branded with the marks of Shankha and Chakra on his arms and is presented with a begging-pouch. The dedication takes place when the boy is about ten years old. The presence of Dásayyas is necessary on all their religious ceremonies.

Occupation.

Their original occupation was the tending of cattle and selling milk and its products. They are, however, now to be found in all professions such as agriculture, carpentry, bricklaying and Government service. Some are day labourers also. Their caste status is not affected by their following any of these professions.

Gollas generally keep a number of cattle and sheep. They impound the latter in a fold built for them in their fields. They have a curious ceremony for ridding their cattle of an epidemic of foot and mouth disease. On a Tuesday, a Pillari or a cone of cow-dung is set up on a cleaned spot

near the fold and cotton threads dipped in turmeric are tied to a sheep and a ram. Frankincense is burnt and cocoanuts are broken and offerings of cooked food are placed near the Pillári. Then a boy in *maḍi* is presented with betel leaves and nuts and the cooked food and is made to go away limping ; water with cow-dung is sprinkled behind him. This is called in Telugu *Kuṇṇu velli rēsēdi* (కుండు వెళ్ళి వేసేది) driving away the limping disease, and the boy is believed to carry away the disease with him.

Gollas belong to the Nine Phapa group or the Left Hand section and are ranked high in the social scale, coming next only to Okkaligas, in whose houses they are allowed to dine. They are flesh-eaters but abstain from drink, though the latter practice is not prohibited by any caste rules. They do not admit outsiders into their caste, but persons of their own caste excommunicated for transgression against their caste rules, such as eating with a lower caste man, may be readmitted after a purificatory process, which is the same as in other castes. They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance and the rules of partition are the same as in Morasu Okkalu caste.\*

Social  
status.

Gollas have a well-defined caste organization. They have groups styled Kattémánés under the headship of an Yajaman and a Gaúḍi, who settle all questions affecting the discipline of the members. Under these is the Bandári who is the beadle and as such is bound to call together the castemen whenever there is any necessity. The offices of these functionaries are hereditary and they get some customary fees on all important occasions. Among the Kuraṇi Gollas, the office of headman now belongs to a person of the Dāvóḍu division having been transferred to them from the Rájóllu division. The explanation given is that the latter had to give up their superior privileges, as a woman of the other division whom they looked down upon as defiled proved her superior virtue by cutting off a limb of a sheep and making it whole again. Ever since, the first Támbuga at marriages is given to a member of this division.

Tribal con-  
stitution

There is nothing peculiar in the dress or ornaments of Gollas, except that their women do not generally wear bodice cloths. They sometimes play on a bamboo flute to while away their time while grazing. Gollas never ride on the back of a bullock.

Miscel-  
laneous.

\* See Monograph XV, p. 25.

## APPENDIX.

### List of Exogamous Divisions.

- Alasandula (అలసండుల), beans.  
 A'ne (ఆనే), elephant.  
 A'sádi (ఆసాది).  
 Bále (బాళే), plantain.  
 5 Bandáram (బండారం).  
 Bandi (బండి), cart.  
 Bangáru (బంగారు), gold.  
 Bidigállu (బిడిగాళ్ళు).  
 Bódi (బోడి).  
 10 Búmagána (బూమగాన).  
 Dyávóllu (ద్యావోళ్ళు).  
 Dévadári (దేవదారి), deodar tree.  
 Ellagala (ఎల్లగల).  
 Ganda (గంప), sandal.  
 15 Gannérá (గన్నేర), sweet basil.  
 Ganta (గంట), saddle.  
 Gorimilla (గొరిమిళ్ళు), a herb.  
 Gúba (గూబ), an owl.  
 Gúna (గూన), hunch-backed.  
 20 I'ja (ఈజ), a plant.  
 Jambu (జంబు), a reed.  
 Káre (కారే), a prickly plant.  
 Kávari (కావడి), a pole with slings on either side.  
 Kommalu (కొమ్మలు), horns.  
 25 Korla (కొర్ర), panicum grain.  
 Kurimilla (కురిమిళ్ళు).  
 Machchal (మచ్చల), a fish.  
 Maddi (మద్ది), a timber tree.  
 Majjige (మజ్జిగ), butter-milk.  
 30 Mallela (మల్లెల), jasmine.  
 Malupávula (మలుపావుల). The people of this section  
 eschew the milk, etc., of a cow or a buffalo whose  
 calf is dead.  
 Mandala (మండల), a herd.  
 Manga (మంగ), a monkey.

- Mápiṭi (మాపిటి), date tree.
- 35 Marala (మరల), a banyan tree.
- Matṭi Ávula (పట్టి ఆవుల), a spotted cow.
- Mókala (మేకల), a goat.
- Módaga (మోదగ), butea frondosa, bastard teak.
- Muchchára (ముచ్చార). They do not eat panicum grain.
- 40 Munaga (మునగ), horse-radish.
- Nágala (నాగల), cobra.
- Naggilu (నగ్గిలు), a prickly plant.
- Páláḍi (పాలాడి), a herb.
- Palle (పల్లె).
- 45 Pálu (పాలు), milk or a herb.
- Pasupu (పసుపు), turmeric.
- Pávalu (పావలు).
- Pótalu (పోతలు), a ram.
- Puligórlu (పులిగోర్లు), the claws of a tiger.
- 50 Púli (పూలి), a plant.
- Purigi (పురిగి).
- Púsangala (పూసంగల).
- Rági (రాగి), peepul-tree.
- Ráli (రాలి), a plant.
- 55 Ramollu (రామొల్లు).
- Saḍlu (సడ్లు). They do not eat panicum grain.
- Sampige (సంపిగి), champaka tree.
- Sásuve (సాసువే), mustard.
- Setty (సెట్టి).
- 60 Simha (సింహ), a lion.
- Suraponna (సురపొన్న), a tree.
- Toralu (తోరలు). It is said that they do not eat after sunset, if they hear the sound of a flute.
- Tubara (తూబర), a tree.
- Tummi (తుమ్మి), a timber tree.
- 65 Ulavalu (ఉలవలు), Horse gram.
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## APPENDIX.

List of Exogamous Divisions            ...            ...	14—16
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## DÉVANGAS.

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Dévānga (देवाङ्ग) is one of the castes that has **Name.** weaving as its special profession. Several distinct castes which have weaving as their principal occupation have been clubbed together as Nēyige or weaving caste. This is inaccurate, as several castes having little in common are included in the generic term: namely, Dévānga, Sāle, Bīli-magga or Kuruvīnavaru, Paṭvegār, Saurāshṭra or Patnulkar, Sēniga and Togata.

Jādaru which has the same meaning as a weaver is sometimes applied to them especially in the western part of the country\*. They call themselves Dévāngas - i.e., born from the limbs of Gods.

Seṭṭi is the ordinary ending used to their personal names and denotes respectability. Appa (ಅಪ್ಪ), Ayya (ಅಯ್ಯ) and Anna (ಅಣ್ಣ) to the names of men and Ayva (ಅವ್ವ), Annma (ಅಮ್ಮ) and Akka (ಅಕ್ಕ) to those of women are used as honorific additions. Recently some of them who follow the priestly vocation have begun to use the suffix Śāstri, hitherto used exclusively by Śmārta Brāhmins.

In the beginning of the world, men went naked and **Origin.** Brahma created Manu to weave clothes for them. The art was, however, soon lost when Manu attained Mōksha, and people had to cover their shame with leaves and bark. The three Gods met in consultation, and Manu was reincarnated as Dévala or Vidyādhara from the eye on Siva's forehead. Dévala went to fetch the thread for weaving which was obtained from the stalks of the lotus in the navel of Vishnu. Five Rākshasas headed by Vajradanta attacked Dévala and wished to carry away the thread obtained after severe Tapas. On his appeal for divine help to Siva, Pārvati appeared on his side as Chaudēsvari. The Rākshasas had secured a boon from the gods that out of every drop of their blood which touched

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\* A Spider is known as Jādara-hula (ಜಾದರ ಹುಲಿ) or weaving insect.



the ground, a thousand warriors should spring up to fight for them. To prevent this, the terrible Goddess spread out her tongue, so as to cover the whole battle field, and swallowed all the blood falling from the giants' wounds, and soon vanquished them. Some of the blood was used as colouring matter and gave five colours (black, white, red, green and yellow). Thenceforward Chaudésvari became the tutelary deity of this caste. This Dēvala afterwards wove cloths and presented them to Dēvas who, in appreciation of his services, gave him as wife Dēvadatta who is said to have been born from the fire-pit (ॐॐॐॐॐ) in which the seven Rishis performed Yagna. Dēvala then gave clothes to the inhabitants of Pātāla Lōka, and there obtained Nāgadatta as his wife. He gave clothes to men and got Agnidatta from them for his wife. It is said that this personage had seven Avatāras (incarnations), namely, Manu, Vidyādhara, Pushpadanta, Bhētāla, Vararishi, Daivasūli and Dēvādāsamayya, the last of which took place in the Kali age.

There are other accounts which place Dēvala on a much higher position. Some say that he is the creator himself and that the Gods of the Triad are his Chēlas or pupils.

Some of this caste claim the rank of Brāhmins\* and style themselves Dēva Brāhmins (Divine-Brāhmins), the Brāhmins being distinguished as Gō-Brāhmins (Cow-Brāhmins). Others are, however, satisfied with the rank of Vaisyas.

The following account is given of their origin in the Baranahal Records.† “When Brahma, the creator, created the *charam* and *acharam*, or the animate and inanimate creation, the *Dēvalas* or Gods, Rākshasas or evil demons, and the human race were without a covering for their bodies, which displeasing the God *Narada* or reason, he waited upon *Paramēswara* or the great Lord at his palace on the *Kailasa Parvata* or mount of Paradise, and represented the indecent state of the inhabitants of the universe and prayed that he would be pleased to devise a covering for their nakedness. *Paramēshwara* saw the propriety of *Narada's* request and thought it was proper to grant it and whilst he was so thinking a male sprung

\* Castes and Tribes of Southern India by E. Thurston, P. 156.

† Section III, Inhabitants, Madras Government Press 1907, pages 179-180.

into existence from his body whom he named *Deva angam* or the body of God in allusion to the manner of his birth. *Deva angam* instantly asked his progenitor why he had created him. The God answered "repair to the *Pala Samudram*, or sea of milk, where thou wilt find *Sri Maha Vishnu*, or the august mighty God Vishnu, and he will tell thee what to do; *Deva angam* repaired to the presence of *Sri Maha Vishnu* and represented that *Paramèsvara* had sent him and begged to be favoured with Vishnu's commands." Vishnu replied "Do you weave cloth to serve as a covering to the inhabitants of the universe?" Vishnu then gave him some of the fibres of the lotus flower that grew from his navel, and taught him how to make it into cloth. *Deva angam* wove a piece of cloth and presented it to Vishnu who accepted of it and ordered him to depart and to take the fibres of trees and make raiment for the inhabitants of the Vishnu loka or Gods. *Deva angam* created ten thousand weavers who used to go to the forest and collect the fibres of trees and make it into cloth for the *Devatas* or Gods and the human race. One day *Deva angam* and his tribe went to a forest in the *Bhuloka* or earthly world in order to collect the fibres of trees when he was attacked by a race of *Rakshasas*, giants on which he waxed wrath and unbending his *Jata* or long plaited hair, gave it a twist and struck it once on the ground; in that moment a Shakti or female Goddess having eight hands, each grasping a war-like weapon, sprang from the earth, attacked the *Rakshasas*, and defeated them; *Deva angam* named her Chudèshwari or Goddess of the hair, and as she had delivered his tribe out of the hands of the *Rakshasas* he made her his tutelary divinity."

The Dèvàngas found in the State are divided into Divisions. four endogamous divisions, namely, (1) Sivàchàr Dèvàngas, (2) Kannada Dèvàngas, comprising Sîryadavarû (of Sîra) and Hadinenţu Maneyavarû (of eighteen houses), (3) Telugu Dèvàngas and (4. Haţagàrarû. The Sivàchàr Dèvàngas appear to be converts to Lingàyatism from the other Dèvàngas; but they say that they are Lingàyats from the beginning and that the other divisions must have become degraded by losing the Linga. This however seems to be the reverse of what actually occurred. Kannada and Telugu sections were at first merely linguistic divisions, but have crystalised into separate endogamous groups. The subdivision Hadinenţu Maneyavarû (those of

eighteen families) among the Kannada Dēvaṅgas owes its origin to a secession from the main groups of those who adopted some heterodox practices. There are two derivations given to the term Haṭagāraru. One is that they are the handloom weavers *hat* meaning hand and the other that they are *stubborn* or obstinate referring to the following incident.

At one time all the Dēvaṅgas were Liṅgāyats; subsequently one of their number became a religious preacher and induced them to give up the Liṅga and wear the sacred thread instead. Those who obstinately stuck to the new form of religion were known as Haṭagāraru. Some of the Haṭagāras however appear to have latterly gone back into Liṅgāyatism, because there are Liṅgāyat and non-Liṅgāyat Haṭagāras.

**Exogamous divisions.**

Kannada Dēvaṅgas, Telugu Dēvaṅgas and Haṭagāras have exogamous divisions some of which have names borrowed from objects considered sacred. Along with these which they call Bedagus, some of them also give out eponymous Gōtras. A list of all these divisions is given in the Appendix.

**Birth ceremonies.**

After childbirth, Liṅgāyats observe no pollution, while other Dēvaṅgas observe it for ten days. All however have a purificatory ceremony on the eleventh day, Liṅgāyats inviting a Jangama and others a priest of their own caste. The inviting of Brāhmanas for ceremonies has of late been given up. The ceremonies up to name-giving are nearly the same as among parallel castes.

**Adoption.**

When there is no male issue, they resort to adoption, and there is nothing special in the rules about the selection of the boy and the method of affiliation.

**Dikshe.**

Among the Liṅgāyat Dēvaṅgas, the Dikshe or the initiation ceremony takes place when the child is about ten years of age. A Jangam priest is called to officiate at this ceremony. The novice is bathed and is made to take his seat on a wooden plank. The priest installs in front of the child five Kalasas, one at each corner and the fifth in the centre of a parallelogram drawn with quartz powder. The Kalasas are worshipped in the usual manner, the priest reciting Mantras. The Liṅga which the boy has been wearing is washed seven times with milk, ghee, butter, sugar and honey, which are collectively called Panchamruta (ಪಂಚಮೃತ) and the priest then ties it to the boy whispering in his ears some Mantras. Then Dakshine

(money) and Tàmbúla are distributed and the father of the boy gives a dinner to the Jangamas and Dèvàngas.

Among the Kannada and Telugu Dèvàngas, the corresponding ceremony known as Upanayana is observed as part of the marriage ceremony and takes place on the Jagna day.

Marriage among the Dèvàngas of all divisions may be either adult or infant. A woman may remain unmarried all her lifetime and there are said to be some rare cases, in which women have been leading single lives, sometimes as religious ascetics. In recent times, however, infant marriages are becoming more popular and are supposed to enhance the social status of the caste. The full funeral rites are not observed to dispose of bodies of persons dying unmarried; but some of them get posthumous honours as Iràgararu. Marriage.

In marriages, one has to seek a girl within one's own group, but outside the Bedagu or Gòtra. An elder sister's daughter may be taken and is in fact considered the most proper person to marry, but the daughter of a younger sister may not be married. A man may marry his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, but not the daughter of his paternal uncle or maternal aunt, as this relationship is regarded as that of a sister. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is allowed and practised. Polygamy is allowed but practised only in such exceptional cases, as barrenness or incurable disease in the first wife.

The boy's father as usual makes the first move and the preliminary agreement of Vilyada Prasta is much the same as in other castes. The marriage ceremonies generally take place in the boy's house.

One or two days previous to the actual beginning of the ceremonies, the boy and the girl to be married are smeared with turmeric in their own places; and a feast is held in honour of their tribal Goddess (Chaudèsvari) and the family ancestors. Then the bride and her party set out for the bridegroom's place.

The putting up of the marriage shed on twelve pillars, the chief or milk post being brought by the maternal uncle, the bringing of Arivèni pots and holy water (ಪುಷ್ಕರಿಣಿ) by five married women walking all the way on cloths spread in the street, are the next events.

The next day, after nail paring and bathing in Maleniru of both the parties, the boy is taken to a temple and seated on a Kumbly (woollen blanket). The bridegroom's party pass and repass three times carrying the marriage presents to the bride's house and then the bride's people come to welcome the bridegroom in the temple. Some turmeric paste is rubbed over him, handfuls of rice (Sase) thrown on his head and in procession he is taken to the marriage Pandal.

If the parties are not Lingâyats, the Upanayana takes place and the boy gets his sacred thread, purification (Punyâha), Hôma and other ceremonies taking place as in other higher castes. Then the boy is taken to a Peepul tree where he is met by the parents of the bride who wash his feet and bring him to the marriage Pandal for marriage. The girl is then brought there and the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand facing each other with a screen between them. The Purôhit chants Mantras, the screen is removed at the appointed hour and the bridal pair put cummin seed and jaggory on each other's heads. Then follow the Dhâre or giving away the girl, the tying of the Tâli, the rice-pouring ceremony and the tying of the Kaṅkaṇas. Afterwards Pân-supâri and Dakshine (money) are distributed to all. The couple rise, walk seven times round the Hôma fire holding each other by the hand with the fringes of their garments knotted together, go round the milk post three times and worship Arundhati after walking seven steps in the open air. Then they go to the Arivêni room, and after bowing to the pots, return to join the dinner.<sup>1</sup> In the evening the couple are made to sit together before a gathering of married women and other relations, and chew betel leaves and nuts, the bride handing them over to the bridegroom and the latter returning the compliment.

On the second day takes place Nâgavali. The couple bathe after nail paring, and bring earth from an anthill, which they make into balls and place near the pandal posts, and make Pûja. Some married women are fed and presented

<sup>1</sup> In some places, *e.g.*, Channagiri, the couple sit before the Arivêni pots and eat Buxva. Food is served in two dishes, and the bride and her near relatives and the bridegroom and his relations sit at their respective dishes for eating it. At the end, the bridegroom hands over a morsel to the bride which she eats. The bridegroom pays down eight annas to the bride's people who wash the dishes.

with Bágina. After pot-searching, the Kankapas are removed. After a night procession, the bride's entry to her husband's house takes place.

Next day they bathe in Ókuli water \* and the milk post of the Pandal is removed. The couple are then taken to the girl's village and return after a day or two.

The bride price is generally fixed at seven pagodas or Rs. 21, and some times Rs. 9 is added. In some places it is said to range between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500. Some receive the price under the euphemistic term of Bhùri Dakshina, while others have almost given up the practice. As regards marriage expenses also there is no uniform standard. It is said that till the Dhàre ceremony, the expenses are incurred by the girl's father and then the boy's father has to pay for Dakshina and give two dinners.

A widower has to pay double the bride price.

When a girl attains her age, she is considered as impure Puberty. and is bathed and an Ārati is waved to her by married women. Being under pollution, she sits by herself for ten days either in a shed built of green leaves or in a separate corner of the house, a twig of Alangium Lamarekii (అలంగిమ్మ) being stuck at the place to ward off evil spirits. In the evening she is exhibited in the company of married women (who do not touch her) and is presented with fruits, flowers, turmeric and kunkuma. She is during this time fed on nutritious food, and is not allowed to walk barefooted and during nights she is kept awake for fear of molestation from evil spirits. On the eleventh day she bathes, and the house is purified by the Puróhit and a dinner given to their caste people. The girl, however, does not get rid of the pollution till the sixteenth day is over, when, if she is already married, the consummation of marriage takes place. The latter ceremony is finished in one day. In the morning the couple are anointed and bathed. In some places they observe the ceremonies of the worship of the nine planets, Hóma, etc., but generally this is dispensed with. The couple are seated together in the night in the company of their relatives and castemen and they distribute Pán-supàri and cocoanuts before going to their nuptial couch.

With regard to widow marriage, the practice is Widow not uniform. In some places, in Channagiri in the marriage.

\* Ókuli (అంకులి) is water coloured red with turmeric and chunam.

Those engaged in the sport or ceremony squirt this on each other.

Shimoga District, for instance, it is allowed and fairly common. In some other places, *e.g.*, Bangalore and Mysore Districts, it is said to be not in vogue. In the Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts, the practice is allowed. In Madras "Widow marriage is permitted in some places and forbidden in others."\* The custom appears to have been at one time common and has gradually fallen into disfavour. The following is quoted from the "Baramahal Records," page 183, Section III, a work written in the closing years of the 18th century. "In this sect (Dévāngas) widows are permitted to marry a second husband but if she has children by her first husband, her parents are obliged to give nine chakras to them. When a person contracts himself in marriage to a widow, he only pays her parents thirty sultan fanams; if she has none living, the money is to be divided among her relations. If the widow has no children at the time of her second marriage, her parents are to pay six chakras out of the nine to the brother or brothers of the deceased. The children of such a second marriage are received into the sect."

Adultery  
and  
divorce.

Adultery on the part of a woman is regarded with abhorrence and she is thrown out of caste and cannot be re-admitted. Divorce is allowed only on the ground of the wife's adultery and the divorced woman is not allowed to remarry.

Death  
ceremonies

Dévāngas bury the dead. The Lingāyat or Sivāchar Dévāngas observe the ceremonies peculiar to the followers of that religion in disposing of the body, such as washing the feet of the Guru, sipping the water, placing the body in the grave in a sitting posture, and the Guru placing his feet on the head of the corpse. They observe no pollution but perform the third day and eleventh day ceremonies. There are some Dévāngas who are styled Tirunāmadhāris or Dāsa Jana and these observe the ceremonies peculiar to that cult, inviting a Dāsayya or Sātāni priest and worshipping the Chakra. But the major portion of the Dévāngas who are neither Lingāyats nor Dāsa Jana observe the usual ceremonies. As soon as a person is dead, his body is washed and wrapped up in a new shroud. It is carried in a lying posture on the shoulders of four men and is buried with the face turned towards the south.

\* Castes and Tribes of Southern India, by E. Thurston, Vol. II, P. 163.

After the corpse is disposed of, the party bathe and return home and look at a light kept on the spot where the life expired. On the third day, the son accompanied by some elderly relatives goes to the burial ground and bathing in a river, erects a small shed on the grave in which a figure of the deceased is drawn. Food with vegetable is cooked there, and offered to it after burning incense; and is afterwards thrown to crows. After they return home the corpse-bearers have their shoulders smeared with ghee and milk and washed with soap-nut. All the agnates eat together. On the eleventh day, the agnates including the son bathe to get rid of the pollution. A *Purôhit* is called in to purify the house. Then a *Kalasa* in the name of the deceased is set up and worshipped. Then rice, money, sandals, umbrellas and other articles are distributed to enable the deceased getting these things on his journey to the other world. Generally a cow\* is given away to the *Purôhit*. Prayers are then offered for the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Then a party repair to the graveyard, burn incense and offer cocoanut to the deceased, and also some rice boiled together with pulses. On return, they go to a temple, offer worship to the god and pray for forgiveness of the sins of the deceased, and for the opening of the doors of *Vaikuntha*.† Then a dinner is given to all the castemen in memory of the deceased. Pollution is observed for ten days for the death of an adult agnate, three days for that of an infant. There is no period of mourning for the death of a daughter's son or other relative; in the former case they all bathe. When under pollution, they do not put on their caste marks, abstain from sweet things and milk, and suspend their daily work.

*Dêvângas* do not generally observe *Srâddhâs*, but on the first anniversary of the day, they worship a *Kalasa* and feed their castemen. Recently some have taken to performing *Srâddhâs* on the day corresponding with the date of death. For the propitiation of the ancestors in general they observe the *Mahâlâya Amâvâsya* and distribute doles in the names of the dead. In common with other castes of similar status, they observe *Huvilya* ceremony to

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\* This is said to furnish a cow to the deceased for crossing the river of fire (holding its tail) in his passage to the *Yamâlôka* to receive his judgment.

† In some places this ceremony is observed on the next day which is styled *Vaikuntha Samârâdane*.



propitiate deceased females who predeceased their husbands; and whenever she wears a new cloth for the first time, the second wife of a man distributes Pàn-supàri and jaggory syrup, etc., to propitiate the spirit of the first wife.

Religion.

The Lingāyat Dèvāngas are strict Śaivas. Other Dèvāngas worship both Vishnu and Siva without any distinction. All have family Gods either of the Vishnu or the Siva group. They worship also the Village Gods and Goddesses Māramma, Muniswara and others. The distinction known as Dāsajana and Mullujana also obtains among them, in some parts the former being strict Vaishnavas. Among the Mullujana there are Jōgis, that is, those that dedicate themselves to the worship of Bhaire Dèvaru of Chunchangiri (Nagamangala Taluk). They undergo the ceremony known as Dikshe when a Bairagi of the Chunchanagiri Māṭha bores a hole in the lobe of the right ear with a knife. This individual has a whistle called Singanāda suspended to his neck and has to sound it whenever he makes Pūja.

Their tribal Goddess is known as Chaudèsvari, and also as Bana Sankari. She is held to be an incarnation of Pārvati, who came down to help Dèvala when he was attacked by Rākshasas while bringing down the thread for weaving from Vishnu. The image is kept in temples and also Katte-manes. They have Pūjāris of their own caste, and the Yajmān has charge of the idols at the Katte-mane, where every year they have a festival lasting for three days in honour of this Goddess.

They hold a special celebration on a much grander scale at intervals of five or ten years. The expenses which come to about 200 or 300 rupees are met by contributions from members under several Katte-manes. Pandals are raised in some large grove to accommodate the people and the gathering continues for four or five days.

A number of young men, generally one from each family, are chosen as Alagu Komāraru (ಅಲಗು ಕೊಮಾರರು. sword boys) who must remain in the Pandal all through the festival without going to their homes. They are taken to bathe in a water-course where they worship Ganga (water) and are smeared with turmeric paste and dressed in yellow clothes. They are brought back in procession, and purify themselves by drinking Gōmūtra with

turneric and tying Kankana threads to their wrists. They may not touch cooked food but should live on milk and fruits. In the evening, these young men go in procession to a pond or well outside the town and after Pūja to Ganga proclaim loudly that they would come there the next day to take water for the worship. Thereafter a watch is kept near the pond and no one is allowed to touch the water.

Early in the morning the next day, the Alagu Komārars bathe and dress in yellow clothes. The Seṭṭis and Yajamāns, the Pūjāri and other functionaries of the tribal constitution and all the castemen\* gather near the Pandal and go in procession with music and band to the consecrated pond or well. The Pūjāri sets up a Kalasa in a dish filling it with the water taken from the pond or well, decorates it with arca flowers, and worships it. A blunt sword smeared over with turmeric is handed to each of these boys who flourish them in the air and strike their chests with the edge of the swords. Then a large number of cocoanuts are broken and the procession moves slowly to the Pandal where a Kalasa is installed and a sword is balanced over it. Exercises of swordmanship are exhibited by the Alagu Komārs and the Pūjāri.

Next day a Jyōti or light is worshipped. The receptacle and the stand for the light are made of rice mixed with jaggory and coconut and pounded into paste. The rice for the purpose must be collected fresh from a field and by a person clothed in Maḍi (clean state). Formerly this light was being paraded throughout the village, and this practice is now given up, on account of the light, it is said, once having flown up a cocoa-nut tree and refused to come down till a human being was sacrificed. Consequently the light, the Kalasa and the swords are worshipped in the Pandal.

The next day (*i.e.*, the last day) jaggory water and soaked pulses are distributed among the caste people. After this, the Kalasa, the light and the swords are taken in procession to the pond and there worshipped. Then the water in the Kalasa is emptied into the pond, and the light extinguished. The lampstand is broken up and the sweet paste distributed as prasāda. Afterwards all return to the Pandal and have a dinner.

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\*Note.—It is said that no woman is allowed to go with the procession lest casually the monthly sickness may occur and cause pollution by contact.

Another tribal god is Rāmalinga to whom temples are built in large towns.

They have belief in oracles, omens and soothsayers and consult them.

Gurus.

Their Guru is the Swami of the Hampe maṭha in the Bellary District, who is believed to be the direct descendant of Dēvala, their progenitor. Formerly this maṭha was very influential but in course of time it was broken up into five minor maṭhas, the more important of which are the maṭhas at Bettigere, Gadag, Kadakola and (Shapur) Belgaum, all in the Bombay Presidency. The Guru may be a celibate or a married man. He makes periodical visits to his disciples and collects contributions from them. He is assisted by a lieutenant who tours with him, holds enquiries and settles disputes. When the questions are of grave nature, they are decided by the Guru himself. During such visits, the disciples are favoured with Tirtha and Prasāda. Recently the head maṭha at Hampe has been revived and a new Swami has been installed therein.

The Lingāyat Dēvaṅgas acknowledge Nidamānadi Kari Vrishbhēndraswāmi as their Guru.

Social  
Status.

Dēvaṅgas occupy a high position in the scale of castes claiming to be superior to Okkaligas. They even advance a claim to be regarded as Brāhmans, which, however, is not admitted by others. Formerly Brāhmans acted as their priests, but are being replaced by men of their own caste. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste, but those who have degraded themselves by irregular or improper practices may be readmitted after purification.

They follow the usual law of inheritance. In making partition of lands, it is considered correct to give the youngest son the easternmost or the northernmost plot. Partition is usually effected before a Panchāyat, meeting in the temple of the tribal God for the sake of ensuring honesty and truthfulness on the part of the rival claimants.

Dēvaṅgas belong to the Nine Phana or the Left-hand group of castes. They have their own set of dancing women who are prohibited from serving at assemblies of rival group of castes.

Food.

In the matter of food and drink, the Lingāyat Dēvaṅgas are vegetarians and teetotallers, and the others are gradually coming up to that standard.

The Lingayat Dêvàngas and Jangams dine with each other. Of the other sections, some eat in the houses of Brāhmanas and the others refuse to do so.

The Dêvàngas have Katte-manes with jurisdiction over a limited area and presided over by Settis and Yajamānas. The beadle of the caste is known as Mudre Manushya (Signet-man). These Katte-manes take cognizance of matters over which courts established by law have no authority.

Caste  
Govern-  
ment.

The caste has its class of dependants or Haṭa-Makkaṇu, who go by the name of Singadavarū or hornmen. They are said to wear both a Linga and a sacred thread. Their Guru has always one of this class among his followers on his tours of visitation. The Singadavarū are also rewarded with presents raised by contribution whenever they visit Dêvānga people independently. They are said to be the repository of the history and tradition of this caste.

The caste as a whole have weaving as their occupation, but they generally follow agriculture also and some times make it their exclusive occupation. The imported yarn is purchased and woven in hand-looms. Though it has suffered from competition with machinery, the trade is carried on on a fairly large scale. The weavers are generally poor and have to borrow from money-lenders to whom the finished products are mortgaged in advance. Government have been taking steps to introduce better looms and encourage co-operation, and some amelioration has resulted in the condition of this large class of artisans. Still, the low returns of trade combined with some improvident habits have left them poor as a class, liable to suffer most in seasons of famine or scarcity.

Occupation

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## APPENDIX.

(List of Erogonous divisions.)

I. Kannada Dèvàngas.		Meaning of term.
Ambali	(ಅಂಬಲಿ)	Gruel.
Arivàṇa	(ಅರಿವಾಣ)	A pot.
Baṇṇa	(ಬಣ್ಣ)	Colour.
Bàḷe	(ಬಾಳ)	Plantain.
Belli	(ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ)	Silver.
Beṇṇe	(ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ)	Butter.
Basàpatra	(ಬಸಾಪತ್ರಿ)	
Chokkamāru	(ಚೊಕ್ಕನುರು)	
Dabbe	(ದಬ್ಬೆ)	Bamboo.
Doddatala	(ದೊಡ್ಡತಲೆ)	Large head.
Guddina	(ಗುಡ್ಡಿನ)	
Hosakere	(ಹೊಸಕರೆ)	Name of a place.
Kallukòte	(ಕಲ್ಲುಕೋಟೆ)	Do
Kanakana	(ಕನಕನ)	
Kadaga	(ಕಡಗ)	A wristlet.
Kachchòru	(ಕಚ್ಚೋರು)	
Kòranalli	(ಕೊರನಳ್ಳಿ)	
Machche	(ಮಚ್ಚೆ)	A mole or mark.
Mande	(ಮಂಡ)	Head.
Mādèva	(ಮಾದೇವ)	
Muchchala	(ಮುಚ್ಚಲ)	Lid.
Mùremme	(ಮೂರಮ್ಮ)	Three she buffaloes
Muttu.	(ಮುತ್ತ)	Pearl.
Ondu Mātu	(ಒಂದು ಮಾತು)	One word.
Onṭemme	(ಒಂಟಮ್ಮ)	Single she buffalo.
Petṭige	(ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ)	Box.

Punagu	(పునగు)	Civet.
Roddagàrru	(రొద్దగార్రు)	
Sappe	(సప్పె)	Insipid.
Sanje	(సంజే)	Twilight.
Séje	(సేజే)	
Sobagu	(సోబగు)	Ornamentation.
Toṭṭlu	(తోట్లు)	Cradle.
Vambāle	(వంబాళే)	Areca flower.

## II. Telugu Dēvaṅgas.

Anumalu	అనుమలు	Dolichos lablab Lin.
Bandi	బండి	Cart.
Bantha	బంత	Quilt.
Chimāla	చీమల	Ant.
Chinta	చింత	Tamarind.
Chapparam	చప్పురం	Pandal.
Dūde	దూది	Cotton.
Duggāni	దఘాణి	A two-pic piece.
Enumala	ఎనుమల	Buffalo.
Gōduma	గోదమ	Wheat.
Hāraka	హారక	Paslapam Scrobiculatum Lin.
Jīlkara	జీలకర	Cumin seed.
Maṭham	మఠం	Monastery.
Nalugu	నలుగు	
Onti	ఒంటి	Single.
Pichchiga	పిచ్చిగ	Sparrow.
Roddagāri	రొద్దగారి	
Santa	సంత	Fair.
Sajja	సజ్జ	Holcus spicatus Roxb
Uddi	ఉద్ది	Black gram.

## III. Haṭagārars.

Arasina	(అరసిం)	Turmeric.
Dēvi	(దేవి)	Goddess.
Gaḍige	(గాడిగ)	Pot,

Honnubágina	(ಹೊನ್ನಬಾಗಿನ)	Gold.
Honnungura	(ಹೊನ್ನಂಗುರ)	Gold ring.
Kalasa	(ಕಳಶ)	Vase.
Sakkare	(ಸಕ್ಕರೆ)	Sugar.
Simhāsana	(ಸಿಂಹಾಸನ)	Throne.

In addition to the above, the Dévāngas have returned the following eponymous divisions:—

Bhāskara Rishi Gōtra	(ಭಾಸ್ಕರ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Dhaunya do	(ಧೌವ್ಯ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Chitravarga do	(ಚಿತ್ರವರ್ಗ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Mālīka do	(ಮಾಲಿಕ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Māṇḍavya do	(ಮಾಂಡವ್ಯ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Manu do	(ಮನು ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Pippala do	(ಪಿಪ್ಪಲ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Rāja Mahā do	(ರಾಜಮಹಾ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).
Sringa do	(ಶೃಂಗ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XIII**

**DOMBAR CASTE.**

BY

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## DOMBAR.

Dombaras (ದೊಂಬರು) are essentially a wandering tribe, though many of them have, like similar wandering tribes, such as Korachas, settled down in towns and villages. They are acrobats and tumblers by profession and are generally tall, muscular and well-made, with a complexion varying from shades of copper to dark. They numbered according to the last Census (1901) 2,911 including 1,390 males and 1,521 females. They are, as a class, illiterate, and rarely show any inclination to send their children to school. The caste.

The common name by which the caste is called is Dombaru (ದೊಂಬರು) which is a later form of the original word Donabaru (ಡೊಂಬರು). They have no other names in this State. In the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency, they are known as Itévallu (ಈಟೇವಳ್ಳು). They are described as people who "exhibit different shows, such as wrestling, ascending high poles, walking on ropes. The women act as common prostitutes."\* The titles used by the headmen of the caste are 'Radḍi,' 'Náyadu' and 'Náik.' The suffix 'gádu' is added at the end of the personal names of males when addressed by persons of a higher caste, while the common suffixes of Appu and Ayya are used for males when they are addressed either by persons of their own or of an inferior caste. Name.

The meaning of the term "Dombar" is not clear. Some derive it from a class styled *Doubs* in Northern India. The latter are however scavengers and are employed to carry corpses of destitute paupers, and correspond to the Mádigas of the south, while the Dombaras occupy a comparatively higher position. It can hardly be said that similarity of name is anything more than an accidental coincidence. The Dombaras are moreover a Telugu caste, and their traditions and customs point to their immigration into the State from the Karnool and Nellore Districts. Meaning of the name.

Dombaras who perform feats in public make a great deal of din and noise, with drums and loud shrieks to attract a large crowd of spectators. This kind of clamour is called "*dombi*" or "*dombi*" (ದೊಂಬಿ or ಡೊಂಬಿ) in Kannada, but whether the caste takes its name from this term or whether "*dombi*" meaning a tumult or tumultuous rabble is

\* The Vizagapatam District Manual of 1869, page 67.

Traditions  
about ori-  
gin.

derived from “Dombār” (the name of the caste), it is not easy to determine.

A Raddi had by his younger wife, it is said, a son who was born without any limbs. Ever after, he was pursued by great misfortune, and a soothsayer having, on consultation, discovered that the unfortunate child had brought ill-luck into the family, he commanded his wife to do away with the child. Her maternal affection induced her to temporise and she hid the child in a manger. Cattle unaccountably died in large numbers, and a similar result was observed wherever the child was removed. In despair, the mother handed over the child to a wandering beggar to be disposed of in some safe place, and the latter consigned it to a ruined well. The unwelcome brat had however a tough life and was not drowned. His cries attracted the attention of the Gods Párvati and Paramésvara, who on learning his unfortunate history, miraculously gave him his limbs and at his request bestowed on him a right to obtain an earthen drum from a potter's house, and doles of rice in each house to which he would resort for beggary. The boy was in such ecstatic delight at getting his limbs, that he jumped out of the well at one bound and cast himself at the feet of his divine benefactors.\* He was then enjoined to add the profession of acrobatic performer to that of itinerant beggar. The Dombars are his descendants by a concubine he picked up in his wandering tours.

Another story is that a Raddi's wife was delivered of a daughter in the field outside the village, where she had carried her husband's midday meal. A hut was improvised for her accouchement, and after it was over, her husband's elder wife out of envy contrived that she and her child should be regarded as outcasts. The father gave all his lands and agricultural implements to the progeny of the other wife, and left to these a drum, a pole and a rope. They had to earn their living with these implements alone and learnt acrobatic feats. No one would marry a girl playing in public on a pole, and so the daughter called Dombara Chinnasáni became a prostitute. This is said to account for the practice of dedicating prostitutes which is largely prevalent in the caste.

\* The doggerel appended seems to allude to this tradition, namely.  
“ಹಿಂಗಾಣೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಬಾವಿನಿಂಚೆ ಜೈಟವಜ್ಜಿ, ಮುಂಗಾಣೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ವಾಳೆ ಪಾದಾಲ  
ವಿಾಡಪಡೆ” that is: ‘with a backward bound (somersault) he came out of  
the well and with a forward bound (somersault) he fell to their feet.’

A Dombar performer often begins his exhibition with the following invocation :--

ಕಾಪೋಡು ಕನತಂಡಿ  
 ದೇಶಮೋಡು ಪಿನತಂಡಿ  
 ಸಾಲಕೂ ಮೂಲಕೂ  
 ತಗುವೈನ ಕೋಡುಕು ನೇನು.

That is, the Kāpu is the begetting father, the Dēsa man, an uncle, and I am the fit son\* of the Sāla and Mūla (that is right and left hand people).

Dombars are said to be allied to Lambānis, a statement which perhaps is founded on the legend of Mōla, the ancestor of the Lambānis having exhibited gymnastic feats before kings. It is reported that there is a section of Dombars, who are also itinerant Dombars, but distinguished from the rest in swinging a child to and fro by a rope passed round its waist while performing feats on the pole.

The Dombars found in the State are entirely of Telugu origin and appear to have come from the Nellore and the Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency. They say their original place was Dombara Maddalapuram (దొంబర మద్దలపూరు) in the Telugu country. During the time of the Vijjanagar Empire, they appear to have been the court acrobats, and many of this caste are still said to hold Inams in the Telugu country, in places like Jammalamadugu, Tadipatri, Poddutur, Gudamacherla. They spread into Mysore Territory in later times after the disappearance of that kingdom.

All Dombars found in this State speak Telugu. Aré Dombars who speak Mahratti are rarely seen here. Mahomedans who follow the profession of acrobats and wrestlers are known as Pailwans, but they have no connection with the Telugu or Mahratti Dombars. The Telugu Dombars have a dialect which is used only among themselves. A few examples are given in the Appendix A.

\* Accounts differ as to, to which section of the Kāpu Raddis the original ancestor belonged. Some say Kōḷati Raddi, some Pākanāṭis, some others Sajjana Raddis and so on, the section of the Raddis which they claim being that of the Raddis who are found in largest numbers in or about the place where the informants reside. This becomes not of much importance when we remember that all the Raddis were originally of one tribe and the sections named are the endogamous division of the main caste Raddis.

## Divisions.

The Telugu Dombars who are also known as Raddi Dombars are divided into two sections, the settled (Uru Dombars-**అరూదోంబరూ**) and the nomadic (Kádu Dombars-**కాడుదోంబరూ**), which are endogamous. The wandering Dombars eat in the houses of the settled, but not *vice versa*. They seem to be subject to no exogamous restrictions; nor is any trace seen of hypergamy. But they have all of them, whether settled or nomadic, some sub-divisions which are neither endogamous nor exogamous, but which seem to be based on territorial or other distinctions. A list of these is given in Appendix B.

## Birth ceremonies.

The Dombars observe no ceremonies when a woman is pregnant. When living in villages, her parents bring the woman to their house for the first delivery; but wandering families naturally leave them where they are. During confinement, the mother and the child are kept apart in a separate hut or room, and the treatment of the patient is generally the same as in other castes. She is kept warm, laid flat on a cot of coir rope and is given some arrack and other stimulating drugs. On the second day, a pit is dug in the verandah or in front of the hut in which the after-birth and the navel string are buried, and a fowl is killed on the spot. On the third day the mother is given some chicken broth. On the 5th, the 7th or the 9th day the child and the mother are bathed. Castemen are given a dinner, and the child is put into a cradle which, for the wandering Dombars, consists of a cloth swung like a hammock between two posts or on branches of trees. The maternal uncle ties the waist thread (**మలతాడు**) to the child, whether male or female. The midwife is taken that evening to a toddy shop where she is liberally entertained. The custom of consulting the soothsayer for giving a name to the child is very common.

The names of individuals are generally the same as those used by other castes of similar status, Mára (**మార**) and Mári (**మారి**), Yalla (**యల్ల**) and Yalli (**యల్లి**), and Sunka (**సుంక**) and Sunki (**సుంకి**) being common. Hanumanta (**హనుమంత**) is a popular name as connoting strength and prowess. The names most common for women who lead an unmarried life are Chinni (**చిన్ని**), Lachmi (**లక్ష్మి**) and Venkatī (**వేంకట**). They sometimes style children Gáliga (**గాలిగ**, wind or spirit), to appease the spirit that they believe to have made children in the family die. When frequent deaths of children occur, they make a vow and name the surviving child after a family or local god.

Tonsure is performed for male children in the first or the third year after birth, either a barber or the child's maternal uncle cropping the hair. Then an *ede* (ಎಡೆ) is kept in the names of the deceased ancestors and some caste people are invited to a dinner with toddy.

These men being generally poor, rarely practise adoption. Sometimes a boy from among near relations is brought by childless persons and they may celebrate the event by feasting the caste people. This, however, happens only in the settled class. When a man has only daughters, he generally keeps one or two of them unmarried, and they take the place of sons in the family, leading a life of free love. Prostitute women do not adopt girls as professional dancing women do. Adoption.

Polygamy is common. Dombars women play a very active part in household and other work, and so men either marry or keep as concubines more than one woman. It often happens that low class women of loose character, married, unmarried or widowed, take the opportunity of the visit of a troupe of Dombars to join them, and attach themselves to their party. Polygamy is unknown. Girls are trained, from infancy, to play on poles and such as become skilled in that art are not married, and lead a life of prostitution. Those who cannot be trained for such exhibitions only are reserved for marriage. It is not strange that in such a community, they almost never care to marry girls before puberty. Marriage.

There is nothing peculiar as regards relations eligible for marriage. According to one account, it is said that a man may not marry the daughter of a sister who lives unmarried in her father's house, though such daughter may be married to his son. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers. There is no objection to an exchange of daughters by marriage between two families.

The Dombars who have settled down in towns and villages tend more and more to adopt the marriage customs and ceremonies of the higher classes, such as consulting Brahmans and observing omens. Among the wandering section of them the marriage ceremony is very simple. They invite no pipers, use no Bhashinga or marriage chaplet, nor worship any sacred pots (ಅವೇಶಗಲಿ). And sometimes they do not even put up a *chapra* or marriage booth. They only consult a soothsayer about the future prospect of a happy union.



When a girl is selected, the bridegroom's party accompanied by the headman of the caste or group proceeds to the bride's father's house to propose the match. The headman conducts the negotiation and if the parties agree, the match is determined upon. A few days afterwards, the bridegroom and his party, with the Yajaman and friends, go to the house of the bride-elect and the proposal is renewed before the assembly of the caste men by the bridegroom himself and the consent is given by the bride's father. The fact is announced by the Yajaman who proclaims that this man's daughter has been given to this man's son. Then one of the caste men beats a drum (ಬೋಲ). Exchange of *tāmbūlas* (betel-leaves and arecanuts) is made between the parties, and the bridegroom's party supply toddy at their expense to the whole assembly. This is called the ceremony of arecanut and betel-leaves (ವಕ್ಕಾ ಕುಣಸ್ತುಮು). At this meeting, half the bride-price has to be paid down, but if the bridegroom's party is very poor, some less amount is paid as earnest money. This makes the contract binding; and if the bride's party should afterwards break it, not only has this money to be paid back, but the promise breaker has to pay a heavy fine to the caste. Among the wandering section so strict is the caste discipline that the bride's father who breaks the promise is dragged before the caste assembly which is specially called together, and made to carry a grinding stone and walk round and round the assembly. If, however, the father of the bridegroom withdraws from the contract, he only forfeits the money already paid by him. On the completion of this preliminary ceremony, the marriage may take place either immediately or after some time has elapsed.

Among the settled Dombars who are found only in a few places in the State, it is the custom to arrange for a number of marriages being celebrated together, and to proceed to their Kattēmane (ಕಟ್ಟೇ ಮನ) which is Tumkur, to celebrate them, before the temple of their tribal goddess Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) and under the supervision and guidance of their caste headman. If, for any good reason, the marriage has to be performed at the place of either party, the caste headman or his representative must be sent for. In such cases the marriage comes off generally in the house of the bridegroom and continues for three days.

On the day previous to that fixed for the marriage, the bride and her party arrive at the bridegroom's village and are lodged in a separate house or hut. A pandal with

only five pillars is erected, the central or the milk-post being a twig of a *Nerale* (ನೆರಳೆ-*Eugenia jambolana*) tree, brought by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. In the pandal the bride and the bridegroom are separately seated on pounding rods (ಒನಿಕೆಗಳ) and are smeared with turmeric. Then their gods, Sunkalamma (ಸುಂಕಲಮ್ಮ), Gurumūrti (ಗುರುಮೂರ್ತಿ) and Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) are set up in the pandal and worshipped by the Yajaman with offerings of food and toddy. The bridal pair prostrate themselves before the gods and touch the feet of the elders to obtain their blessing. In the evening, the bride and the bridegroom are seated together and make *pūja* to two *kadasas* set up before them. This is followed by feasting and drinking.

Next day early in the morning, the bride gets her nails pared, and the bridegroom shaves his face and has his nails also pared. If no barber is available, the maternal uncle performs the service and gets a *tāmbūla*. Then the boy and the girl are made to sit face to face on two pounding rods and are bathed and are then made to dress themselves in fresh clothes. The bride carrying some rice and fruits packed in her garments is led along with the bridegroom to the marriage pandal, the boy holding a dagger rolled up in a kerchief. They sit facing each other on two pounding rods and between them are placed, in a plate, the *kankanas* (wrist threads,) *tīli* (the marriage disc), five toe-rings, with dry cocoanut and other articles. The bride then puts one of the toe-rings on the second toe of the bridegroom's right foot, and a married woman puts the remaining rings on the bride's toes. Then each ties on the right wrist of the other, the *kankanas* which are made of woollen and cotton threads twisted together and a betel-leaf tied to them. In some places the *kankana* is bound by the respective uncles of the bridal party or by one of the elders of the caste. The *tīli* is handed round in the assembly and then put on the bride's neck by the bridegroom while women sing songs. A drum is sounded and a boy proclaims that the marriage has been completed.

All those in the assembly pour milk (the Dhāre) on the hands of the couple joined together; *talabūla* or the throwing of rice on each other's head follows. The pair holding each other by the right hand go round the milk-post thrice and then go to offer cocoanuts to the gods. On returning they again sit on pounding rods and pour into each other's hands, some milk which they drink up. This part of the

ceremony they call milk-union (ಮಿಲನಧಾರ \*). Tāmḇūlas are then distributed to all the assembled, the headman and his deputy being given each two. The couple and some relatives on each side sit together and eat *Burruṃ* (ಬುರ್ರು) from the same dish.

On the morning of the third day called Nāgavali, the newly married couple get their nails pared, and bathing and putting on fresh clothes go to an anthill, in state. They pour milk into the snake holes and make pūja burning incense and offering fruits and flowers. The bride carries on her head a small quantity of earth dug out of an anthill; and the pandal posts are worshipped after their return. In the afternoon after dinner the pūja of Simhāsana † takes place. The Yajaman of the caste who is of the Maṭḷi (ಮಟ್ಟಿ) sub-division among the wandering section and of the Sómalarāju (ಸೋಮಲರಾಜು) sub-division, among the settled, officiates at this ceremony, when tāmḇūlas are distributed to the members present, who are scrupulous in exacting that the prescribed order of precedence is observed. That evening the milk-post is removed after the usual pūja, and the caste men and the bride's party are given a special treat, a large quantity of toddy being consumed.

Tera or bride-price is Rs. 52. This is paid either at once or in easy instalments. The settled section have, however, reduced the sum to Rs. 24 which they generally pay down at the time of marriage. Sometimes when the girl's parents are in good circumstances, the payment is remitted either partly or in full. But the wandering Dombars are very strict in enforcing the payment. If the bridegroom is too poor to pay, he has to work for his wife's parents till he discharges the debt. If he evades payment, his wife is not sent to his house at all and sometimes is married to another man, who may be able to pay the amount. It is stated that if the wife goes to her husband's house, before the *tera* is discharged against her father's consent, she is never again admitted to the latter's house. The obligation could be enforced by coercion at a caste panchayati, and some accounts say that even after the man's death, his property would remain liable to discharge it. Formerly among the wandering Dombars when a girl was married, the son-in-law had to live in his father-in-law's house, in a separate hut till a child was born. This practice, however, has fallen into desuetude.

\* Pledging truth on milk is considered as the most solemn form of taking oath.

† See the account of the Bēḍa caste, page 9.

The marriage expenses are quite out of proportion to the poor condition of the caste as a whole. During the period of marriage, five to ten pigs are killed to feed the guests and more than 15 rupees is spent in toddy, and drunken brawls among the assembled guests are frequent. The expenses are shared by both parties, but the bridegroom's party contribute the larger share.

When a girl attains puberty, a separate shed is put up Puberty. with date mats and green leaves and she is kept there for seven days, during which time she is considered to be impure. The girl is made to sleep there alone, an old woman being told off to sleep outside the shed to keep watch during the period. The girl is fed on good and nutritious food consisting of dry cocoanut, ghee, gingelly, fried Bengalgram and jaggory in addition to the ordinary fare. In the evenings, married women give her turmeric powder and *kumkuma*. It is considered inauspicious for any one to see this girl for the first time early in the morning. On the 8th day in the morning, the shed is pulled down by the maternal uncle who throws away the materials at a distance from their residence, where the girl sets fire to them. Among the nomadic section, the girl's glass bangles are broken and the string of glass beads (ಕರೀಮಣಿ) is also removed. The clothes worn by her during the period are also burnt in the fire. She goes back wearing an old cloth, and is made to bathe near the house. While bathing she is made to change place three times, two potsful of warm water being poured over her head, at each place. After bathing, she is given a new cloth to wear but is made to remain outside the house. A hen is sacrificed at the spot where the shed stood. That day, the girl has to take her food outside the house. She bathes early the next morning and fasts till the evening; she has another bath then, and gets new clothes to wear. Then a party of married women take her to the temple of Anjauçya. The god is worshipped, and she is given *tirtha* or holy water. When she returns to the house from the temple, cow's urine is sprinkled on her head. In the house cooked rice is served in a heap on a plantain leaf or an eating dish, to which the girl offers *pūja*, burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then she touches the rice with her right hand. This rice is then served to the castemen who have assembled there by invitation. The father has to spend two or three rupees for toddy. The girl becomes pure after this entertainment.

**Widow  
marriage**

The settled Dombars do not allow remarriage of women who have lost their husbands. Among them a widow must remain chaste as long as she continues to reside in her husband's house. If she is found out to have been in criminal intimacy with any one, not only has she to answer a charge before the caste people, but the relations of her deceased husband are fined for her fault. To avoid any such contingency, as soon as a young woman loses her husband, she is sent back to her parent's house by her husband's relations. If she goes back to her father's house, she may become a concubine of any one. The wandering Dombars, on the other hand, freely permit a widow to remarry as many times as she pleases, and there is nothing derogatory in her doing so.

The man selected must not be the brother of her deceased husband and must not be within the prohibited limits of relationship. The ceremony which is the same as in other castes among whom widow marriage is allowed, takes place in the evening and before her father's house. A bachelor may marry a widow, but it is generally a widower, or a married man who wants to have an additional wife that takes her. In the presence of the caste men assembled, he presents her with a white *sire*, and when she is dressed in it, ties a turmeric root in a string to her neck as a *tili*. The jewels which her previous husband might have given her are all returned and the consent of the people of her husband's party is generally taken. The woman loses all her claim to her previous husband's property and the children by him belong to his family. The essential and the binding portion of the marriage is the tying of the turmeric root.

The *tera* or bride-price to be paid is half that payable for a regular marriage, but sometimes even so low a sum as ten or fifteen rupees is accepted. It goes not to the previous husband's family as is the case in some castes, but to the father of the woman, a nominal payment which may be only of a betel-leaf, being sometimes made to the former husband's family. In fact, soon after the death of the husband, his widow, if there is any prospect of her marrying again, goes back to live in her father's house. The consent of the father is first obtained by the man that proposes to wed her. It is also necessary that the caste men should assent to the match, their representative, the Yajaman being formally consulted in the matter. Besides the *tera*, the man has to pay a fine to the caste, give them a dinner and bear the expenses of toddy for the day.

Divorce is allowed at the instance of either party. The marriage tie is so loose that even a small pretext, such as an occasional quarrel, or other incompatibility of temper, will bring on separation. In such cases, before the assembled caste men called together for the purpose, the parties state their unwillingness to remain as man and wife, on account of the ill-treatment of the husband, unchastity on the part of the woman or any other cause, and the relationship is severed when the wife is made to return the *táli* to the husband. The party that is found to be at fault is fined the cost of a dinner with toddy to the caste people. The woman so divorced is, in the case of wandering Dombars, at liberty to marry another, in which case the latter will pay the marriage expenses incurred by the former husband.

Divorce.

Adultery with a man of the same or of a higher caste is condoned by payment of a small fine, and if the husband is willing, he may keep her. If a married woman elopes with a man of the caste, a fine equal to the marriage expenses of the husband is levied and the woman is married to him under *kutige* form. She then becomes his legitimate wife and does not suffer in status. But if a married woman be guilty of adultery with a man of a higher caste, and the husband is not willing to take her back, the caste council levies some fine from her, gives her *tirtha* and makes her a *\*kulam bidla* (ಕುಲಂ ಬಿಡ್ಲಾ, daughter of the tribe), a licensed prostitute.

Adultery.

If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man of the same caste, she will be married to him and the full *tera* of Rs. 52 levied from him, in addition to some fine which always goes to the headman of the caste. If he refuses to marry her, he is outcasted and she is retained in the caste by the Yajaman giving her *tirtha*. She may be married to any man that offers to marry her, or she may be allowed to become a prostitute on payment of a small fine to the caste. If on the other hand an unmarried woman should bear children to a man of a higher caste, she and her children are subjected to some fine, and admitted into the caste after some expiatory ceremony. This ceremony consists in cutting a few locks of her hair, slightly burning the tongue with a bit of gold, making her swallow some *nibhúti* (sacred ashes) and getting her to beg pardon of the *guru* of the caste. She may thereafter marry any one of the caste or may become a prostitute, in which

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\* See the Béja account, Monograph No. III, page 13.

case, she has to undergo the same ceremony of dedication as other girls do.

### Dedication of Prostitutes.

The Dombar caste is notorious for dedicating girls as prostitutes, the reason they assign being that when they adopted the profession of playing on the long poles, a woman was taught the art as being likely to attract a larger and more appreciative audience, and as she thus became the object of attention of the public in general, she could not be married to any and was therefore to be left as a common woman. The practice is as common among the settled as among the wandering Dombars, though the former have long ceased to play on the pole. The wandering section select smart and good looking girls and train them up for athletic feats. Those who succeed in learning them remain unmarried and lead a life of promiscuity. A troupe of Dombars, without at least one prostitute among them is a rare thing. Such women take a prominent part in their exhibitions, and are rarely equalled in dexterity by their male coadjutors. When off the stage, they generally go about in fairs and other public places, so as to attract customers for the more objectionable part of their trade.

The dedication takes place when the girls come of age between fifteen and sixteen. On an auspicious day, the caste people assemble by invitation. The girl is bathed and dressed in new clothes and is seated on a pounding rod before the assembled caste men. Married women or prostitutes similarly dedicated besmear her with turmeric and *kunkuma*, put on *sāse* \* and fill her garment with cocoanut, rice and other lucky articles. On rising from her seat, she bows to the elders to receive their blessing, and is then taken in procession to a temple of Anjanēya or Yallaṁma, a man beating the drum (தேஜம்) and women singing songs. She gets *tirtha* from the *pūjari*. Before the temple the caste men congregate, and the girl is seated in their midst on a pounding rod. She is again besmeared with turmeric and *kunkuma* and the maternal uncle ties a *tālī* to her neck. Basavis or married women pour *sāse* on her. The girl bows to the caste men assembled and is then conducted home in procession. At home a good dinner is provided for the guests by the father who also pays for their entertainment in the toddy shop in the evening.

\* See account of the Koracha caste, Monograph No. VII, page 10.

The settled section of the community observe nearly the same ceremonies with slight variations at the dedication of a girl to this life. A measure filled with rice with a cotton thread wound round it is placed by her side to represent a bridegroom, when she sits in the temple at the time of the ceremony. *Simhāsana pūja* takes place and the permission of the caste is given by the *Yajaman* to give her license to lead a life of prostitution.

The wandering section of the Dombars repeat the same ceremonies as are observed at the marriage, on a smaller scale, when the girl thus dedicated as a harlot, receives her first lover. The latter has to present her with new clothes and four rupees and they are provided with a new hut and a cot to sleep in. Basavis only take part in bringing them together and indecent songs are sung, while the girl and her paramour are seated on the cot. But the latter when not hardened often feels too bashful to submit to such public treatment, and then the girl alone sits during the time the Basavis sing songs, and he is allowed to smuggle himself in after all the women guests withdraw.

These public women are said to remain faithful to their protectors when kept as concubines. It is even asserted that they may be flogged and fined by the caste if they prove false. Such a woman may, however, be set free being given a parting *Tāmbūla* (ತಕ್ಕಾಕು). A dedicated woman who does not enter into an alliance of a more or less permanent nature is free to consort with any man, provided he is not of a lower caste, such as Holeyā, Mādiga Nāyinda (barber) or Agasā (washerman). Sometimes the Basavis get themselves branded with Vaishnava symbols of *Sankha* and *Chakra* and then their bodies may after death be carried and buried by Dāsaris.

A Basavi who wishes to give up her life of prostitution may be married in the *kātike* form; she will not be allowed to perform acrobatic feats in public after this; and her children born before the marriage are left with her father.

The Dombars bury the dead. In some places, the corpse of a pregnant woman, or of one suffering from leprosy, is disposed of by heaping stones on it, at a spot near a hill (*kollu-sēre ಕಲ್ಲುಸೇವೆ* stone service). The body is carried in a lying posture by hands among the wandering, and on a bier (ಚಟ್ಟು) among the settled Dombars. The chief mourner carries fire and a pot full of water, walking

Death ceremonies



before the procession. The body is buried with the head turned to the south and the chief mourner breaks the pot at the head side and sticks the firebrand in the ground there. The surviving widow breaks her bangles there and takes off her *tīlī*. After washing their hands and feet in a water-course, the whole party repair to a liquor shop where a pot of toddy\* is kept ready for them. The chief mourner pours toddy on the hands of the carriers to wash, and hands over one or two jugs of it to each of them. Then all drink the toddy and the party return to the deceased's house with a jugful of the liquor. They look at a light burning on the spot where the deceased expired and after condoling with the family, the relatives return to their houses. At night, a ball of rice (cooked) mixed with curds, styled *jīva mudda* (ಜೀವ ಮುದ್ದು) is kept on fine sand spread at the place of death, with a little water and the jug of toddy. Early in the morning the next day, the spot is examined with great care to see whether the spirit of the deceased has visited the place and partaken of the refreshments, as indicated by any marks visible on the sand bed. Then the remaining rice, toddy and water are thrown on a green plant.

On the third day, they place offerings on a low platform of earth raised on the grave. Rice cooked with pork and such other things as the deceased was particularly fond of, not excluding snuff and tobacco, are laid on two plantain leaves as *edē* (ಎಡೆ) and frankincense is burnt, and the spirit is exhorted not to molest the survivors. The offerings are in the end given up to crows. Again on the eleventh day, the family members bathe and putting on washed clothes go to the grave-yard, where food cooked with meat is again offered.

A *tithi* (ತಿಥಿ) or feast of the dead is performed at the end of the month. On that day, all the members bathe, and renew the cooking earthen pots, throwing out the old ones as polluted. Their headman is invited to purify the house. In the central part of it, a *kalasa* is installed. New clothes are kept near it together with food and toddy. Incense is burnt, and a pig or sheep is sacrificed. A dinner is given to the caste men and they spend the whole night in drinking as if to drown their sorrow in liquor. It is after this that the death pollution is fully removed. Those of the caste who have the Vaishnava symbols,

\* This is in some places bought by the caste men who give it to the chief mourner and his party by way of condolence.

Sankha and Chakra branded and who are called *Tirunamadhāris* invite a Sātāni man to officiate at these ceremonies. The priest installs a Chakra and does pūja to it both at the burial ground and at home, offering it large quantities of toddy which he distributes to them as *tīrtha*, reserving a good quantity for himself.

They do not perform Srāddhas. On the New Year, Mahālaya new moon, and Gauri feast days, they offer new clothes in the names of all the deceased ancestors; but the wandering section rarely observe these ceremonies. If a wife has any troubles attributed to the molestation of the ghost of her husband's deceased wife, a *tīli* consecrated in the latter's name is worn by her. They do not perform any additional ceremony for those who die of an unnatural death.

#### Settlements

The settled portion of the caste are found in Tumkur, Manchenahalli in the Goribidnur Taluk (Kolar District) and in the Chiknayakanhalli Taluk (Tumkur District). These are all related to one another, and the other place where they are found in pretty large number is Kodikonda in the Hindupur Taluk of the Madras Presidency. Their dwelling houses are generally built apart from the quarters of the other castes and do not differ in character from other houses of people of a similar station in life. The wandering section always pitch their huts outside the villages, and part of the reason in both cases is that they tend pigs in large numbers, which would be an intolerable nuisance to neighbours, if they settled near the other castes. The huts of the wandering men are made of bent bamboos covered over with date mats, in the form and size of the tops of country carts; and they carry them from place to place on donkeys or oxen. They are generally too small for the family, which huddles itself close together to keep off the cold. The few things they possess such as the implements of their trade are thrown inside; but they keep their beasts of burden in the open, and provide a separate enclosure for their pigs. Their cooking is also done outside the huts. The prostitutes are provided with separate huts or rooms, so that they may entertain their visitors without attracting undue notice. Dombars generally move in gangs of ten or twelve families, under the leadership of an elderly member, and each settlement is guarded by watch dogs which keep excellent watch at nights.

Social  
status.

The Dombars are low in social status. The wandering section eat at the hands of Vaddas and Bédas, but the settled people draw the line with the Bestas. Except Holeyas and Mádigas, no one eats in their houses. They eat the flesh of all kinds of animals, bats, cats, \* owls, rats, and bandicoots included. Some eat crows also; but beef and the flesh of monkeys and snakes are eschewed. The settled section have given up eating owls and bandicoots.

The Dombars are considered as impure to touch, though they are allowed to enter the outer apartments of the houses of the higher castes. Brahmins help them only to fix auspicious days and to discover whether a proposed match is agreeable to the rules of astrology, but they do not officiate at any religious or other ceremonies for them. Dombars are very hard drinkers, women and children being also addicted to the vice, and their camps are generally noisy and troublesome to those who live near at nights. They may draw water from the village well. The barber shaves them and pares their toe-nails and the washerman has no objection to wash their clothes. But as a matter of fact, the wandering Dombars have rarely any clothes to be put to the washerman, and the little washing that may be necessary they do themselves. They are allowed to enter the outer parts of the temples, but take no part in the ceremonies connected therewith. Their position in social rank is the same as that of the Korachas.†

Admission  
into the  
caste.

The Dombars freely admit recruits both male and female from any caste not lower than their own, as fixed by the test of commensality. Korachas are not admitted and it is said that Brahmins and others of the higher castes are also not admitted. The usual incentive for others to join the ranks of Dombars is the sexual passion for either sex. When a man, especially of a higher caste,

\* It is considered a great sin to kill a cat, but they say that the sin of killing is washed away by eating it.

(ಕೊಂದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಪ ತೊಂದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಯಿತು)

† It is said that the Korachas and the Dombars were formerly related as brothers. Once upon a time when both were in need of a bride, they began to bid for the same girl by gradually increasing the bride-price. Dombars brought up the price to 20 pagodas and stopped there, while the Korachas increased the bid to 25 pagodas, and carried away the girl. Ever since they have been separated into two rival groups.

is blinded by his passion for a Dombar prostitute and offers to join their society, she generally dissuades him at first. He is taken into the fold only if he proves intractable. The headman and other members of the caste assemble at the hut of the convert who is again given a chance to retract. If he is firm, he has to shave his head, beard and mustachios clean, and after bathing, is taken with the wet clothes on to the temple of Yallamma. He is purified by having his tongue slightly branded with a piece of heated gold, and with swallowing Panchagavya\* and the *Pūjāri* sprinkles some *tirtha* on his head, and gives him a spoonful to drink. He feeds the castemen and removes the leaves himself† after dinner; he has also to supply them with drink that evening. Besides, a money contribution has to be paid to the temple of the tribal goddess, and the Yajaman who has given the sanction has to be presented either with money or a pair of cloths, or some other thing of value. If the person that is admitted is a woman, her paramour bears all the cost. He cannot put off the event indefinitely and should there be any unreasonable delay, he is excommunicated. Admission into the caste in this manner makes a man as good a member of the caste as if he had been born in it. He labours under no disability and the issue born of his connection with the Dombar woman are legitimised.

Caste organisation.

Dombars have a tribal organisation to enquire into and punish infractions of caste rules. The rigidity with which these rules are enforced varies in the two sections. There is no doubt that these two sections formed one society and were under the same authority, but as one of them became settled, it seems to have formed its own councils which are quite independent of those of their parent stock. The Yajaman or the head of the settled Dombars is a man belonging to the Sómalarāju sub-division, and as these men form a compact community found in a few places only, his authority over them is effective. His office is hereditary. He resides in Tunkur, and when disputes arise, the parties generally go to that place to obtain his adjudication. When they cannot go, he goes to their place or sends his representative, and no important event can take place within the caste without his presence or that of his representative. It is for this reason that they generally perform many marriages together at once. They have another hereditary functionary called the minor yajaman or *kondikūdu* (ಕಂಡಿಕೂಡು, beadle) who

\* See page 23 of the account of Komati caste Monograph No. VI.

† *i. e.*, the leaves out of which they have eaten their food.

acts as the convener of caste meetings and the headman's general assistant. On important and ceremonial occasions, they get an extra *tumbūla* each; and when any caste dispute is decided, they get some honorarium, either payment of money or the presentation of a cloth. The Guru of the settled Dombars is a Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahman, said to be a resident of Chekur in the Tumkur District. He visits them occasionally, gives them *tirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and holy victuals) and is rewarded with some customary fees.

The wandering section, owing to their nomadic life, is broken up into a number of groups, each having its own Yajaman. The common head of this section is said to be a man of the *Malli* (ಮಟ್ಟ) sub-division and is styled *Malli Nāyadu* (ಮಟ್ಟನಾಯದು) who is regarded as having supreme jurisdiction over them both in spiritual and temporal matters. His head-quarters are in Chitvel in the Pullampet Taluk of the Cuddapah District. Formerly, this office belonged to the *Nālakarāyana* (ನಾಟಕರಾಯನ) sub-division, but one of the holders thereof lost the esteem of the community by his low behaviour. There was a dispute about his retaining this dignity, and the Pālyégār (petty chief) of the place who was asked to decide it, hung up a \* *tōrana* (ತೋರಣ) of the cocoanut kernels to the town gate, and ruled that the party which would succeed in throwing down the *tōrana* by jumping over it, should have the headship. A boy of the *Malli* tribe who had been tending donkeys, succeeded in accomplishing the feat by taking a single somersault over the *tōrana* and standing before the chief at another somersault. Thus pleased, the Pālyégār passed an edict that he and his descendants should be recognised as the head of the caste. He also presented the boy with an inam of wet lands worth twelve *varahas* (pagodas) and a ring. This ring is still said to be in the possession of the present representative of this division, and to bear an inscription in Telugu, declaring that the wearer is the headman of all the Dombars "within the four seas." A person of the *Mannepala* (ಮನ್ನಪಲ) also styled *Gandhaparāṅṅula* (ಗಂಧಪರಾಂಜಲ) division is the hereditary *Pradhāni* (ಪ್ರಧಾನಿ) or the lieutenant of the Yajaman. The authority of these men is, however, only nominal, and many groups of wandering Dombars know their distant headmen

\* *Tōrana* (ತೋರಣ) is a string with green leaves or flowers or other articles tied to and stretched across an entrance as a decoration, and to denote an auspicious occasion.

only by repute. On marriage and other occasions, however, they allot the first two *tumbūlas* to these two functionaries.

For settling disputes that may arise, each wandering gang or three or four together elect among themselves a *Yajaman* and a *Buddhicanta* (ಬುದ್ಧವಂತ or Deputy), from the *Matli* and *Mannepada* families, if available. They meet periodically to settle disputes that may have accumulated in the interval and the disputants pay the cost of maintaining them. They have very wide powers, and the guilty person may be fined, flogged or put out of caste. They thus settle not merely caste disputes, but also property disputes, and these Dombars rarely resort to Courts. An outcaste is denied all intercourse with his relations and can secure his reinstatement only by obedience and payment of an additional fine.

The settled Dombars follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. If a man dies leaving sons and Basavi daughters, each of the latter gets half as much as the share of each son. The caste Panchayat always allot some property to a destitute and widowed daughter. If at the time of the father's death a Basavi daughter has died leaving children behind her, the latter are entitled to the share of their mother. When a Basavi dies without issue, her property goes to her brothers and Basavi sisters in the same proportion as above mentioned. Inheritance

Among wandering Dombars, they have little need for rules of inheritance, as they rarely possess property to divide. The father is the sole owner of the few beasts of burden a family may possess and the other scanty articles. If, after his death, a partition is desired, the elders of the group meet and effect a partition.

All the Dombars whether settled or wandering, have great faith in sorcery, magic, omens, oracles, etc. Whenever they commence any important event, they consult the soothsayer or ask for a flower, as they style it, from their tribal deity. Religion and superstitions.

The name of their tribal god is *Gurumurti* (ಗುರುಮೂರ್ತಿ) and their tribal goddess is *Yallamma* (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ). Like other wandering tribes, they also worship *Maranna*, *Sunkalamma*, and other malicious spirits. In recent years, they have been largely influenced, by the Vaishnava faith and many have undergone the branding of the symbols of that faith, namely, *Sankha* and *Chakra*, at the hands of the Sātānis

and undertake pilgrimages to Tirupati, the shrine of Venkatarāmanaswāmi, in the North Arcot District. In the quarters of the settled Dombars, when they contain sufficiently large number of houses, they invariably have a temple for Yallamma which they worship under the name (recently given) of Adi-Sakti (అదిశక్తి). They strongly believe that any neglect shown in the worship of this goddess is sure to bring on misfortune to their families. The Yajaman of the caste is the *pūjāri* and he worships the goddess on every Tuesday, making offerings of cocoanut, plantains and cooked rice. Once a year, on the Lunar new year's day, animals are sacrificed before this temple.

They periodically hold a grand feast in the name of Yallamma. On such occasions, the settled section all meet together in one place, generally Tumkur, but the nomadic section celebrate the worship when two or three groups happen to meet together at a place. The worship comes off on a Tuesday. On a spot cleaned with cowdung and water, six or seven pots of toddy are arranged in a row on planks laid thereon, the central pot being considered as representing the goddess. Margosa leaves and cotton thread dipped in turmeric are tied to each, turmeric paste and *kumkuma* being also applied to them. All the people of the caste assembled there take a bath and put on washed clothes. The Yajaman, who has observed fast the previous evening, also bathes and dressing himself with washed clothes supplied by the washerman, worships the pots with great reverence. All the people sit round with folded hands. Offerings of cocoanuts and flowers are made, and frankincense is burnt in large quantities. Then a number of sheep and goats are killed by the *pūjāri* after sprinkling *tirtha* (holy water) on them. The *Asādi* of the Mādiga caste, who has been invited for the occasion, sings the praises of Yallamma who takes possession of one of them. The toddy in the pots (except the central one), with more quantity added, if necessary, is distributed among all those assembled who get fully drunk. This revelry continues the whole night. Early the next morning, *mangalāriti* (మంగళారతి) is waved to the remaining pot and the liquor therein also distributed to all present as *tirtha*. This is followed by a general dinner.

When Sunkalamma is worshipped, an earthen pot filled with water is installed on a Tuesday under a tree, and before it on a plantain leaf, cooked rice and curds with

an onion are offered. Turmeric and *kunkuma* are put on the pot. No animal is killed.

Dombars worship a number of other minor gods and goddesses, such as Munisvara (ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ), Gurumūrti (ಗುರುಮೂರ್ತಿ), Māramma (ಮಾರೆಮ್ಮ) and Kortigeramma (ಕೊರ್ತಿಗೇರೆಯಮ್ಮ-a local goddess). Another peculiar goddess is known as Kāluvalīamma (ಕಾಲುವಲಿಯಮ್ಮ). This is a goddess of epidemics and is believed to accompany travellers when they return from a long journey. To propitiate this deity, those who have just returned to the settlement repair to a grove and there set up three small stones under a tree and worship them with the offering of a fowl or a sheep. The sacrificed animal is cooked there and is eaten by the people attending the worship.

The characteristic profession of these men is the exhibition of rope-dancing and other acrobatic and athletic exercises. They show considerable dexterity in their feats, and many of their feats would bring credit to members of any ordinary circus troupe organised in much more elaborate fashion. The women especially are adepts in exhibitions on the pole or the tight rope. They play in the open maidan and make a collection at the close, the plate being taken round, for obvious reasons, by the most attractive member of the troupe. The collections may amount to anything up to 20 rupees according to the size of the place and the ability of the performers to please the audience. Sometimes they get presents of clothes. Their performances are not now so largely patronised as when there were no better organised circus companies going about the country. The want of finish and management interfere with the success of the *scadisi* work in this as in so many other departments. The Dombars have a supply of blunt swords, scimitars, daggers and other antiquated arms which they exhibit on a cloth spread before the audience during the performance.

Occupation

They make combs of various kinds of soft wood and sometimes of sandalwood or horn and vend them in villages and towns. It is said that a goldsmith paramour of a Dombar woman taught them the art, presenting her with the few instruments (saw, chisel and file) required for the work; and the Dombars show particular regard to goldsmiths as their patrons. It is chiefly the women that manufacture these articles and hawk them about in the streets.

Dombars are included among the criminal tribes and are placed under surveillance. They are credited with



daring and love of excitement. They obtain information of likely places for raiding through their women, and before embarking on any such enterprise, they invoke the aid of their goddess. They are also said to train their boys by an apprenticeship to this trade.\*

Dombars also breed pigs on a large scale which boys and women are employed to graze. Men engage themselves as day labourers in the villages near or about which they encamp, their women going about begging also. They are expert bird catchers, which they secure either by spreading snares or applying bird-lime (ಬಿಗು) on their roosts.

The settled Dombars are almost all engaged in agricultural pursuits, the proceeds of which they supplement by comb making and pig breeding.

Miscellaneous  
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Dombars are vindictive, and should they consider themselves ill-treated or slighted at any village they may have visited, or not sufficiently remunerated for their gymnastic feats, they take other steps to remunerate themselves at the expense of the inhabitants thereof. Men usually wear short hip-trousers made of coarse white cloth and styled *challana* (ಚಲ್ಲಣ), and sometimes after a series of successful forays or at festivals and when they give their performances, they put on gaudy shawls, jackets and laced turbans. These articles of dress are sometimes obtained as presents, but not infrequently by less legitimate means. Another characteristic part of their dress is the cotton waist band (ನಡುಕಟ್ಟು) of black colour ornamented with hanging tassels at either end. While performing, they tie this band round, pass it tightly between the legs and tuck up the ends at the waist. They wear a silver *lili* (ಲಿಲಿ) with an effigy of Hanumanta engraved on it suspended round the neck, silver bangles on the wrists and also silver rings.

The family women of the nomadic section, do not wear *rarike* (bodice) and put on glass beads profusely round the neck. The prostitutes are more civilised and their dress and ornaments are the same as those of other more respectable classes, the one ornament which distinguishes a prostitute from the rest being a silver bangle (ಕಡ್ಡೆ) which she wears round her left ankle.

Their women undergo tattooing, the operation being performed by a woman of the Korama caste. The designs

\* Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency-Mullaly.

are the ordinary ones, but a prostitute has a streak (સેલ) of tattoo on her forehead and if she is so disposed, gets a likeness of her favourite paramour tattooed on her arm.

It is reported that a section of the wandering Dom-bars do not eat food after they hear the sound of the jackals in the night and that like the Jains they have their evening meal before sunset.

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## APPENDIX A.

Words, phrases, etc., in the Dombar dialect and their equivalents in English.

## NOUNS

Karuvu	...	ಕರುವು	...	(1) Hut (2) Village
Ganne	...	ಗನ್ನೆ	...	Toddy
Kowruganne	...	ಕೌರುಗನ್ನೆ	...	Arrack
Kavuru	...	ಕವುರು	...	News
Mesa	...	ಮೆಸ	...	Food
Pachcham	...	ಪಚ್ಚಂ	...	Dhall water
Tiluvu	...	ತಿಲುವು	...	Water
Taḍem	...	ತಾಡೆಂ	...	(1) Way (2) Door
Sirasam	...	ಸಿರಸಂ	...	Head
Vaḡaṭam	...	ವಾಗಟಂ	...	Mouth
Kivistaram	...	ಕೀವಿಸ್ತರಂ	...	Ear
Chattam	...	ಚತ್ತಂ	...	(1) Hand (2) A field
Páshṭyam or páṭimū	...	ಪಾಷ್ಠ್ಯಂ or ಪಾಟಿಮು	...	Leg
Kanigam	...	ಕನಿಗಂ	...	Blood
Nerem	...	ನೆರೆಂ	...	Hair
Paṭṭemū	...	ಪಟ್ಟೆಮು	...	Stomach
Abba	...	ಅಬ್ಬ	...	Father
Siragaḍu	...	ಸಿರಗಡು	...	Son (male child)
Pinka	...	ಪಿಂಕ	...	Daughter (female child)
Tobbirikam	...	ತೊಬ್ಬರಿಕಂ	...	(1) A man (2) Husband
Masa	...	ಮಸ	...	(1) Woman (2) Wife
Mandirènu	...	ಮಂದಿರೇನು	...	Wife
Dásimasariga	...	ದಾಸಿಮಸರಿಗೆ	...	A prostitute
Nerupam	...	ನೆರುಪಂ	...	Marriage
Pakyālu	...	ಪಕ್ಯಲು	...	Rice (uncooked)
Kivulu	...	ಕೀವುಲು	...	Ragi

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

Pattukondi	... ಪಟ್ಟುಕೊಂದಿ	... Paddy
Daipadam	... ದೈಪದಂ	... Pestle
Kalastaram	... ಕಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Grinding stone or stone
Tegem	... ತಗೊಂ	... Rope
Nelastaram	... ನೆಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Ground
Malastaram	... ಮಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Tree
Bolistaram	... ಬೋಲಿಸ್ತರಂ	... A mat
Irupam	... ಇರುಪಂ	... (1) A hill (2) Wood
Elem	... ಎಲೆಂ	... (1) A leaf (2) Paper
Malem	... ಮಲೆಂ	... Rain
Nerupam	... ನೆರುಪಂ	... Sunshine
Dévarikam	... ದೇವರಿಕಂ	... (1) Light (2) God
Gontikam	... ಗೊಂಟಿಕಂ	... Arecanut
Elëmu	... ಎಲೇಮು	.. Betel-leaf
Búrigyálanu	... ಬೂರಿಗ್ಯಾಲನು	... Tobacco
Telipem	... ತಲಿಪೆಂ	... Chunnam (lime)
Rottáni	... ರೆತ್ತಾನಿ	... Night
Kantikam	... ಕಂಟಿಕಂ	... Brass vessel (ಚಂಬು)
Tattekam	... ತಟ್ಟಿಕಂ	... Cot
Kógilam	... ಕೋಗಿಲಂ	.. Earthen vessel
Vatukoyyi	... ವಾಟುಕೊಯ್ಯಿ	... A bag
Kenda	... ಕೆಂದ	... A cloth
Masagatakenda	... ಮಸಗಟಿಕೆಂದ	... Woman's cloth (a sádi)
Sirasapukenda	... ಸಿರಸಪುಕೆಂದ	... Head cloth (turban)
Tuduvukenda	... ತುಡುವುಕೆಂದ	... Lip trousers
Netlakenda	... *ನೆಟ್ಟಿಕೆಂದ	... Large cloth, a blanket
Gorapadam kenda	... ಗೋರಪಡಂಕೆಂದ	... Sheep cloth or coarse woollen blanket (ಕಂಬಳ)
Gorapadam menrem...	ಗೋರಪಡಂಮೇರಂ	... A sheep

\* Netla means large or big.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

Elemgoddédi	... ಎಲಂಗೊದ್ದೇದಿ	... Eater of leaves a goat
Kaike	... ಕೈಕೆ	... A dog
Nadava or Sikkanadava	ನಡವ or ಸಿಕ್ಕನಡವ	... A donkey
Netlanadava	... ನೆಟ್ಟನಡವ	... A horse (a big donkey)
Baḍisam	... ಬಡಿಕಂ	... A cow or bullock
Dagarugoddédi	... ಡಗರುಗೊದ್ದೇದಿ	... A buffalo (eater of night soil)
Mannigam	... ಮನ್ನಿಗಂ	... A pig
Lyuva	... ಲ್ಯುವ	... A fowl
Kásikam	... ಕಾಸಿಕಂ	... A cat
Chinna Narasigádu	... ಚಿನ್ನನರಸಿಗಾಡು	... A jackal
Neṭla Narasigádu	... ನೆಟ್ಟನರಸಿಗಾಡು	... A tiger
Jiyikam	... ಜಾಯಿಕಂ	... A sword
Nádamarupam	... ನಾದಮರುಪಂ	... A gun
Neṭla Irupam	... ನೆಟ್ಟಇರುಪಂ	... The pole
Minem	... ಮಿನೆಂ	... The stout rope for tying to the pole
Marupam	... ಮರುಪಂ	... Dombar paly
Gondelu or Gónelu	... ಗೊಂಡಲು or ಗೋನಲು	... Rupees
Biluvulu	... ಬಿಲುವುಲು	... Copper coins (ದುಡ್ಡುಗಳು)
Sirupalu	... ಸಿರುಪಲು	... Pies (ಕಾಸುಗಳು)
Bāgamgrúe	... ಬಾಗಂಗೋನೆ	... Half a rupee
*Pink	... *ಪಿಂಕ	... Quarter of a rupee
Chintaginja	... ಚಿಂತಗಿಂಜ	... One anna (a tamarind seed)
Dondódu	... ದೊಂದೋಡು	... A shop keeper a Kómati
Suttetikádu	... ಸುತ್ತೇಟಿಕಾಡು	... A silver smith
Gannódu	... ಗನ್ನೋಡು	... Idiga (toddy drawer)
Kogiláloḍu	... ಕೋಗಿಲಾಲೋಡು	... A potter
Neráloḍu	... ನರಾಲೋಡು	... Barber (man of the hair)
Kendáloḍu	... ಕೆಂದಲೋಡು	... Washerman
Elikódu	... ಎಲಿಕೋಡು	... The patel
Tānar.ṣivádu	... ತಾನಂಗಿವಾಡು	... (1) The shanbhog (2) A Brahmin

\* Also means a female child or daughter.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

Páidódu	...	ಪಾದೋಡು	...	The tálari (watchman)
Lairódu	...	ಲೈರೋಡು	...	The tóti
Jóḍamódu	...	ಜೋಡಮೋಡು	...	A police constable
Gemma	...	ಗೆಮ್ಮ	...	A thief
Netlakaṛuva	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಕರುವ	...	Cutcherry or Police station (a big house)
Taṭekam	...	ತಟಕಂ	...	(1) A tank (2) Train
Savarèṇainódu	...	ಸವರೇನೈನೋಡು	...	A wiseman
Sonapam	...	ಸೋನಮ್	...	Jewels
Túparam	...	ತೂಪರಂ	...	Bangles
Netlólḷu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟೊಳ್ಳು	...	Big men or king
Netlabiḍimódu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಬಿಡಿಮೋಡು	...	Guru or king
Mundarajampa	...	ಮುಂದರಜಂಪ	...	Somersault (ಮುಂಗಾಣಿ)
Lenkáṭam	...	ಲೆಂಕಾಟಂ	...	do (ಹಂಗಾಣಿ)
Jarikam	...	ಜರಿಕಂ	...	Shoe
*Gonṭikam	...	ಗೊಂಟಿಕಂ	...	Horn of a bullock
Gabbidi	...	ಗಬ್ಬಿಡಿ	...	A pregnant woman
Adimódu	...	ಅದಿನೋಡು	...	He

## NUMERALS.

Ojogaṭi	...	ಒಜೋಗಟ	...	One
Nainam	...	ನೈನಂ	...	Two
Súlam	...	ಸೂಲಂ	...	Three
Maggam	...	ಮಗ್ಗಂ	...	Four
Chattam	...	ಚತ್ತಂ	...	Five (fingers of the hand, the latter being called 'chattam)
Kyàsàru	...	ಕ್ಯಾಸಾರು	...	Six
Gópáram	...	ಗೋಪಾರಂ	...	Seven
Nainam maggálu	...	ನೈನಂ ಮಗ್ಗಾಲು	...	Eight (two fours)
Ojogaṭi vaidu	...	ಒಜೋಗಟವೈರು	...	Nine or 1 less (then ten

\*It also means Arecanut.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*NUMERALS—*conclld.*

Gachchakáyi	....	ಗಚ್ಚ ಕಾಯಿ	...	Ten
Do	Ojogaṭi	...	ದಿಟೋ ಒಜೋಗಟ	Eleven (ten & one)
Do	Iggénu	...	ದಿಟೋ ಇಗ್ಗೇನು	Twelve
Do	Súlam	...	ದಿಟೋ ಸೂಲಂ	Thirteen (ten & three)
Nainamgachchakáyi	...	ನೈನಂಗಳ್ಚ್ಚ ಕಾಯಿ	...	Twenty (two times ten)
Súlam	do	...	ಸೂಲಂ ದಿಟೋ	Thirty (three times ten)
*Netla gachchakáyi	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಗಚ್ಚ ಕಾಯಿ	..	Hundred (big ten)

## VERBS.

† Netṭumáḍipilu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟುಮಾಡಿಪಿಲು	...	To bow (ನಮಸ್ಕಾರ ಮಾಡು)
Sáyichehu	...	ಸಾಯಿಚ್ಚು	...	Come
Pàrigilu or óḍigilu	...	ಪಾರಿಗಿಲು or ಓಡಿಗಿಲು	...	Run
Suniya or Sonchu	...	ಸುನಿಯು or ಸೊಂಚು	...	Go
Kàvu	...	ಕಾವು	...	Go
Pimmu	...	ಪಿಮ್ಮು	...	Give or keep
Kéḍu	...	ಕೇಡು	...	Ask
Bávalichehu or much-chipillu	...	ಬಾವಲಿಚ್ಚು ಮುಚ್ಚಿ ಪಿಲ್ಲು	...	Hide or conceal
Nabbinamu	...	ನಬ್ಬಿ ನಮು	...	Hide or reside
Máripilu	...	ಮಾರಿಪಿಲು	...	Sell
Ituko	...	ಈತುಕೋ	...	Take or buy
Killuko	...	ಕಿಲ್ಲುಕೋ	...	Lie down or sleep
Īttipilu	...	ಏತ್ತಿ ಪಿಲು	...	Get up or rise
Karinchu	...	ಕರಿಂಚು	...	Kill
Karaṭe	...	ಕರೆಟೆ	...	Died
Daipu	...	ದೈಪು	...	Beat
Kaipu	...	ಕೈಪು	...	Eat
Yájiniku	...	ಯಾಜಿನಿಕು	...	Withdraw
Suṭṭavillu	...	ಸುಟ್ಟವಿಲ್ಲು	...	Burn
Marugu	...	ಮರುಗು	...	Join
Baddichehu	...	ಬದ್ದಿಚ್ಚು	...	Know or understand
Sondāy'pu	...	ಸೊಂದಾಯಿಪು	...	Send away

\* They have no words for numbers above one hundred.

† The ending *pilu* used largely to convert *nouns* into *verbs*.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*VERBS.—*concl'd.*

Karipilu	...	ಕರಿಪಿಲು	...	Receive
Nabbadu	...	ನಬ್ಬದು	...	Is not or no

## CLAUSES.

Gemmalichechu	...	ಗೆಮ್ಮಲಿಚ್ಚು	...	To steal
Párigilatàdu	...	ಪಾರಿಗಿಲತಾಡು	...	He runs
Sáyistàdu	...	ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾಡು	...	He comes
Karuvukàvu	...	ಕರುವುಕಾವು	...	Go into the hut or village
Pattemu sutṭa viltadi	ಪಟ್ಟಮುಸುಟ್ಟಿ ಎಲ್ತಡಿ	...	...	I feel hungry (my stomach burns)
Tiluvukaipu	...	ತಿರುವುಕ್ಕೈಪು	...	Drink water
Mesakaipu	...	ಮೆಸಕ್ಕೈಪು	...	Eat food
Yádelipitiki sonche	...	ಯಾದೆಲಿಪಿತಿಕಿಸೊಂಚೆ	...	Went out
Adikku nabbinamu	...	ಅದಿಕ್ಕು ನಬ್ಬಿನಮು	...	We live that side
Adimóðikelle	...	ಅದಿಮೋಡಿಕಲ್ಲೆ	...	Fell down to the ground
Máripilatàdu	...	ಮಾರಿಪಿಲತಾಡು	...	He sells
Netlasiraga ayyindi	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಸಿರಗಾಯ್ತಿಂದಿ	...	She has attained puberty (she has become big child)
Tobbirikam sáyistadi	ತೊಬ್ಬರಿಕಂ ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಡಿ	...	...	Marriage consummation takes place
Dànni pimmutonutàdu	ದಾನ್ನಿ ಪಿಮ್ಮುತೊನ್ನಾಡು	...	...	He has kept her
Pillaggáviri	...	ಪಿಲ್ಲಗಾವಿರಿ	...	He was (arrested and) taken away
Pachchéga	...	ಪಚ್ಚೇಗ	...	Let us go
Ejam nabbadu	...	ಏಜಂನಬ್ಬದು	...	There is not anything
Adimódu sádénabbaḍu	ಅದಿಮೋಡುಸಾದೇನಬ್ಬಡು	...	...	He did not come
Rettániki sáyistànu	ರೆತ್ತಾನಿಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾನು	...	...	I shall come this night
Adimónidagḡira gávu	ಅದಿಮೋನಿಡಗ್ಗಿರ ಗಾವು	...	...	Go to him & he will give
maggam gróelu	ಮಗ್ಗಂಗೋನಲು	...	...	you four rupees
pimmutàdu.	ಪಿಮ್ಮುತಾಡು	...	...	



## APPENDIX A—concl'd.

## CLAUSES—concl'd.

Elem daḍaputādu ...	ಎಲೆಂದಡುಪುತಾಡು ...	He writes
Pāṭemulo daiputādu ...	ಪಾಟೆಮುಲೊಡೈಪುತಾಡು.	He kicks
Vandla karuvulo nora- pam outundi mesapu- tāru sonchu.	ವಾಂಡ್ಲ ಕರುವುಲೊ ನೆರಪ ಮುಟೆತುಂದಿ ಮೆಸಪುತಾ ರುಸೂಂಚು	Marriage takes place in their house,* go they will give you food
Iddaru sāyistāru oganni karipiluko oganni sondāyipu	ಇದ್ದರು ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾರು, ಬಗೆ ನ್ನಿ ಕರಿಪಿಲು ಕೋ ಬಗೆ ನ್ನಿ ಸೂಂದಾಯಿಪು	Two persons are com- ing, receive one (into the hut) and send away the other
Nerupam peṭṭutādi ...	ನೆರುಪಂಪೆಟ್ಟುತಾಡಿ ...	Sunshine comes

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## APPENDIX B.

List of sub-divisions of Dombars which are neither endogamous nor exogamous.

- 1 Aisarapóllu (ಐಸರಪೋಳು).
- 2 Bhùpativàllu (ಭೂಪತಿವಾಳು).
- 3 Ġandhapurájuvāllu (ಗಂಧಪುರಾಜುವಾಳು).
- 4 Gópudàsuvāllu (ಗೋಪುದಾಸುವಾಳು).
- 5 Jattivāllu (ಜಟ್ಟಿವಾಳು).
- 6 Kaggadivāllu (ಕಗ್ಗಡಿವಾಳು).
- 7 Kalabandivāllu (ಕಲಬಂಡಿವಾಳು).
- 8 Kanakaraddivāllu (ಕನಕರಡ್ಡಿವಾಳು).
- 9 Káserupuvāllu (ಕಾಸೆರುಪುವಾಳು).
- 10 Kastùrivāllu (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿವಾಳು).
- 11 Kùtaravāllu (ಕೂತರವಾಳು).
- 12 Mallepùvvaluvāllu (ಮಲ್ಲಪ್ಪವ್ವಲುವಾಳು).
- 13 Mannepulavāllu (ಮನ್ನೆಪುಲವಾಳು).
- 14 Maṭlivāllu (ಮಟ್ಟಿವಾಳು).
- 15 Muràrivāllu (ಮುರಾರಿವಾಳು).
- 16 Nadumulènivāllu (ನಡುಮುಲೇನಿವಾಳು).
- 17 Nāṭakarāyanivāllu (ನಾಟಕರಾಯನಿವಾಳು).
- 18 Pallokondalavāllu (ಪಲ್ಲಿಕೊಂಡಲವಾಳು).
- 19 Sómalarājuvāllu (ಸೋಮಲರಾಜುವಾಳು).
- 20 Sondùruvāllu (ಸೊಂಡೂರುವಾಳು).
- 21 Tólangivāllu (ತೋಲಂಗಿವಾಳು).
- 22 Uppuvāllu (ಉಪ್ಪುವಾಳು).



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**XIV**

**KADU-GOLLAS.**

BY

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## KADU-GOLLAS (ಕಾಡುಗೊಲ್ಲರು)

According to the Census of 1891,\* there were 21,820 individuals of this class, scattered in the districts of Bangalore, Tumkur and Chitaldurg. They differ very widely in habits and customs from the Uru-Gollas, though bearing a common name, and merit a separate treatment. Population.

Golla means a cowherd, and Kádu-Golla (ಕಾಡುಗೊಲ್ಲ) means a wild cowherd. They are so called as their dwellings are always erected outside a village, so as to command the view of waste or jungle land, capable of affording pasture for their cattle. They are also known as Kalligollas (ಕಳ್ಳಿಗೊಲ್ಲರು), as their hamlets are usually surrounded by a hedge of the milkbush (ಕಳ್ಳಿ, *Eugeni tirukalli*). Name.

The names which they themselves use are Yádavakuladavaru or Krishnakuladavaru (ಯಾದವ ಕುಲದವರು, ಕೃಷ್ಣ ಕುಲದವರು) as they believe that Krishna who was of the Yádava race was brought up among the women of their caste, known as Gópis. They also style themselves as people of Gó-kula (cow-tribe) either because they trace their origin to a cow, or they tend cows in pursuit of their professional occupation.

The caste titles which they affix to their names are Golla (ಗೊಲ್ಲ), Golla Gaṇḍa (ಗೊಲ್ಲಗಾಡ) or Gaṇḍa (ಗಾಡ).

They invariably speak Kannada in this State, and are said to have adopted the language prevailing wherever they settled, having no distinct language for the caste. Language.

Tradition states that their original place was Delhi and its neighbourhood, and that unable to suffer the persecution of the Mussalman rulers, their chief men migrated to the south. Two of them, Arimére Gaṇḍa and Mére Rámé Gaṇḍa remained together for a long while at a place called Ramanahalli, after which the former separated and went to a place called Uttaragutti. He had seven strong-limbed sons and seven handsome daughters, and amassed considerable wealth. The damsels attracted the attention of the chief of the place, Rámasúlivaraha,† who failing to obtain them by fair means, seized them by Origin.

\* They are not shown separately in the Census of 1901, being apparently included under Gollas.

† It is said that the gold coin known as Rama—tenke—varaha (worth about Rs. 25) was struck in his reign.



force when they had gone to sell milk and butter. Six of these damsels however escaped to their relatives, who then emigrated further south ; but their cousins, the descendants of Mére Rámé Gauḍa who had settled near Monadihalli, would not associate with them, as they had been separated for more than two hundred years. They had to move still further south, and after a weary time of wandering, settled in Mágaḍi in the Bangalore District.

They brought an idol of their deity called Chitra-dévaru from Delhi and consecrated it after holding an elaborate feast in its honour in this place. They spread to Ratnagiri, when one of their girls was married to a Rája of the place. The descendants of this union are called Kambera Gollaru and are looked upon as inferior to other Gollas. All this is stated to have occurred before 1271 of the Sáliváhana era. There were further migrations, and they mingled with various local tribes in the course of their wanderings and gave rise to many subdivisions.

Two of the subdivisions (Arinavaru and Merénavaru) of this caste are said to be the descendants of Golla girls who married two brothers of the Béda caste, Aré-ráya and Meré-ráya. Their father who was a freebooter was taken prisoner by a Béda chieftain and the girls who were seen to carry food to him by stealth, were prevailed upon to marry these lieutenants of the chief in consideration of their father's release.

Endoga-  
mous divi-  
sions.

Kádu-Gollas do not mix in any respect with others who bear the same name such as Urugollaru, Ketṭa Haṭṭi Gollaru and Maddina Gollaru. Each of these divisions virtually forms a separate caste. The Kádu-Gollas do not even allow people of the other Golla tribes into their hamlets as they drink freely and are supposed to be inferior in blood. Their hospitality can only go so far as to drop food into the hands of a guest of these tribes, from the other side of a hedge. The metallic vessels touched by the guest are cleaned with tamarind and cowdung before they can be used by them. Uru-Gollas, that is the Gollas living in towns are considered inferior on account of their indulging in intoxicant drinks. Ketṭa Haṭṭi Gollas (ಕೆಟ್ಟಹಟ್ಟಿಗೊಲ್ಲರು) are so called as they are considered to have lost caste by mixing with those of a lower caste status. The Kádu-Gollas carry their aversion to these so far as to avoid their very sight as inauspicious Maddina Gollas (ಮದ್ದಿನಗೊಲ್ಲರು) are those that sell drugs or forest produce.

The Kádu-Golla caste is made up of the three primary exogamous septs known Chitta Muttóru (ಚಿತ್ತಮುತ್ತೂರು) also styled Karaḍi Gollaru (Bear tribe, ಕರಡಿಗೊಲ್ಲರು), Chandinóru (Moon tribe ಚಂದಿನೋರು) and Ramé Gaudana-kuladavaru (Ramé Gaúda's descendants, ರಾಮಗೌಡನ ಕುಲದವರು).

Each of these is divided into subdivisions but all those belonging to one primary division are prohibited from marrying within that division.

Karaḍi Gollas (ಕರಡಿಗೊಲ್ಲರು) are so called as their ancestor is believed to have been nourished by a bear.

These are in some places identified with Kambéra Gollaru (ಕಂಬೇರಗೊಲ್ಲರು). There is a story that a petty raja of Ratnagiri felt his dignity wounded when a goat reared by a golla had the audacity to graze on his ramparts. For this grave offence he levied the penalty of the owner supplying a potful of milk ever after that to his palace. The gollas of this family are since known as Kambéra Gollaru and they all form a single exogamous sept which can contract relationship only with Arénóru.

Regarding Chandinavaru, (ಚಂದಿನವರು moon tribe) a confused story is given of a princess conceiving by association with the moon, and that the Gollas owe their origin to her. The girl being suspected of commonplace unchastity, her father placed her in confinement, but he was convinced of her innocence in this respect by seeing that a cow carefully kept away from contact with bulls still brought forth a calf by the mere sound of a bull reaching her ears from outside. It is even stated that the princess and the bull-calf were sent to a jungle and together produced two persons Chandamutti and Sándalkáṭamma who survived the deluge by hiding under the Góvardhana mountain. By the grace of Iswara, they became husband and wife and gave rise to two tribes of Gollas known after them as Chandamutti (ಚಂದಮುತ್ತಿ) and Chittamutti (ಚಿತ್ತಮುತ್ತಿ).

Huruli-yavaru (Gram tribe, ಹುರಳಿಯವರು) are those Gollas who do not eat nor touch gram. The priest or *yajman* belonging to this sept does not even pass through the field in which gram is grown; if compelled by necessity, he is to be carried over by those who do not belong to this sept.

A list of the exogamous septs is given in the Appendix.

Names of their septs are derived from the names of articles of common use or from the names of patron deities.

These family names are generally known only to the headman of each village, which often consists of families belonging to a single exogamous division.

Birth customs.

Childbirth is looked upon by Kádu-gollas with great fear as of some impending evil and extremely detested owing to anxious days the woman in childbed has to spend. When labour pains become apparent, she goes out furlongs off the hamlet to a part of the jungle where a shed of leaves and grass will be newly erected for the purpose. A woman of the Bedar caste attends upon her as midwife. The mother is considered impure for three months after accouchement, the impurity decreasing in degree day by day. If any person touches her during this interval, he will catch the contagion and will have to remain outside for a similar period; and on the happening of such a contingency, the mother and her child will not be allowed to enter the house until they obtain the special permission of their deity. The yajman of the caste being supposed to be the trusted servant of the deity announces its decrees, learning them in his dreams or interpreting them by signs observed during worship. If the yajman is not trusted with God's judgments, a Brahman or a Súdra soothsayer is consulted when the mother and the child may be taken to the hamlet. On the fourth day after having a bath, the woman removes herself to a new hut towards the village. On the ninth, fifteenth and thirtieth days, she similarly moves to new huts; and again once in each of the two following months. At the close of the period of three months, the mother with the child bathes and dressing herself in new washed clothes, goes to the village temple where the *pújári* touches their mouth with drops of milk of the dedicated sheep (jennigékuri, ಜನ್ನಿಗೇಕುರಿ)\*. Then the mother washes her hands seven times with cow's urine contained in a pit newly scooped out for the purpose.

Personal names.

They observe no ceremonies for the giving of names to children. The yajman of the caste coming in communication with the patron deity, directs that the child may be named after the name of the grandmother or by any other name. Personal names that are general among them are,

\*Jennigékuri is marked out by three longitudinal cuts in its ears. It is supposed to be sacred and when any person touches it, he will have to wash his hands with cow's urine in front of the village temple dedicated to Junjappa, their deity. If a person wantonly touches it, he loses his eyes and if after swearing on it to tell the truth he utters falsehood, his family is ruined. All hamlets do not possess such sheep and when required they borrow it from others. On the death of this sheep, one of its female lambs is installed in its place.

Yarra (ಯರ್ಯ)—Red  
 Kenda (ಕೆಂದ)—Red  
 Kariya (ಕರಿಯ)—Dark  
 Kátayya (ಕಾಟಯ್ಯ)—Forest  
 Karadi (ಕರಡಿ)—Bear  
 Huliya (ಹುಲಿಯ)—Tiger  
 Manga (ಮಂಗ)—Monkey  
 Giriya (ಗಿರಿಯ)—Mountain  
 Mincha (ಮಿಂಚ)—Lightning  
 Junjappa (ಜಂಜಪ್ಪ)—Name of a deity  
 Kenjadiya (ಕೆಂಜಡಿಯ)—One having red locks  
 of hair

Chittayya (ಚಿತ್ತಯ್ಯ)—Name of an exoga-  
 mous division.

They give opprobrious names if the first born are dead. The practice of giving one name for everyday purpose and another for purposes of ceremonies does not exist among them.

Marriage among them is generally adult but infant marriage may take place. A woman should not die unmarried. It is not imperative that the husband should be older than the wife. If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant by a man within the caste, she will be given to him in marriage. Both the woman's father and the man have to pay a fine which is utilized for feeding the castemen. They have no traces of the practice of capturing wives of the other tribes.

Polygamy is recognised, but polyandry is unknown. It is said that a woman may be married to one younger in years, but her husband's father or other relatives cannot supply his place till he grows up.

A man can marry the daughters of his maternal uncle or of his elder sister, but cannot marry either his mother's sister or her daughter, (i.e., the daughter of his mother's sister). Thus all relations as mother, sister or daughter are not taken in marriage. Exchange of daughters is permitted, but not encouraged from the belief that one of them fails to prosper. From a similar belief, two sisters are not taken in marriage simultaneously, but may be taken at different times. Being of the same social status they have no prohibition on intermarriage based on differences of local position, occupation or religious belief.

Boys are generally married when they are between twenty and twenty-five years of age. Marriages are

Marriage

Marriage relations.

Marriage ceremonies.

settled by their parents or elders. On a good day the boy's father accompanied with some married women goes to the house of the intended bride, where a new decorated pot filled with rice flour is presented by the women to the mother of the bride. A portion of the *tera* money is paid over to the bride's father who hands it over to her maternal uncle. *Tambulus* are exchanged between the parties and also distributed to the castemen assembled in honour of the occasion. These are very punctilious in observing signs and omens. They tie a thread dipped in turmeric to the end of a shrubby creeper (ಉಗನಿಹಂಬು) and if on the next morning any further growth is noticed in the plant, the match is considered lucky. Sometimes a lamp is lighted and kept burning during the night. If it happens to go out before morning, or if the chief parties have any unpleasant dream, it is a bad sign. Similarly they observe what meets them on their return from the bride's house. If their path is crossed by married women or by a Mahomedan or any one carrying betel leaves, it is a good sign. It is unlucky to meet a serpent, a deer, a rabbit or a Brahmin. The match is broken if the signs are unpropitious, and the *tera* will be returned. But those who break an otherwise valid agreement will be put out of caste.

The marriage takes place in the house of the bridegroom and continues for five days. In some places marriage booths are erected with twelve posts and ariveni or sacred pots are worshipped therein. The ceremony of marriage being simple, it can take place on any convenient day. The bride and the bridegroom are seated on a plank in front of the village temple and the pujari sprinkles the milk of the sacred sheep (Jennige Kuri, ಜೆನ್ನಿಗಕುರಿ) on them and ties a string of black beads known as *mangalya* round the bride's neck and puts on a chaplet of (ಕಣಿಗಲು) flowers to the bridegroom's head. The father of the bridegroom pays the balance of *tera* amount. The bride then puts on a brass\* and a silver bangle on her arms and toe rings on her feet, presented by her husband.

They never invite a Brahmin during the marriage, and the reason given is that on one occasion he pronounced the hour fixed for the marriage to be inauspicious and put them to the inconvenience of delaying the ceremony.

Curiously they seem to attach more importance to the first agreement for marriage than to the actual ceremony.

\* The brass bangle is known as *Gollakadaga* (ಗೊಲ್ಲಕಡಗ) and worn on the left wrist, is a distinctive badge of the women of this caste.

For the latter any day will do, while for entering into the contract, they are scrupulous in selecting an auspicious time.

The marriage ceremony is looked upon as impure and has to take place only outside the hamlet, lest the huts there should be polluted. Those who attend the marriage cannot enter their house without bathing in a tank. The married couple have to bathe and put on newly-washed clothes supplied by a washerman; and indeed a marriage has to be put off if no washerman is available to supply washed clothes.

The amount paid as *tera* is Rs. 14 for a first marriage. A man who marries a second time has to pay Rs. 20 and to give the bride one of the jewels that had been worn by his previous wife.

A girl attains her age at about the sixteenth year. Puberty. In her first menses, she has to remain in pollution for a period of twenty-one days in a hut of green leaves erected far off from the living huts. Every day she has to bathe, change her clothes and move to a new hut, the old one being burnt down. The period being long and erecting sheds daily with fresh materials rather expensive, it is sometimes reduced to seven or ten days, or each hut is occupied for a longer period. Some female relatives keep company with her at a distance in the night. She is given specially sweet and nourishing food. Her bed consists of margosa leaves and straw thinly spread over them. At the end of the period all the materials used by her are burnt, excepting the clothes and vessels which are washed before being taken into the house. After returning from the bath she drinks a spoonful of the five products of the cow, (known as *Panchagavya*\*) dung, urine, butter, curds and milk, and chews a few margosa leaves. During the subsequent periods of monthly sickness, she remains outside for three or five days. A man becomes impure if the shadow of such a woman falls on him or he touches anything that comes in contact with her without purification.

Three months after the first menstruation, a woman can take bed with her husband. On the occasion of her first going to her husband's house, her mother presents her with a new cloth, some quantity of rice and turmeric roots.

Widows are not permitted to remarry. They indeed believe that a woman on losing her husband becomes the bride of their tutelary deity and so she keeps on her bangles and *tali* just like other married women.

Widow re-marriage.

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\* See page 23, account of the Komate caste.

**Divorce.**

A woman is divorced for her adultery proved before a caste council at which her parents should be present. Such women are not allowed to remarry, and are in fact put out of caste. Their very sight is avoided as inauspicious by men and women of the caste.

**Adultery.**

Adultery is looked upon with abhorrence though when it is carried on within the caste, it might be secretly condoned.

**Death and funeral ceremonies.**

As houses in which persons die become unfit for habitation from pollution, the signs of death of a person are watched, and he is brought out to breathe his last. The dead body is washed after the head is anointed, and it is seated and wrapped up with a new unbleached cloth. A copper or silver coin is placed in the mouth, and the corpse is laid on a bamboo frame and carried to the burial ground. The principal mourner goes round the corpse three times with a vessel filled with water and throws it down in front of the corpse. Then the corpse is buried with the head turned towards the south. Persons who die of accidents and lepers are cremated. The ashes and the unburnt portions of the body are thrown in the jungle or in water on the third day.

Those who touch or carry the corpse remain impure for three days. As they return from the burial ground they wash their shoulders with cow's urine, bathe and live outside the hamlet. Even the closest relative if he has had no contact with the dead body need not observe *sūtaka*. After three days they bathe in a tank and drink the milk of the sacred sheep given by the *pujari* before re-entering their dwelling.

On the first day they offer to the spirit of the dead in front of the house a quantity of rice mixed with curds. If crows do not eat them, the offerings are given to cows. On the fourth day a sum of 6 *hanas* is paid to the temple *pujari*, who once in ten or twelve years uses all the money so collected for feeding the caste in order to propitiate the deceased ancestors.

In the name of the deceased a stone about a cubit in height is set up in a spot close to the hamlet. During the Mahalaya the relatives of the deceased place over a plain-tain leaf a *yede* of rice, ghee and jaggory and a new cloth before it. For three days after death in the family they eschew milk, sugar and ghee.

If a pregnant woman dies in a house when her husband is away from home, the corpse is cremated and the house is pulled down and re-erected in a separate place. The husband should not enter the village for three months.

If a woman dies within the period of birth-impurity, the man who carries the body for burial remains impure for three months and re-enters the village after drinking the milk of *jennige kuri* (sacred sheep) and washing himself with cows urine.

Their original occupation seems to have been confined to sheep and cattle breeding and it continues to be their chief occupation even now. They are backward in agriculture and grow only such crops as are needed for their own use and can be easily raised. They do not shear sheep like the Kurubas. A Golla without cattle would be a misnomer and this association is so well recognised that he is chosen by all Vokkaligas by preference to officiate as the pujari of the cattle Goddess, Katamma (ಕಟಮ್ಮ) at the Sankranthi festival. Occupation

They do not hunt big game or catch fish.

Their staple food is ragi and they are allowed to eat flesh. Fish, fowl, hares, sheep and rabbits may be eaten. It is however considered pious to eschew all animal food, and when they do partake of it, they never cook it in their houses, but resort to a tank or water course outside, and carefully cleanse and purify all the utensils used in the process. Dietary.

They avoid smoking and drinking.

It is even stated that they cannot eat food given by Brahmins on account of the latter being less strict in avoiding contact with women during menses. Uppars seem to be the lowest caste with whom they associate in eating. Social status.

Brahmins do not of course touch them while in *Madi*, but they use the buttermilk given by Gollas. These may also enter all but the innermost parts of temples. The village barbers and washermen serve them freely; and Hole-yas and Madigas stand at a distance and may not enter their houses. They consider the common well contaminated by promiscuous use and generally have one of their own. They seem to stand in the relation of patrons to Bedas, who are said to be their *Halemakkalu*. In parts of Chitaldurg, there is a curious custom which prevents the wife of



the eldest son in a family from washing herself after answering calls of nature, as it is believed that their flocks would suffer if she took this sanitary precaution.

Tribal constitution.

In each *hatti* or hamlet they have a *yajman* who wields extensive powers. He settles all their secular disputes and they rarely resort to courts. He is the *Pujari* and conducts worship in their temples on Tuesdays and Thursdays; and the oracles of the deity are manifested through him. He cures snake-bites and cattle diseases by medicines and charms; and whenever there is an epidemic or other serious calamity, he exhibits his practical good sense by ordering the removal of the settlement *en block* to a new site.

In his caste functions, he is assisted by a *Kolkar* of his own caste and a *Halemaga* of the *Beda* caste.

Their tribal councils are held in places known as *kattenuane* \* where questions affecting the whole tribe, such as breaches of caste rules are enquired into and settled. Such councils consist of *Yajmans* of various *hattis* and the friends of the culprits. Sometimes the council exercise appellate jurisdiction over the decision of smaller councils.

Parties testifying before their tribal council swear by *Junjappa* or by the Sacred Sheep; and they believe that if they perjure themselves after the last invocation, they would be afflicted with blindness. Persons accused of adultery were sometimes subjected to ordeal by fire, being required to hold a red hot bar of iron in the hand, their innocence being established if they were not scalded. But with increasing infidelity, this has become obsolete.

Punishments.

If a person eats forbidden food, he will be required to pay a fine of 24 *hanas* and will have to purify himself by shaving his face clean and having his tongue slightly branded. If a woman does this act, she will be put out of caste. For a general assault a fine of thirteen *annas* is imposed.

Dwellings.

Their villages are hedged with prickly pears or thorns of *Jali* (ಜಾಲಿ) or with milk bushes. They were probably once nomadic but are now settled in villages of their own, though they change to new spots once in every four or five years or whenever cattle die in large numbers or some pollution is suspected to have affected the village. Their houses are thatched and are only supported by pillars.

\* *Kattenuanes* are held at *Kari-Obenhalli* in *Hiriyur Taluk*, *Ram-  
*enhalli* in *Chitaldrug Taluk*, *Kalyanadurg* and *Hagalwadi* in *Gubbi  
Taluk*, and *Magadi*.*

Mud walls can sometimes be employed to support the thatch but the use of pillars ensures prosperity. They do not use doors for their houses but close the passage with thorns. On no account should they live in mud-roofed houses. The shape of the roof may be gabled or rounded but that of the temple house is always rounded. The roof may consist of a thatch of hay or leaves but a temple is always constructed with plantain leaves. Each village is generally composed of a number of families of the same exogamous group.

Their chief place in this State is Hagalwadi in Gubbi Taluk, where their Hero God is believed to be still present.

The Dress of males consists of a waist cloth (ಪಟ್ಟಿ), a turban and an upper cloth which may be either a blanket or of thick cotton stuff. Their women dress themselves generally with a white cloth bordered with red fringe either of lines or flowers or with a coloured *siré*. They do not use petty coats (*raviké*, ರವಿಕೆ) and ascribe the omission to Krishna's act of tearing off this part of their dress in his sports with Gopi Maidens. Dress.

The cloths used in marriage by the bride and bridegroom must be made by weavers of the Holeya caste, but they have no such *scadesi* scruples with respect to articles of ordinary wear.

The male members wear gold earrings shaped as a cobra and use silver wristbands. Women before marriage put on silver wristlets but after they are married they substitute a *gollakadaga* on the left wrist. They dress their hair into a knot and adorn it with a silver crest or flowers. They do not wear *kunkuma* but widows sometimes put on *chhūti*. Ornaments.

They still resort to flint stone for making fire. They have flutes of bamboo generally about two feet in length, and are expert in playing on them. Implements.

After the harvest season, they organise parties from a number of villages and hunt hares and rabbits. They carry the game suspended on sticks and come back with music in great glee. Boys and girls play with short sticks *kōlāta* (ಕೋಲಾಟ). Elderly people especially in *jātré* (tribal festivities) take part in *kōlāta* accompanied with vocal music. The flute is their characteristic musical instrument and every Golla plays upon it especially while tending cattle. Amusements.

They worship Vishnu under the names of Krishna, Venkatramana, Rama, Ranga and Vishnu. Their Religion.

tribal deities are Junjappa who is much respected and Chik kannaswami, Kyáté dévaru, Chitra-dévaru and Búṭappa.

Junjappa (ಜಂಜಪ್ಪ) their chief deity is a glorified cow-herd, and is taken by them to be a later incarnation of Sri Krishna. Just like the hero of Bhāgavata, he had also to fight against the jealousy and the wicked machinations of his maternal uncles. He is said to have been born by breaking through the back of his mother, 'a method which is popularly believed to be still seen in scorpions. Once his uncles planned to infect his cattle by burying a live bull calf infected with rinderpest in a tank to which Junjappa's cattle were going to drink. The cattle approached the tank sniffing the air and would not drink. He suspected some foul play and calling out his favourite bright eyed cow which answered to the name of Chikka-Rambha, directed her to find out what the matter was with the water. She dived under the water and succeeded in lifting on its horns the calf still alive from the mire. It was tended with care and cured of its disease, and it repaid its new benefactor with docile submission and unswerving faithfulness. It was named Bettanna, (ಬೆಟ್ಟಣ್ಣ) and became strong and spirited when it grew up. It once killed seven bulls out of a herd owned by the uncles, and came back bringing seven of the best cows. When in revenge they harried the flocks of Junjappa's brothers and carried away this Bettanna and bound it with chains to a boulder, he had only to mount to a hill top and call his favourite by name, when with a shake of his body he snapped the chains as if they were made of straw and ran to his side.

Once he met an amazon by name Jánakal Doddi watching her field and amusing herself on a seesaw. He asked her to allow him to collect some beans for his food in her field. She treated him with scorn saying, "neither Jangama nor Dāsari has yet succeeded in getting a handful from me; would I give a cowherd beggar like you a grain of it?" His anger was so great that the field blazed into a flame all round him when he opened his eyes wide. But she was more than a match to him; and even serpents whose aid he sought to destroy her, were afraid, till a poor lonely serpent was coaxed to give his assistance by promises of being worshipped in stone after her death. This found its way into her clothes and bit and killed her. Her husband was powerless against Junjappa, and at last his enemies tried to kill him by poison which they treacherously administered at a feast to which he was invited by a

stratagem. He discovered it by giving it first to a dog to eat, but ate the food notwithstanding lest his enemies should accuse him of cowardice. Immediately flames of fire darted out of his body, and he was in a few minutes reduced to ashes, along with a huge hay stack by his side. When his soul was transported to the presence of Siva, the God asked him to show what he could do to deserve a boon. He dived into the bowels of the earth and brought out all the snakes and scorpions in huge masses out of their hiding places. Siva offered boons which the unrepentant man only utilised for taking his revenge against his uncles, whom he assailed with famine and pestilence, and whose place he reduced to a desert. It is still to be seen near Hágavádi, and is known by the name of the ruins of the Kambi family.

In his name a *Játre* or tribal festival is held in Hágavádi once in two or three years, or if they can afford the expense, annually, at which all their castemen gather including some of the higher castes who only show reverence by presenting cocoanuts to the deity. Sheep and goats are not killed at this feast though its devotees may prepare flesh food for themselves. Junjappa is now represented by a box of split bamboo containing his relics viz., a weapon he was using, an umbrella and clothes, and some silver or golden serpents, snakes, crabs and other vermin.

The festival is held outside the village site in a jungle known as Junjappa's waste (ಜಂಜಪ್ಪನ ಬೀಡು) under a pandal temporarily built there with cocoanut, arecanut or plantain leaves. In one portion of the area under the pandal the box representing Junjappa is installed and round it other boxes made of similar materials are arranged in the form of a square. The pujári conducts the púja with turmeric powder and flowers, breaks cocoanuts in front of the deity and burns camphor and incense.

The *Játre* continues for three days and there are many diversions provided for the assembly. Boys and elders play *kóláta* with short sticks. After the *Játre* the pandal is burnt to ashes.

They take advantage of these gatherings to hold their caste councils for the settlement of disputes and the imposition of penalties against breaches of caste rules and customs.

There is a temple near Bangalore at which Junjappa is worshipped under the name of Chikkannaswámi (ಚಿಕ್ಕನ್ನಾಸ್ವಾಮಿ). It is constructed with leaves or straw. The temple has a property of about fifteen thousand rupees consisting

of gold or silver snakes, scorpions and jewels presented by devotees. A sacred bull known as *Pattulabasava* (ಪಟ್ಟುಲಾಬಸವ) is dedicated to the temple and is privileged to graze in a field undisturbed by any man of the Golla caste. During the Jâtré the bull is decorated with some jewels belonging to the temple. The box representing the deity is carried by the bull to the tank or any watercourse where it is washed and purified by a Brahmin.

It is said that even some Brahmins have become devotees of this deity, having been cured of devil possession in the shrine. Such families do not allow women in monthly sickness to enter their house, and if accidentally they do so, a penalty is paid to this shrine. Unless they do this, they believe they will be afflicted with boils or bitten by snakes or stung by scorpions.

In some parts of the Chitaldrug District, Kyatédévaru (ಕೃತೇದೇವರು) is worshipped and an annual Jâtré on a small scale is held in its honour. The deity is installed in a car made entirely with horns and mounted on four wheels and is drawn in procession round the temple, and at the close of one circuit, the flag at the top is brought down.

In the month of Chaitra (ಚೈತ್ರ) which generally comes off in May, a Jâtré in honour of Bûtappa (ಬೂತಪ್ಪ) is held, at which only the people of the Golla caste attend to show their reverence. This deity has no special temple, and his figure engraved in a stone is set up underneath a shady tree. The worship is conducted by a pujári of their caste. Ten or twelve sheep and goats are killed and afterwards used for the feeding of the caste people.

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## A P P E N D I X

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## I. Chittamutturu.

1. *Karadilyavaru*—(ಕರಡಿಯವರು) Bear.2. *Kamberu*—(ಕಂಬೇರು) Pot.

## II. Chandinavaru (ಚಂದಿನವರು) Moon.

3. *Somanavaru* (ಸೋಮನವರು) Moon.4. *Ajjoru*—(ಅಜ್ಜೋರು)5. *Konanavaru*—(ಕೋಣನವರು) He-buffaloe.6. *Yagadinavaru*—(ಯಗಡಿನವರು)7. *Polanavaru*—(ಪೊಲನವರು)*Arsikalliyavaru*—(ಅರಸಿಕ್ಕೆಯವರು) Milk-hedge

## III. Ramógowḍanakuladavaru—(ರಾಮೇಗೌಡನಕುಲದವರು)

8. *Areraya*—(ಅರೇರಾಯ) Name of a person.*Arenararu* (ಅರೇನವರು) A plant.9. *Merenararu*—(ಮೇರೇನವರು) Flail.10. *Onakeyararu*—(ಒನಕ್ಕೇಯವರು) A pestle.11. *Chiranararu*—(ಚಿರನವರು)12. *Masinavaru*—(ಮಾಸಿನವರು) Name of a deity.13. *Huruliyavaru*—(ಹುರುಳಿಯವರು) Gram.14. *Belloru*—(ಬೆಳ್ಳೋರು) A hoe.15. *Belluravaru*—(ಬೆಳ್ಳೂರವರು) Name of a place.16. *Nandihalliyavaru*—(ನಂದಿಹಳ್ಳಿಯವರು) Do.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XV**

**MORASU OKKALU.**

BY

**H V NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## MORASU OKKALU.

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Okkaliga (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) is a generic term applied to a number of castes, whose main occupation is agriculture. They are distinguished by different names in different parts of the State. The *Raddis* or the Telugu Okkaligas are found in parts of the Kolar, Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts, the *Morasu* Okkaligas, in parts of the Kolar and Bangalore Districts, the *Gangadhikars* in the Mysore and Hassan and parts of Bangalore Districts, the *Norabas* in the Tumkur and Chitaldrug Districts and the *Nāmadhāri* Okkalu in the Shimoga and Kadur Districts. Interspersed with these are other Okkaligas called *Kunchigas* or *Kunchatigas*, *Hallikaras*, *Sādas*, *Hālu Okkalu* and other sub-divisions. There is reason to believe that all or most of these divisions formerly formed one homogenous caste which from various causes separated themselves into different groups. Many of these divisions have become Lingayats and their affinity with the main division is still recognised by the practice of their intermarrying with non-Lingayat families of their division, which however is now becoming rare.

The population of the Okkaligas of all divisions according to the last Census (1901) was 1,283,947, of whom 642,245 were males, and 641,702 females, thus forming nearly a fourth of the entire population of the State.

Morasu Okkalus, though they form a division of the main caste, are among themselves a homogeneous community, not only limiting marital relations within itself but also containing a few divisions which are endogamous. They are most commonly called *Morasu Okkalu* (ಮೊರಸು ಒಕ್ಕಲ), and less frequently *Hasadēvara Okkalu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರ ಒಕ್ಕಲ). The common honorific suffixes to their names are *Gauda* (ಗೌಡ) in Kannada, and *Raddi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) in Telugu.

The meaning of the term *Morasu* is not clear. Some say that it is the name of the language which they speak, that is, Kannada ; but this name is not traceable in usage for the Kannada language. The term *Morasu* is said to mean weavers of mats and baskets. This meaning cannot be a correct one, as *Morasus* are nowhere known as having been basket or mat makers. The third and the most probable meaning is that they are so called because they formerly inhabited a country known by the name of Morasunād (ಮೊರಸುನಾಡು). Similar divisions are found in other castes as well.\* There is said to be a division of Srivaishnava Brahmmins called Morasunād.

The term Okkalu (ಒಕ್ಕಲು) meaning ' a family ' is derived from the Kannada root *Okku* (ಒಕ್ಕು) which means to thresh. It means especially a family residing on a cultivating farm ; and Okkaliga (ಒಕ್ಕಲಿಗ) means " a man of such a family " and the term is applied to all those whose profession is agriculture.

Some of the people of the Okkalu caste say that the term is the shortened from *Okkahālu Makkalu* (ಒಕ್ಕಹಾಲು ಮಕ್ಕಳು), that is, the children of the spilt milk and that they were born out of milk spilt by Pārvati ; but this fanciful derivation owes its origin to the usual motive of finding a divine pedigree for the caste.

*Hosadēvara Okkalu* are so called because of the custom of worshipping Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು) i. e., the new deity. *Gaṇḍa* (ಗಂಡ) also spelt *Gaṇḍa* (ಗವುಡ) is derived from *Gāra* (ಗಾವ) or *Grama* (ಗ್ರಾಮ) and denotes the chief officer of a village. This term with its Tamil equivalent *Kaṇḍan* is used as a title of honour among the peasants. Some derive the term from *Gaḍikūra*, that is, the head of a country within a defined boundary, or the protector of a boundary.

*Raddi* (ರಡ್ಡಿ) is said to be derived from Rāṭṭas, a ruling race of the olden times. The term is properly applicable to the Telugu cultivating caste.

Language. They speak both Kannada and Telugu, the sections known as Raddi and Pāyadasīme speaking Telugu and the rest Kannada.

Origin. The Morasu Okkalu are indigenous and are practically confined to the Eastern part of the State and the adjoining

\* Account of Nayindas P. 2.

British Territory. They admit that they belong to the fourth caste, agriculture being their original as well as their present occupation. They are said to have emigrated from the country, near Kanchi or (Conjeveram) which is apparently the tract known as Morasumād, and the cause of the exodus is given in the following story.

The Palyégar or petty ruler of the country, who happened to be a man of the Yākila caste, wished to marry a girl from a higher caste, and sent his man to select a bride among the Morasu Okkaligas. Going to the chief place of these men, the Palyégar's agent was struck with the extraordinary beauty of a girl whose locks of hair were so luxuriant that she used them as a rope to lead a calf with which she was playing. The parents and the chiefs of the caste were unwilling to enter into the degrading alliance, but were at the same time reluctant to incur the displeasure of a strong chief. They dismissed the emissary with a temporising message. All preparations were made as if for marriage, and the day was even fixed and a marriage pavillion erected. But they had secretly packed all their valuables, and had made themselves ready to flee from his district during the night. Professing to act according to an old custom, they put all the bride's presents sent by the Palyégar on a dog, which they tied up to the *milk* post of the pavillion, and deserted their ancestral homes in a body carrying with them the image of their god Bhairava in a cart. Unfortunately the river that separated them from another territory was then in full flood. The river god however heard their prayers and allowed them a dry passage in the middle as at the Exodus of the Israelites, and afterwards swallowed up the Palyégar and his followers, who, having learnt of the trick that had been practised against them, rushed somewhat too late in pursuit. Thus seven clans under their seven Gaudas or leaders first came to Kolar and settled there and gradually spread themselves all round.

One of these clans under their headman Bhairé Gauda settled in Avati about the close of the 17th century. Near this village was a small hamlet called Dévana-Doddi (ದೇವನ ದೊಡ್ಡೆ *i. e.*, the cattle pen of Dēva). Malla Bhairé Gauda persuaded this man to cede the place to him promising to immortalise his memory by constructing a fort to be named after him. The fort of Devanahalli thus built together with the surrounding country remained in the family of the

founder till 1749, when after a gallant struggle it passed to the possession of Nanjarāja, the Mysore Commander, an occasion rendered memorable as bringing Hyder Ali first into notice.

After building the fort of Devanhalli and entrusting its affairs to his younger brother Saṇṇa Bhairé Gaṇḍa, the ambitious Malla Bhairé Gaṇḍa undertook further conquests. The first of them was the subjugation of the country to the North of Devanhalli and founding the fort of Chikballapur. While hunting in the jungle near Kóḍi-Manchenahalli village, this Gaṇḍa observed a hare turning back to oppose the pursuing hound, and taking the place to be *gaṇḍa bhūmī* (virile soil), he proposed to the two brothers who were joint Patels of the village to build a fort and a *péte* there. The permission of the sovereign in Vijayanagar was duly obtained. An auspicious time was fixed, and it was agreed that the foundation should be laid as soon as the sound of a conch should indicate the exact moment. Unfortunately a passing Dāsari beggar blew his conch, and mistaking it as the signal, Malla Bhairé Gaṇḍa commenced the work half an hour too soon. The result of this contretemps was declared to be that the dynasty would wield power there only for 300 years. The *Pālyapur* which continued with varying fortune for three centuries exactly, fell into the hands of Tippu Sultan in 1779.

A similar origin is attributed to the fort of Dodballapur. This time a cow was observed to pour its milk over an anthill in the jungle; and when Malla Bhairé Gaṇḍa who had observed this unusual phenomenon went to bed revolving it in his mind, he was commanded in his dream to build a temple on that spot to Vishnu who had his abode there. He carried out the injunction; and after obtaining a warrant of the Viceroy of Vijayanagar stationed at Pennakonda, he reduced the chiefs of the surrounding territory to submission, and secured a tract of country with a revenue of a lakh of Pagodas for himself. He established his brother Hávāḷi Bhairé Gaṇḍa there; and this petty kingdom remained in the family till the 16th century when it passed into the hands of Ranaḍulla Khan, the general of Bijapur.

Bhairé Gaṇḍa, the last Palyégar of Dodballapur went to Gudibanda after this defeat and taking possession of it reduced the country around to some order by subjugating the freebooters, and built a fort there. As he died childless, his wife's brother took possession of the place, but

Baiché Gaúda of Chikballapur who had a better title to succeed to the childless Palyégar, put him to death and added Gudibanda to his territory.

Kempé Gaúda who was descended from a Nádu Gaúda of Yelahanka was another Morasu chief who rose to distinction in Magadi early in the 17th century. He was the founder of the City of Bangalore, and seized the strong fort of Savandurg from a follower of the last Viceroy of Vijayanagar who had usurped power after his master's death. His territory extended as far as Kortagere. The last of the family was Mummaḍi Kempé Gaúda who was defeated by Dalaváyi Dévaraja of Mysore and imprisoned in Srirangapatna.

There were other chiefs of this caste in Hoskote, Kolar, Anekal and Kortagere, but they gradually fell before the growing Mohammedan power in Srirangapatna. Some of their descendants were granted pensions after the restoration of Mysore to the rightful ruler in 1799.

The obsolete practice of cutting off two of the fingers of a woman is a peculiar characteristic of this caste; and those who followed the custom originally were an endogamous group distinct from those who did not follow it. There are other divisions which are not based upon this practice, which indeed seems to have prevailed to some extent in all the divisions.

The endogamous divisions are Musaku (ಮುಸಕು), Radḍi (ರಡ್ಡಿ), Pályadasime (ಪಾಲ್ಯದಸಿಮೆ) and Morasu (ಮೊರಸು) properly so called, the last being sub-divided into three Sálus (or lines) styled Kānu Sálu (ಕಾನುಸಾಲು), Nérlegattāda Sálu (ನೇರ್ಲೆಗತ್ತಾದಾಸಾಲು) and Kúṭera Sálu (ಕೂಟೇರಸಾಲು).

*Musaku* means a veil and the division is so called because during marriages, the bride covers herself all over with a veil. This is the division to which the several Palyégar chiefs of the caste belonged.

*Radḍis* are the Telugu speaking section of the caste.

*Pályada Sime* men also speak Telugu. The name is applied to the section of the Telugu Morasus living in the Bangalore District, especially round about Bangalore. They are immigrants into these parts from the country of Gummanáyakana Pályā in the Bagepalli Taluk. The name is common only in and near Bangalore and their relations in Gummanáyakana Pályā are only called Morasus.

Divisions:-  
Endoga-  
mons.



Exogamous  
divisions.

The caste contains a large number of exogamous divisions, each being called after an animal, plant or other material, with the usual prohibitions against the members of the divisions cutting or in some cases, even touching the thing representing their division or *bedagu* (ಬೆಡಗು) or *gôtra* (ಗೋತ್ರ). Some of these divisions with the name of the thing represented by each are given in Appendix B. \*

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Birth cere-  
monies.

There is little that is peculiar to the caste in the ceremonies observed when the woman is carrying or after confinement. The mother is kept apart for 7 or 9 days and those who attend on her should bathe before touching anything in the house. On the day of purification, the relatives of the family in the village each bring a potful of hot water and a ball of soapnut paste, which is mixed with what has been prepared in the house and used for bathing the confined woman and her child. One of the elderly matrons while carrying the baby challenges the evil spirits to harm it, if so disposed, before entering the house, as their God will protect the child effectually after the child is taken inside. \*

If the daughter-in-law is delivered of a child in her mother's house, her mother-in-law visits her on the third day, carrying as a present a basket (ಕಾರದಗೂಡೆ) filled with rice, pepper, dry cocoanuts, garlic, palm jaggery, old areca nuts and betel leaves. On the day when the woman and the child are bathed, the child's paternal aunt presents it with a *hana* for a ring.

The name-giving ceremony takes place generally one or two days before the end of the first month. A Koracha woman (soothsayer) is sometimes consulted, but this practice is gradually going out of use. The name selected is either that of a god or a deceased ancestor. The following may be taken as typical names for both sexes†:—Irlappa (ಈರ್ಲಪ್ಪ), Kempanna (ಕೆಂಪಣ್ಣ), Bayyanna (ಬಯ್ಯಣ್ಣ), Bandappa (ಬಂಡಪ್ಪ), Bairappa (ಬೈರಪ್ಪ), Bachchanna (ಬಚ್ಚಣ್ಣ) and Sonappa (ಸೊಣ್ಣಪ್ಪ).

\* The Kannada formula runs as follows:—ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗು ವದೇವರೆಲ್ಲಾ ಈಗಲೇ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗಬೇಕು, ಒಳಗೆ ಒಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮದೇವರು ಬಳ್ಳಿದಲ್ಲ.

† Many names are employed, and almost all names may be so employed for both sexes with the addition of the corresponding sex endings.

Names of inferior objects are sometimes given to children, though the practice is not common. Names of endearment, such as Appayya (ಅಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ), Magu (ಮಗು—child), Sámi (ಸಾಮಿ—God), Táyi (ತಾಯಿ—mother), Ammaññi (ಅಮ್ಮಾಣ್ಣಿ), Puttátáyi (ಪುಟ್ಟತಾಯಿ) are common ; so also are the shortened forms of such names as Kittā (ಕಿಟ್ಟ) for Kṛṣṇa, Lachchi (ಲಚ್ಚಿ) for Lakshmi.

The young mother with her child returns to the husband's house in the fifth or the seventh month. Her mother-in-law goes to fetch her, carrying a silver neck-chain as a present to her. The child is presented with some coins before leaving for the father's house. The cradle is carried by the mother of the confined woman. Before entering the husband's house, the woman and the child are taken to a temple where they receive *tirtha* and *prasāda* (holy water and victuals). The woman's mother is kept there three or four days and then dismissed with the present of some clothes.

Before the child is a year old, a feast of Munisvara is held in a grove outside the village on a Monday. This sylvan deity is represented by a row of stones under a large tree, and sometimes a tiny shed with a low enclosure is provided for them. The family repair thither with friends and enjoy an out-door picnic till the evening. The *pūja* is performed by the *pūjāri* who generally is a low caste man, or in his absence, by the head of the family himself. A goat is generally sacrificed and consumed at the feast ; and the party return in the evening with music, and an *ārati* is waved before the child enters the house, to ward off the evil eye.

The first tonsure for a male child is performed in the first or the third year, before the temple of the family god or before a shrine of Munisvara in a grove. The barber is generally presented with a new cloth besides other perquisites, and a dinner is given to the caste people.

Another important ceremony is the worship of Makaladévaru (ಮಕ್ಕಳ ದೇವರು—the god of children), observed before the lobes of the child's ears are pierced for holding earrings. For this festival, all the families who are related as agnates club together, and they should select a time when none of the female members are pregnant, and no death has occurred in any of the families between the last new-year and the day of the *pūja*. As all these families have to

observe common *sútaka* (ಅಂಟುಕು ಮುಟ್ಟುಕು ಕಲಸೆ), it may be easily guessed that where they have a large congregation, it is extremely difficult to find a suitable day, and sometimes they have to wait for years together. The worship is a matter of considerable expense; and so it is usual for all castemen in a particular locality to join together and raise a common fund by subscription. Each group worships the family god in its own way, but they join together at a common dinner. If any members of the same group have for any reason neglected to join the common performance of the *Púja* of Hosadévaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು), or, in their language, divided the Hosa-dévaru, they cannot join that group in the worship of Makkala-dévaru. It is said that if a girl attains her age of puberty without this festival on her behalf, she has to be put out of caste. But this rule is probably relaxed in many cases.

The family deity that is worshipped in this manner by the finger cutting division is known as Bandi-dévaru (ಬಂದಿದೇವರು-cart god), so styled as at their flight from Kanchi to escape persecution from a local tyrant, they carried their household god in a cart. The other name is Bhairé-dévaru (ಬೈರೇದೇವರು) which is a name for Siva in one of his fierce moods. The section of the caste that do not offer their fingers have, in some cases, given up this cult and taken other names for their family deity.

It is to this Bandi-dévaru that the women of the caste are said to offer two of their fingers, a custom which however has altogether fallen into desuetude. The origin of this barbarous practice is traced as usual to a Puranic source, the real origin being probably in the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice.

When the demon Bhasmāsura had obtained the power of reducing everything he touched to ashes by severe *tapas*, he wished to test his power first on god Siva, the donor himself. The deity fled from the demon and hid himself in the fruit of a creeper, which to this day resembles a *linga* \* in appearance. The demon who was pursuing the god, suddenly losing sight of the latter, asked a Morasu man who was ploughing in the fields there, in which direction the fugitive had escaped. The man of the plough wished to evade the wrath of both the mighty parties and

\* This is known as *Tonde* and sometimes as *Linga-tonde* (ತೊಂಡೆ or ಲಿಂಗ ತೊಂಡೆ) the red gourd *mamordica manodulfa*.

while saying he had not observed, pointed with his fingers to the creeper on the hedge which had sheltered the fleeing god. Just in the nick of time Vishnu came to the help of his brother in the shape of a lovely maiden, Mòhini. The Rakshasa became enamoured of her, and like a fool, forgetting the fatal virtue that his bare touch had been endowed with, he was lured by the damsel to place his hand on his own head, and was immediately reduced to a heap of ashes. Siva now triumphant was about to punish the treacherous rustic with the loss of his erring finger, but his wife who had carried his food begged hard that the deprivation would render him unfit to do his field work and offered two fingers of hers for one of her husband. The custom of a Morasu married woman cutting off the upper joints of the last two fingers of the right hand had been observed ever since, till it was stopped recently by an order of the unbelieving Sarkar.

The worship of Paṭāḷamma (ಪಟಾಲಮ್ಮ) and Pūjé Dévaru (ಪೂಜೇದೇವರು) takes place as an introduction to the more important festival of Bandi-dévaru. The mothers of the children whose ears are to be bored fast during the day, and in the evening repair to the temple of Paṭāḷamma carrying lights on their heads. These lights are made to burn on wicks soaked in ghee placed in receptacles of rice flour sweetened with jaggory. After making pūja to them at home with the sacrifice of a sheep, the women carry them on their heads, and repair to the temple in state, walking on washed cloths spread for them in the street. In front of the shrine, they walk over cinders of fire, made in a pit, after making pūja to it and offering a sheep or a goat. The pūjari then waves these lights before the idol and returns them to the women to carry back to their homes. For each new lamp, as the one carried by the woman who has to offer her fingers is styled, the pūjari gets a fee of a *hana*.

On a subsequent day all the families who perform the ceremony of *Bandi-dévaru* join together and put up two new huts of fig leaves, in a central place, one for Māramma and the other for Gangamma and set up idols of earth therein, the latter deity specially styled Pūjé-dévaru (ಪೂಜೇದೇವರು) being represented by a featureless cone. The ceremony is performed in the same manner as for Paṭāḷamma, the fire-walking being omitted.

The chief ceremony in connection with *Bandi-dèvaru* should fall on a Sunday in the month of Chaitra or Vaisàkha soon after the opening of the new year. The whole festival extends over a week, but to save expense they generally reduce it to three or five days.

A Koracha woman is invited to read the fortune by *Kani* and she washes the feet\* of the mothers who have to sacrifice their fingers at the time of boring their children's ears. Then a kalasa is set up and offerings of new clothes etc., are placed before it. On a subsequent day, a new house which has not been inhabited is whitewashed and cleaned and a kalasa is worshipped in it. All the members of the families who perform this ceremony occupy the house, and the women draw certain drawings on the wall with rice flour and turmeric † to which pūja with an offering of sheep is offered. They have to cook and eat in that house that day. This is styled the worship of "new house god" (ಹೊಸಮನೆ ದೇವರು).

A man of the Bèda caste worships Peddanna-dèvaḍu (ಪೆಟ್ಟನ್ನ ದೇವಡು) represented by three stones and a trident and a sword, set up in a hut outside the village and gives them Prasāda.

They next worship Ganga represented by drawings of rice flour in a hut built of newly beaten straw, placing lamps burning in receptacles of sweetened rice flour ‡ and offering a goat sometimes with kid. The meat of the sacrificed animal, it is said, should not be given to any strangers to the family and the bones should be buried so as not to be touched by dogs.

The next two days the women fast till the evening, and cook rice or rice flour in new pots. No animals are killed and after offering food in an *edē* to their gods, they eat it without salt.

When the mother has to bore the ears of her first child or of two or more children together for the first time, she has to offer her fingers. This is styled the worship of "New Bandi-dèvaru." For subsequent ear-boring, she has no fingers to spare, and the ceremony is styled "Enjalu Bandi-dèvaru" (ಎಂಜಲಬಂಡಿದೇವರು that is, stale worship).

\*This is styled the ceremony of Kàlêḷi ಕಾಲೇಳಿ in Kannada.

† This is called పాముపానేది in Telugu.

‡ Rice flour and jaggory beaten in a mortar into paste and consumed after offering to the idols. This is known as ತಂಬಿಟ್ಟು in Kannada and చలిండి in Telugu.

The ceremony takes place in the temple of the deity where it exists. In other places separate sheds of green leaves are put up outside the village at the north-eastern corner, one for the first child's Bandi-dévaru and another for the other, with another shed of *Takki* leaves in front of the village gate. A number of carts, one for each child, washed and decorated with white and red stripes of colour are brought to this last shed. The parents of the children wash early in the morning, and going to a potter's house, select two pots known as *karaga* (ಕರಗ), and after offering *púja*, bring them in state, to their houses. A silver coin is placed in each pot and the eldest female member does *púja*, offering an animal sacrifice. The parents of the children then carry these pots on their heads, placed on a cloth which is thrown over both of them. They go to the sheds where the carts are ranged and again sacrifice a kid which they place in the cart, and thence repair carrying the *karaga* pots on their heads to the other sheds outside the village.

The procession is composed of all the members of the families concerned in the ceremonies and their relations and the principal characters walk on cloths spread along the road. They are accompanied by the band of village musicians, and drummers of the Mádiga caste, and the carts form an essential part of the show. On arrival at the sheds, the parties go to the shed set apart for the kind of ceremony (first or second) that they have to perform, after going round the sheds thrice.

Three stones are placed to represent the god of the ceremony, and *púja* with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat and fruits and flowers, is offered. Then each woman who has to undergo the operation goes to a wooden block driven into the ground, places on it her two fingers to which some flower or a betel leaf or a gold wire has been tied round and the smith chops off the last joints with his chisel. This was in vogue till about forty years ago, and the elderly women whose fingers are so mutilated may now be seen. The severed bits used to be thrown into an anthill and the ends used to be dipped in boiling oil to staunch the bleeding. It was believed that if any nails were allowed to grow on these fingers, some dire misfortune would overtake the family. At present, however, they are satisfied with the fiction of cutting the flower or leaf wound round these fingers.

After this they wave *mangalārti* before the idols and go back to their houses in procession, and indulge in feasting. The carts are driven away, handfuls of jaggory being thrown among the spectators, and the drivers race among themselves and exhibit their skill in driving over difficult places.

On the following day, the children are bathed and seated in a pandal put up in front of the house. The maternal uncle cuts a lock of hair and with a flower dipped in sandal paste make a mark on each ear for boring. The children are presented with catables and other more valuable things by the near relations. The actual boring may be done either then or on any subsequent day.

For three months after this ceremony, the members of the family should not eat food cooked in the houses of others, not even relatives, who have not been purified by the performance of similar ceremony for themselves. The women should guard themselves from contamination of approach of Holeyas and Mādigas. Any woman who gets her monthly sickness during this period, has to remain in a separate shed nine days cooking her own food.

In the case of orphans and others who are too poor to perform all this elaborate ceremony, the boring of the ear is done before the shrine of Bhairava in Siti Beṭṭa, a hill in the Kolar Taluk. The pūjāri who is the chief officiator gets a *hana* and provisions for a meal and the party have a general picnic at the close of the event.

It is only one section of the Morasu people that have to cut off their fingers. The others also celebrate the ear-boring ceremony, but in a less elaborate manner, after pūja in some temple, such as, of Paṭālamma, Chaudēsvari, Mad-damma, or Venkaṭaramaṇa or Narasimha. An animal sacrifice is offered if they resort to the shrine of a female deity. The worshippers of Viṣṇu invite a number of Dāsaris who perform their religious dance and give *prasāda*. The maternal uncle of the children marks the ears with sandal paste for boring the holes.

Adoption. Adoption of boys may be effected as in other castes of Hindus. A brother's son may be adopted even after his marriage and without any public ceremony. There is no objection to the adopting of a daughter's or sister's son. The boy's waist thread is cut and a new thread is put on, when he is handed over by the natural parents to the

adopter and the latter and the boy are made to drink a little saffron water. The natural mother is given a present of clothes and there is a feast held that day.

The practice of bringing up a son-in-law as heir (*illā-tam*) is common, especially among the Telugu speaking families. No particular ceremony is observed, and an understanding between the parties is all that is required. Such a son-in-law succeeds to the whole property of the father-in-law who has no sons, or shares the patrimony equally with the sons.

Polygamy is rare and a second wife is taken in default of issue, generally with the consent of the first wife. But polyandry is unknown. Marriages are generally between adults. A woman may remain without marriage without any social stigma attaching to her. But she cannot take part in a few ceremonies required to be performed by married women alone and when she dies, the full funeral rites are not performed, the body being carried like that of a dead child in a *kambly*. No *Sūtaka* is observed for her death. Marriage.

They have what is styled *kula* or *brāḍagu* to denote exogamous limits for marriage. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt or elder sister is specially favoured. Except in extreme cases (such as marriages of widowers), a younger sister's daughter is not taken in marriage. Two sisters may be married by two brothers; and one man may marry two sisters simultaneously, the hands of all the three being joined together at the time of pouring *dhāre* water. The rule of *varase* (ವರಸೆ) which prohibits marriage between persons who stand analogously as parent and child or brother and sister, has to be observed also. This is sometimes carried so far as to prohibit marriages between two families who have marriage relation with a common third family. Exchange of daughters in marriage between two families may take place but some believe this to be unlucky.

The village astrologer is consulted for *Sūlāvali* (ಸುಲಾ ವಳಿ) to see if the stars representing the first letters of the names of the bride and the bridegroom agree, and omens are observed, and prognostication by *Kani* (ಕಣಿ) sometimes resorted to. The father of the boy goes to the bride's father to propose marriage, by the formula "to eat rice and ghee in the latter's house." He receives *Oppu Vilva* (ಒಪ್ಪು ವಿಲ್ವ) i. e. *tāmbūla* in token of consent, and returns



without eating in the bride's house. On a subsequent day, the *Vilvada Sástra*, (ವಿಲ್ವದಾಸ್ತ್ರ), takes place in an assemblage of castemen and friends with a Brahmin Puròhit. The boy's father and members of his family go with a new cloth and a jewel to be presented to the girl along with the auspicious articles (ವುಂಗಳವ್ಯಗಳು). A *Simhásana* is made on a kambly and a kalasa is placed on a low tripod before it, in a flat eating dish (ಕುಟದತಣಿಗೆ) of bell metal. The chief man of the caste makes púja to this, and the girl to be married is smeared with saffron and presented with fruits, flowers, etc, wrapped in her garment. In some places, the young man to be married is also seated by her side at the time.

The *Lagnapatrikas* (marriage letters) prepared by the Puròhit are exchanged between the parents and each rises up and declares to the assembly in a set formula that he of such a *kula* has taken a girl of such other *kula* in exchange for a boy, and *vice versa*. After distribution of *támbara*, there is a dinner given to the male's party. If after this formal compact, the match is broken off, the defaulting party has to pay the expenses of the other and sometimes a small fine to the caste is exacted. Such breaches, however, rarely occur.

The marriage is generally celebrated in the bridegroom's house. On the first day, takes place what is styled *Modalarasina* (ಮೊದಲರಸಿನ) when the family deity is worshipped and the bride and the bridegroom are smeared with turmeric in their separate places. A kalasa is set up in a flat dish (ಕುಟದತಣಿಗೆ) on half husked rice. They generally keep in each family a separate narrow necked metal vessel which they use only for kalasa. It is painted over with red and white lines, and half filled with water and a small silver coin is thrown in. Around it are placed in the dish, some plantain fruit, betel leaves and areca nuts, lumps of *vibhúti*, two turmeric and *kunkuma* powder boxes and a looking glass. This has to be carried about with the marriage party whenever they go about as a procession during the marriage; and an elderly woman who does this duty is presented with a cloth and the silver coin in the vessel. They have the *dēvaráta* (gods' feast) that evening.

The pandal is raised the next day, with 12 pillars of which the "milk post" is of Atti (Indian fig) or Neraḷe (Jambolana) unless either happens to denote the name of the party's *kula* when it is not used. The maternal uncle has to bring the milk post, and the ceremony is done pretty

much in the same manner as among other raiyat classes\*. After the milk post is fixed, a twig of a Nerale tree is again brought by a party going with music and tied up to it. They style this Elevation (ಎಳವಾರ).

The bride's party arrive in the evening and are received at the village gate and taken to their lodgings. Some married women of both parties go in state to a potter's house and bring the sacred pot (ಅರಿವೇಣಿ) which in this caste is only one.† They place this on a bed of earth and manure in which nine kinds of grain are sown, and offer pūja to it and keep a lamp of castor oil always burning before it. This is Arivēni or karaga pūja (ಅರಿವೇಣಿಪೂಜೆ, ಕರಗಪೂಜೆ i.e. pot worship). In some families, the bridegroom and his party go at midnight to a place where three paths meet and after offering cooked food to a drawing of a human figure, return home without making any noise, and without looking back. This is known as *Biragudi* (ಬೀರಗುಡಿ) and is apparently meant to propitiate malignant spirits.

The next morning after nail paring and bathing in *Maleniru*, the bridegroom is taken to a temple or an *Asvattha* tree and seated there. His maternal uncle ties the *bhāshinga* on his forehead, and five married women pour rice on his head, shoulders and knees (Sāse, ಸಾಸೆ). The headman present worships Simhāsana. The bridegroom's party go in procession to the bride's house thrice each time carrying some article of present to the bride. A Morasu-Holeya (who is regarded as a *halemagu* of this caste) or a sister of the bridegroom carry the marriage chaplet in a basket. On the third occasion, the bridegroom himself goes holding a dagger in his hand. The maternal uncle is fantastically dressed and subjected to bantering fun by every one during this procession.

The bride and the bridegroom are seated ‡ on the marriage dias facing each other, with a screen between them. The Puróhit after chanting some mantras removes the screen when the couple place handfuls of jaggory and gingelly on each other's heads. Four vessels are placed on the corners of a square with a cotton thread passing round

\* See Kuruba account (Monograph No. I) page 10.

† Sometimes they do not go to the potter at all but use one of the pots in the house used as grain receptacles.

‡ Among some families of this caste, Kundāpagaḷu (ಕುಂದಾಪಗಲು) i.e., hollow wooden rings kept on the mortar while pounding paddy to prevent its scattering, are used as seats for the couple.

their necks seven times. This thread is cut into two halves and two *kankanas* are made by attaching to each a turmeric root and an iron ring; and each party ties a *kankana* round the wrist of the other. The bridegroom then ties the *tīli*, round the girl's neck, while some mantras are again recited by the Puróhit. The couple join hands and the parents and all the members of the assembly pour milk (dhāre ಧಾರ್), over them. This is caught in a vessel and thrown over an anthill.

The fringes of the clothes of the married couple are tied together by the maternal uncle and they are made to exchange handfuls of rice and salt, perhaps a method of swearing mutual fidelity. The minor events of the day take place in somewhat the same manner as among other castes of similar status \*

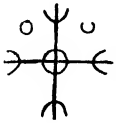
That evening the star Arundhati is shown to the bride. They go in procession and worship an anthill and carry away some earth dug out of it. Then a party of married women go with three pots to a well or river and after *Ganga-pūja*, bring back water, which is used for mixing anthill earth to make balls. Twelve balls are made and the bride deposits one at the foot of each pillar. The barber is then called upon to pare the nails which he does nominally by passing his razor over the nails of the bride and the bridegroom. The latter bathe after this and proceed to a temple. On their return, the pillars are worshipped along with a *kalasa* installed to represent the Hasé-dévaru (ಹಸೇದೇವರು) and offerings of cooked rice in balls and sweet cakes are placed before each, which goes to the washerman as his perquisite. Finally they have a procession of the marriage party in the streets.

At the Nāgavali ceremony taking place the next day, the couple newly bathed and dressed are seated before the milk post, with two brass vessels filled with red coloured water (ಬಿಕ್ಕುಳಿ) before them. A line is thrown into one and some jewel in another without their being allowed to be seen by them, and each is asked to pick up one of the articles, and it is pretended that the party who picks up the jewel will have ascendancy over the other in their future domestic life. Then the *kankanas* or wrist threads of the couple are taken off by each other and tied to the milk post.

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\* Vide Kuruba Account.

In the afternoon after dinner takes place the final ceremony of *Sinhāsana pūja*. This is done on three occasions during the marriages of Morasu people, whereas other castes perform it only once. The last is the most important one and is performed to close the marriage ceremony. They spread a kambly fourfold and draw on it a figure of



four tridents (trisūla) \*radiating from a center with the sun and the moon at the top, and place a quantity of arecanuts and betel leaves in the middle, and pieces of *cibhūti* (ashes) at the extremities. The Yajaman of the caste makes *pūja* to this and distributes *tāmbūlas* out of it in the following order:—God, Guru, Brahmins, King, represented by the village officials *gauda* and *śraubhog*, *sālu* and *māle* (i. e., the 18 phana and 9 phana communities) Bhūmi Raddi, that is, the head of the whole caste, Kattēmane, i. e., sectional heads, the Raddis and Yajamans of the sections to which the parties belong, the bride's party including all her relatives and lastly to the rest of the assembly. This order of precedence is scrupulously observed and any transgression is sure to cause much annoyance and sometimes quarrel.

They repair to the bride's house the next day and return after a sojourn of two or three days. A dinner is then given in honour of the occasion to all the guests. This is called *tirucali* and *maracali* (ತಿರುವಳಿ ಮರವಳಿ). Before the close of the month on a certain day, some milk is poured on the milk post and after the usual *pūja*, it is removed and thrown into a well.

The bride price or *tera* varies between Rs. 6 and Rs. 12. This amount goes to the girl's father but he generally uses it for some jewel to be given to the girl. A widower has to pay Rs. 1½ more as *Sauli Honan* (ಸಾಲಿ ಹೊನ್ನ, that is, the other wife's money) and has invariably to give more jewels to the girl. It is not easy to estimate the average marriage expenses which vary very largely according to the means of the parents and their desire not to be outdone by their neighbours. It is however kept within moderate limits especially in rural parts where the most considerable item is the feeding of relatives and friends. There is no attempt made towards securing any reduction of these expenses.

When a girl is married as an infant, she remains in her father's house till she attains womanhood, after which

consummation of marriage takes place and she is sent to her husband's house to live with him. During the interval she visits the husband's house only occasionally and goes back with her parents.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for nine days and is not permitted to enter the main house. She is kept in a shed in the outer yard made of green leaves which are brought by her maternal uncle. In the evenings, she is dressed in washed clothes supplied every day by the washerman, and is seated on a plank in the presence of married women who thus celebrate what is known as *Osiqe* to mark the event. They give her presents of fruits and flowers packed in her garment (ವೆಡಲುತುಂಬುವುದು), and sweet things to eat. To ward off the evil spirits, an old broom stick and a winnow and a shoe are placed at the entrance of the shed.

The girl pulls down the shed before her bath on the tenth day, and the materials are removed by her maternal uncle and burnt at a distance from the house.

The expenses of the *Osiqe* ceremonies for one day are borne by the maternal uncle if she happens to be unmarried; if married, the information of the event is sent to the husband's house through the washerman, and one of the members of that family comes over and performs the *Osiqe* for the girl for one day. Other relatives may similarly treat her for any number of nights.

Where marriage takes place after puberty, the couple are brought together on the last day without any further ceremony. But in some places the consummation is put off some time, on account of the belief that a child should not be born within a year of the marriage. Where the girl has already been married, they fix a day for the consummation of the marriage soon after her attaining puberty.

When the girl is first sent to her husband's house, she is presented with clothes or jewels by her father and the husband gives a dinner to her mother and others that accompany her.

Widow  
Marriage.

It is considered that even child widows should not remarry. But a widow may live in concubinage with a man of her own caste, and though her issue are restricted to marriage only with others of the same class, she and her children are not denied the privilege of eating together, and she may cook food for the castemen on all occasions.

The husband may give up his wife for her unchastity, *Divorcee*, and the wife her husband for habitual ill-treatment and loss of caste. A divorced woman may not marry again, but is allowed to live in concubinage with a man of her caste. Adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same caste is condoned by subjecting her to pay a fine to the caste and levying a similar fine from her paramour. The husband may then take her back into his house if he is so disposed. Otherwise she may live with her paramour. It is said that a man eloping with another's wife has to pay the marriage expenses of the latter, though of late, the rule is not being enforced. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant or is found to have been in the keeping of a man of the same caste, either her union will be formally recognised by the caste council or she will live as a concubine of the man. In either case, her children will drift into a separate *Sālu* styled *Berikē-sālu* (ಬರಿಕೇಸಾಲು) or mixed section.

The practice of marrying girls to trees or swords or the dedicating of them in the temples does not obtain in this caste.

The common mode of disposing of the dead is burial, *Death ceremonies*, though cremation is resorted to by some persons of late. As soon as death takes place, a *halemaga* who should be present carries the information round. Two earthen pots, a new cloth and materials for the bier are procured from the bazaar. A band of musicians are engaged and Dāsaiyyas also go with the body with their shells and other sounding instruments. Some build a *mantapa* (cage) at considerable expense to carry the body. The body is dressed in a new cloth with a turban on the head. Crushed betel leaves and nuts are put into its mouth. If the deceased be a woman dying when her husband is alive, the body is profusely decorated with flowers, turmeric, *kankuma*, etc. The bier is carried by four men, the son or the chief mourner going with water in a new earthen pot on the left shoulder and fire in the right hand. It was the custom formerly that one of four bearers, must be a Holeyā *halemaga*, but this practice has almost gone out of use, the *halemaga* now attending to the digging of the grave and walking in front of the funeral procession. As they pass along, betel leaves and fried rice are thrown on the corpse and guns are fired. While midway to the graveyard, the corpse is kept on the ground, and the son going

round it three times throws some cooked rice at the head of the body. After laying down the corpse at the burial place, the sons and other near relations put some rice into the mouth and eyes. The sons get shaved. After being carried round the grave three times, the body is lowered into the pit and deposited on a plantain leaf, with the head to the south. In a corner of the winding sheet some rice is tied and a piece of this cloth is torn and thrown out, and the pit is filled up, some twigs of a thorny plant known as \* *chitramūla* (ಚಿತ್ರ ಮೂಲ plumbage zelanica) being placed near the top to prevent dogs and jackals digging up the grave. Four quarter anna pieces are kept at the four corners and a stone slab is inserted at the side of the head. Some doles of money and grain are given to poor persons who may be found at the place. The son goes round the grave three times with an earthen pot filled with water on his shoulder and a fire-brand in the hand. At the end of every turn a hole is made in the pot by some one with a stone. The *halemagu* goes with a cowdung cake in his hand and holds it at the head and the four corners of the grave, while the son applies his firebrand to it in each place. At the end of the third turn, the son throws away the upper half of the pot, and keeps the lower half with the water in it near the head and puts out the fire in the faggot by plunging it in the water. The *halemagu* keeps the cowdung cake there on which a three-pie piece is thrown as his fee. The whole party then repair to a river or tank without looking backwards. The corpse bearers and the son plunge themselves in water and go home without even † wringing their wet clothes, and the others only wash hands and feet. The friends and relatives have to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired before they return to their houses.

A small shed is put up on the grave, and some times a figure to represent the deceased is drawn on the ground there. The chief mourners and the bearers of the hearse with the *halemagu* go there on the third day, carrying with them some rice and vegetables cooked together in

\* The common abuse ನಿನ್ನ ಮುಖಕ್ಕೆ ಚಿತ್ರಮೂಲ ಬಿಡಿಯು, that is, may the plant *chitramūla* be thrown on your face derives its meaning from this practice.

† On account of this association, it is considered inauspicious to come out of the bath room after bathing without wiping the water on the body with a cloth.

one vessel. Pūja is offered to the deceased, incense burnt and food placed on a plantain leaf. Part of this is given to the *haleмага* who must eat it, and the rest thrown to the crows. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers are touched with ghee and milk, and all of them bathe before taking food. On the eleventh day, all bathe in the morning. A Brahmin purôhit is invited to purify the house (by *Punyâha*). The old earthen pots in the house used for cooking are thrown out and new ones are substituted for them. A kalasa is set up in the middle of the house and is worshipped with offerings of new cloths and raw rice (*Edc ೨೩*). The Brahmin purôhit repeats mantras and makes the chief mourner offer libations of water (*tarpana ತರ್ಪಣ*). Some presents are made to Brahmins according to the means of the family, of such articles as an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a cow, raw provisions and money. The object of some of these gifts is to ensure that similar conveniences may be provided for the ghost of the departed on its journey. It is believed that a cow enables him to cross the river of fire by holding on to its tail.

In the evening the mourners go to a temple and get pūja performed to get the gate of heaven opened for the departed soul; and there is a general dinner given to their castemen on their return. The next day, some near relation of the chief mourner, such as a maternal uncle or father-in-law, present him with a new turban, to mark the close, of the funeral ceremonies.

The period of *Sâtaka* (death pollution) is ten days for the nearer and three days for the more distant agnates. It is only three days for the death of a child or an unmarried person. Only a bath is sufficient for a daughter's son.

Morasu Okkaligas do not perform yearly Srâddhas, except some of them who having risen in the world have adopted the custom of observing the anniversaries of the deaths of their parents. On such occasions, a kalasa is set up and pūja offered with the help of a Brahmin purôhit. The son offers libations of water in the name of the deceased, and presents Brahmins with raw provisions and money. After this, the people at home cook their food and partake of it in the company of some invited guests of their own caste.

The Mahâlâya ceremony is however very generally observed in honour of the general body of deceased



ancestors. They also make pūja to ancestors on the new year's day and the Gauri feast. On such days, some resort to the burial ground and burn incense before the tombs of their ancestors and apply sandal paste and offer coconuts before the stones. They have only one meal that day in the evening.

Religion.

They worship Siva, generally under the appellation of Bhairèdevaru also known as Bandidevaru, that is the cart god. The chief place of this deity is Sīti Beṭṭa, a hill in the Vémagal hobli of the Kolar Taluk, and there is also a temple in Gudamarlahalli in the Chintamani Taluk. In the latter place, the image of Bhairava is a round shapeless stone partly buried in the ground and a rude country cart is preserved as the one in which the god was originally brought away. The principal temple is surrounded by a number of small temples. In front of the main temple is a smaller one in which a stone is worshipped under the name of Chipārlu (ಚಿಪ್ಪಾರ್ಲು). When the Bandi-dēvaru is worshipped, the goats and sheep sacrificed to it are all deposited near this god. Close to this is a temple dedicated to the spirit of an unmarried girl of the caste called Eru-bayyamma (ಎರುಬಾಯಮ್ಮ) who was shut up in a granary by her brother in a fit of anger and was starved to death. There are also temples dedicated to the spirits of males dying unmarried, under the names of Iragūrlu (ಇರಗುಲ್).

The celebration of the feast of Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು new god) by women is a unique institution of this caste. Some observe this only once a year at Dipavali, while others also celebrate it at the Yugādi. No married woman is allowed to eat of the fruit of any harvest till she has performed this pūja for the year; and after performing it, she is precluded from eating or drinking at the hands of those who have not similarly sanctified themselves. For this it is essential that all the agnate families must join in the common worship, and those who do not for any reason join it are said to divide their Hosadēvaru (ಹೊಸದೇವರು ಭಾಗವಾಡಿಕ್ಕೊಂಡವರು) and cannot afterwards join together in the performance of this or any other common worship, such as Bandidevaru. As such separation is considered rather to be avoided, they generally manage to congregate together on these occasions often at considerable inconvenience. In such celebrations, the elder woman should always have priority over younger members.

As regards the origin of the custom, one account says that this ceremony was originally observed by the Bédas and that they sold the right of celebrating it to the Morasus in exchange for some grain. Another account is that a Kómaṭi after *tapas* in Benares got as a boon a philosopher's stone which converted everything in contact with it into gold. While on his way to his place, he halted in a Morasu Okkalu's house and hanging the bundle of his things from the roof of the house went near a well to cook his food. The rod with which the women were pounding rice happened to touch the stone and became gold. The discovery roused the cupidity of the master of the house, who purloined the miraculous stone and set fire to the house to deceive its owner. The latter could not survive his loss and cast himself into the flames. As his ghost which of course became aware of the fraud, began to molest the family of the thief, they vowed to make pūja to the spirit thenceforth as a new god.

The feast is celebrated in connection with the harvest either of the first crop in the year, (at new year time) or also of the second crop in Kārtika (Dipavali). That was probably its origin and the other stories were invented to account for it after its meaning became obscured.

The ceremony takes place on two days beginning either on a Friday or Saturday. The women fast till the evening and then worship a *kalasa* set up in a room offering balls of meal called *tambittu* (ತಂಬಿಟ್ಟು). This should be made of the flour of rice of the new crop mixed with jaggory. A sweet dish is prepared by cooking rice, milk and jaggory together and kept in the holy vessel (ಕಂಟದತಣಿಗೆ) and offered before the *kalasa* and eaten by all the women together. They have to keep a vigil on that night.

Early in the next morning, the male members in the family go to the fields and sacrifice sheep there, making it stand on a bed of margosa leaves which are scattered over the field and the standing crops, the men shouting out repeatedly *Kó-bali* (ಕೊಬಲಿ), that is, take the sacrifice. The women placing the *kalasa* in the sacred dish (ಕಂಟದತಣಿಗೆ) carry it in state, walking on cloth spread along the way, to a shed erected outside the village under a *Tangadi* plant (cassia auriculata). Three small stones set up therein represent the deity before which the *kalasa* is placed and lights burnt in burners of *tambittu* flour. They cook rice and some

pulse together in a pot called *halumadike* (milk-pot) and make a paste (calling this pallya ಪಲ್ಲೆ) out of some grains of rice, ragi and other cereals taken out of fresh ears. These articles are worshipped by the women with flowers, incense etc. Then the eldest of them keeps the *kalasa*, the light, and the paste in the dish (*kantada tanige*) and carrying it on to her head turns towards the sun and \*bows saying “ಹಳೇದು ಹೋಗಿ ಹೊಸದು ಬಂತು. ಏನು ತಪ್ಪುಮಾಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಬಪ್ಪಿಕೊ! ಬಪ್ಪಿಕೊ! ಹೊಸದೇವರೇ.” (The Old has gone; the New is in. Whatever our faults, condone them, condone them, O new god!) Then she passes the dish on to other women in order of age and they repeat the proceeding. On their return home, they place the sweet flour of the lamps in the milk-pot with plantains mixed and deposit it on a loft. Then all the women sit in a row on a kambli spread in the yard of the house and the eldest of them applies a little of the paste (ಪಲ್ಲೆ) to her forehead and eats a little as prasāda and similarly marks the forehead of other women in order. The confection preserved in the milk pot is then distributed to all participators in the ceremony.

For some days after this these women consider themselves too holy to have any dealings which may expose them to contact with lower castes, like Mādigas and Holeyas.

They worship in all the Hindu temples, including those of village deities and tree spirits. Some are Vaishnavas who get marked with Sankha and Chakra having either Srivaishnava Brahmin or Sātāni priests.

There is a shrine at Vamarāsi near Kolar largely resorted to as a place of pilgrimage by this caste. A man of the Vadda caste who resided in a Morasu Okkaliga village as an ascetic once did great service to them in routing their enemies but he was treacherously attacked and mortally wounded while returning from the fray. His two married sisters who had been living with him also died along with him. According to his deathbed request, the grateful Okkaligas built a temple in his name and deified him. An annual fair is held here for fifteen days at which many cattle are brought for sale.

They have beliefs in omens and other similar superstitions common to such classes. Whenever necessary, they

\* It is reported that in some places when the women make these bows styled *Hosad-vara mokkugalu* (ಹೊಸದೇವರವೊಕ್ಕುಗಳು) they clothe themselves solely in kambli (coarse woollen blankets).

swear on their family gods to attest to their speaking truth in their caste assemblies.

Morasu Okkaligas are a caste rather high in the social scale.

Social  
Status.

They generally employ Brahmins as *paròhīts* and some also respect Lingayet priests or Jangannas to whom they often make presents of rice and other provisions. Those of the Morasus who are *Tirunāmalhāris* call Sātānis to conduct funeral ceremonies, the Brahmins being required only to purify the house by *Puñjika*. They also invite Dāsaiyas for *Manē Sēve* (ಮಣೇ ಸೇವೆ).

Except in extreme cases, such as, joining other lower castes, persons who have lost their caste, may be readmitted after proper *prāyascitta*, which consists of paying a fine imposed by the caste panchayet, giving a dinner, and getting the tongue slightly branded with a piece of gold.

They eat meat, sheep, goats, fish, rabbits and fowls being allowed. Some of them have no objection to pork but the more orthodox practice is to eschew it. They rarely indulge in drink though the practice is not absolutely prohibited. Kurubas and other classes mix with this caste in eating. The women as noticed already, are stricter in observing restrictions against dining with others who have not undergone the ceremonies of offering up the fingers and worshipping the *Hosadēarn*. Such exclusive rules, it may be observed, are now greatly relaxed especially in larger towns.

Food.

They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The youngest son has, it is said, the privilege of selecting his share first at a partition; and in some cases, the eldest son is given a specially extra share as a matter of customary concession. The *illātom* son-in-law is entitled to a share equal to that of his brother-in-law. An unmarried brother gets his marriage expenses in addition to his share of the property. And if there be sisters to be married, some amount is set apart for their marriages and is given to the charge of the person who undertakes to be the guardian of the girls. Female children are not entitled, as a matter of right, to any share, but a destitute and a widowed sister is generally given some share in the ancestral property. In fact, on account of the extreme utility of the working hands, a childless and widowed sister or daughter is brought to her parent's house and very often she becomes the mistress of the family, much to the annoyance of the daughter-in-law.

Inheritance

**Occupation.** Agriculture is the pursuit of the great bulk of this important caste, though a few have taken to other walks of life such as building contracts, money lending and Government service. They have houses built to suit their needs as agriculturists, having accommodation for cattle generally in the main building and with granaries and backyards attached. The seed grain is preserved in packages known as *mūḍe* (ಮೂಡೆ) neatly made of twisted straw. Ragi is generally preserved in dry pits known as *hogēvu* (ಹೋವು) in Kannada and *pātra* (పాత్ర) in Telugu which are excavated either in their own yards or in a common village site. The grain keeps well for years in such pits.\*

**Tribal  
constitution.**

The Morasu Okkaligas have a well defined caste organisation. The whole caste is divided into separate groups known as *Kaṭṭémaṇes* (కట్టేమణి వ.నెగళు) each of them being presided over by a headman called Yajaman or *Gauḍa*. Several *kaṭṭémaṇes* form a *Nāḍu*, meaning a division of the country, and at the head of each *Nāḍu* is *Gauḍa* called *Nāḍu Gauḍa*. Several such *Nāḍus* form a *Désa* or country presided over by a *Désayi Gauḍa* or *Bhūmi Gauḍa*. There are two such *Désayi* or *Bhūmi Gauḍas*, one at the head of the Telugu Section and the other at the head of the Kannada Section, the head-quarters of the latter being Muduvāḍe in the Kolar Taluk.

The tribal disputes are, in the first instance, enquired into and settled by the *Kaṭṭémaṇe Yajaman*, but when the latter finds them to be of a serious nature, he refers them to the *Nāḍu Gauḍa*. The *Désayi Gauḍa* or the *Bhūmi Gauḍa* has the final appellate authority. Sometimes the representatives of the latter who are either their agnates or agents decide the important questions submitted to their decision. These offices are hereditary and descend in the male line.

On all the important occasions, such as, marriage, funerals, the presence of either headman of the caste or his representative is necessary. During marriages, he acts as the master of the ceremonies and conducts them according to prescribed form. They have not a separate man to act as the beadle or servant of the caste. Whenever there is necessity for such a person they appoint one from among them to do the functions. They have *Halēmagas* (Morasu Holeyas) who carry information regarding the caste meet-

\* For a more detailed account of agricultural matters, see notes appended

ings, etc. As remuneration for their trouble the caste heads are always given extra *tumbulas* and some presents. The Halémaga also gets his reward, either in money or in kind and some cloth.

The Morasu Okkaligas are a thrifty, sober caste and Miscellaneous form an important and rising class. There is nothing peculiar in their dress, nor are there any games peculiar to the caste. Their women are hardy and help men in the out-door work. They get tattooed from the ages of ten to twenty-five and blacken their teeth after the birth of a child.

## APPENDIX A.

## Note 1.

## AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

The ploughs have iron shares (ಕುಳಿ in Kannada, కుళి in Telugu) fixed on logs of Jáli or Babool wood, through a ring imbedded in the end. Those used for dry lands are about 2 or 2½ feet in length and for wet lands about a foot and a half. The pole is inserted through a hole in the thicker end of the log, and the yoke is tied to it with a rope made of either raw hide or cocoanut or aloe fibre called a *mini* (ಮಿನಿ). The knot is sometimes tightened with a wooden tourniquet called *kou-gúni* (ಕೊಂಗಾಣಿ). To steady the plough and to press it in its passage, an upright stick with a handle is fixed to the end of the long pole after it passes through the head of the plough. This is called *médi* (ಮೇಡಿ).

To remove the weeds and grass uprooted in ploughing, a harrow (ಹಲಿವೇಮರ) is drawn over the fields tied to the yoke with a pair of bamboo poles brought together at its centre. The harrow is a log about five feet in length furnished with twelve teeth of strong wood or iron and is of course drawn crosswise over the ground. The heaps of refuse collected together are burnt in the field. The same log with the teeth turned upwards is drawn over the field to level it, a man standing on the log to add weight to it.

When ragi or other small grain is to be sown, they use a seed drill called *kúriga* (ಕೂರಿಗ) in Kannada and *gorru* (గొర్రు) in Telugu. This is similar to the harrow in appearance, but twelve hollow reeds, each about three feet in length, are fixed to it and they are all inserted into a cup at the top in which the seed grain is placed. As the log is drawn over the ground, the seed cup is replenished by a man who walks behind it. To sow lines of pulses such as *avare* or *logari* (ballar or pigeon-pea) another seed drill with a single reed is tacked on to the larger seed drill. The work of putting in the seed with these instruments requires considerable skill.

When the crop is six or seven inches high an instrument called *kante* (ಕಾಂತೆ), a hoe with three or four teeth, is passed over it once or twice to thin out the crop and to stir the soil near the roots of the seedlings.

When a wet field is ploughed in puddle a log of wood (kan. *mara* ಮರ, Tel. *mānu* మాను) is drawn crosswise over it to level the miry soil.

Among the other implements of husbandry in common use may be named the *mamaly* (ಮನಿಕೆ or చిప్పకొట్టలి), the pick-axe (ಕೋಲುಗುದ್ದಲಿ) and the sickle ಕುಪುಗೋಲು). In addition, they have a special hoe, with four teeth to stir up the manure in the manure pits. Most of the raiyats own all these implements, which are not expensive. They are crude in appearance, but seem to be effective for the simple methods of husbandry practised. Generally there is a smith and a carpenter in most villages who can make and mend them whenever needed. The seed drill (kúriga) is the only complicated instrument beyond the reach of the poorer raiyats, but it is usually borrowed from some kindly disposed neighbour.

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## Note 2.

### PERIODS OF RAINS.

The whole year is, according to the raiyat's calendar, divided into twenty-seven parts named after as many Nakshatras or heavenly bodies. These divisions are known popularly as *mala* (ಮಳೆ) in Kannada and *kārti* (కార్తి) or *ēda* (ఎడ) in Telugu, each meaning rain. Each rain is again divided into four quarters styled *pādas* (పాదಗಳು) or feet. These 27 *kārtis* or rains are again parcelled out into two groups called *mungāra* (ముంగారు) or early rains and *hingāra* (హింగారు) or later rains. The former begin with the Révati rain (April) and end with Mrigasira rain (about June). If the *mungāra* rains fall regularly, the agricultural prospects are very good, as most of the chief crops are then sown. From Púrvāshāḍha to Uttarābhādra (December to February), the rains are said to be in incubation (గర్భ) and it should be cloudy then but should not rain. If it does, it is believed to be an abortion, which is sure to bring on a failure of the later rains.

Each Nakshatra period of the rains lasts, roughly speaking, two weeks and nearly corresponds to the periods named against them according to the English calendar. Révati and Asvini cover the whole month of April; Bhāraṇi and Kṛittika last up to about the end of May; Rōhini and Mārgasira till the third week of June, when Aridra



begins. The latter and the following two rains, *viz.*, Punarvasu and Pushyami, extend up to about the first week of August. Aslêsha and the succeeding three rains Magha, Pubba and Uttara, cover the rain period till about the end of September. Hasta, Chitta and Svati fall in the following five weeks ending with the first week of November, the other three weeks of November and the whole of December being taken up by the rains Visàkha, Anúrâdha, Jyêshtha and Mûla. The incubation period commences about the beginning of January and lasts till the end of March.

The knowledge and the beliefs of raiyats about the relations of these periods to agricultural operations are embodied in various short sayings and proverbs. It will be convenient to begin with Révati, which is the last of the Nakshatras, as rains generally commence then. The rain falling under this Nakshatra is not of any use, and is rather prejudicial to the threshing of ragi, as the grain will not get clean.

Asvini is said to be harmful to the fruit of arecanuts and cocoanuts, and if paddy is irrigated from tanks filling in this rain, the crop, it is believed, will be diseased and will yield a poor return. Asvini destroys everything (ಸರ್ವಂ ನಶ್ಯಂತಿ ಅಶ್ವಿನೀ).

During Bharani, ploughing operations are begun, and in some places, minor crops such as navane, hâkaka (millet) or gingelly are sown in the fields so that another crop may be taken after these are harvested.\* It is believed that seeds put in this rain are immune from attacks of disease, and yield a good crop. Earth prospers if Bharani rains (ಭರಣಿ ಮಳೆಬಿದ್ದರೆ ಧರಣಿಜಳಿಯುತ್ತೆ).

If rains do not fall till Krittike, people will suffer want (ಕೃತ್ತಿಗೆವರೆಗೂ ಮಳೆ ಬರದಿದ್ದರೆ ಜನರ ಬಾಯಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೃತ್ತಿಕೆ).

During Rôhini fields are ploughed and kept ready, but the seed should by no means be put in, for the yield will be scanty, (ಸಿಂಹಿವಾಸು ಮಡೆವಟು ನಟ್ಟಿತ್ರೆ ಸಿಂಹಿವಟುಮಾಡ್ವಾ ಕೂಕು). If sown in Rôhini, there will not be even one mortarful of paddy).

In Mrigasira, popularly known as *minchini* (ಮಂಚಿನಿ) in Telugu, ground is prepared and minor crops raised.

Aridra is said to be good for sowing all kinds of grain. If the rain begins in the night time, it is a good

\* The best lands are never sown with any grain in this rain. Such lands are prepared and reserved for important crops, such as ragi.

sign, but crops do not thrive if it begins during the day. If there is thunder in the first three quarters (pádas) and none in the fourth, the rains during the following six nakshatra periods will suffer. If the reverse is the case, it is a good sign for the following rains. Thunder, breaking in the fourth quarter, will nullify the evil effect of thunder in the first three quarters. (ఆంధ్రవ.గృడుగదరే ఆరుమళ బరువుదిల్లి. If the Aridra rain thunders, six following rains will not fall). On the whole the rains under this sign are greatly appreciated, as contributing to a plentiful harvest (ఆంధ్ర అన్న ఇడుత్తు).

Punarvasu and Pushyami, styled popularly Chinna Púsi and Pedda Púsi (చిన్నపూసి, పెద్దపూసి) in Telugu and Chik-kavúsi and Doddavúsi (చిక్కపూసి, దొడ్డపూసి) in Kannada, are also regarded as timely for sowing ragi and other dry crops.

In Aslêsha, popularly known as Asale (అసలే) seeds may be sown, but the crop is uncertain owing to lateness of the season. Crops then sown are said to be liable to insect pests.

Magha is considered a fitful rain, raining either very hard, or failing altogether (ఒండర మగ బందిదర హా), Magha if it comes, an enemy if it fails).

During Pubba or Hubbe if winds are high, it is said that paddy crop turns red and deteriorates. If there should be excessive rain, the standing crops suffer. The skies are often overcast, but the rain is generally scanty. Even a sparrow's wings, it is said, will not get moist from showers of this period. (పుట్టిమళ లబ్బుబ్బు కాయకం గుట్టి పుట్టి నేనెయదు). They do not sow anything in this period as it will not yield any crop. (పొట్టివంశం పుట్టి నే నేదేగానికలకం, పొట్టి వంశం అడ్డంకం పుట్టి నేనెయదు). It is better to sow a seer in Hasta than a hundred seers in Pubba.

The rains in Uttara and Hasta rarely fail, and the raiyats have great faith in their regularity. They are regarded as having given a solemn promise to the raiyat to save his crop. If Uttara rain fails, a raiyat should be ready to flee with his goods in a basket. (పుట్టిమళ విన్నపం నేనెయదు). If Hasta fails even a mother will be unable (unwilling) to give food (హస్తమళ మయ్యుదిదరే దేత్త తాయీయూ అన్న ఇడళా). If there are winds in Hasta, it is said to be a bad sign, for if the leaves shake in Hasta, not a drop will fall in Chitta (హస్తవంశం ఆపం అడ్డంకం పుట్టి వంశం చిన్నవంశం).)

Chitta is considered to be fitful, and the rain falls without any method in distribution. It is characterised as being blind, and it is even said that it rains chiefly during the

day, as at night it is afraid of breaking its neck by falling in a pit. If this rain follows that of Hasta without a break, it is believed that the rains will be copious. If both these rains fail, it spells ruin for the raiyats, who then become as destitute as non-cultivators. హస్తా చిన్న పోతే అందరూ ఒకటే.) in Telugu and (ಹಸ್ತಾ ಚಿತ್ತಾ ಹೊದರೆ ನಾವುನಾಲ್ಕರಂತೆ, in Kannada.

In Svāti, the downpour is generally continuous. Grass grows plentifully and this is believed to be the rain which conduces to the ears of corn filling properly with juice. If this rain falls properly, you may look for ears of corn even under a washerman's slab (ಸ್ವಾತಿవాన ಹುಟ್ಟె చాಕలవానిಬండకి గాయున్నె). It rains devils in Svāti (ಸ್ವಾತಿవట్టి పే శనిపట్టివట్టె), and one will not be allowed respite even to answer calls of nature (ಸ್ವಾತಿನాಳ చೀತే ನందರೂ ಬಿಡದು). Lightning is a sign of heavy rain in Svāti and even the sea trembles to see lightning with Svāti rain, (ಸ್ವಾತಿవాననుంచు పే సముద్రముತ್ತಲ್ಲ డెందును).

The water afforded by Visákha (corrupted into *Isáki* ಇಸಾಕಿ) rain is believed to bring health; and this is the last of the copious rains, as clouds are scanty thereafter:--

విశాఖాంతానిమోఘాని  
 వృషభతంతంతు యవ్యం |  
 లలితాంబాని గీతాని  
 తస్యంతం భోజనంతథా ||

Anúrādha (corrupted into *Anúragi*—అనోరూగి) ripens the crops before harvest, and if it falls the raiyat's anxiety is at an end (అనోరూగిబిడ్డరే మనోరూగిగో జోల మీతు) and his ragi (crop) becomes his own (అనోరూగిమనగ బందరే నమ్మరాగి నమగబంతు).

The rains of Jéshthā and Múla come in low drizzle and create a dirty murky weather (జేష్ఠ మూల హిదర బష్మల ముట్టి ద ముగ్గె). It is harmful to the pulses, *arare* and *togari*, as insects multiply after this rain and flowers are destroyed.

With them the rainy season practically closes, about the time of Dipavali feast, for you cannot discover any rain after Dipavali even searching with a light దీపావళి పోయినవాకుట దీపము వెట్టి వెదికినా వానలేదు), and it is as vain to cry for rain after Dipavali is gone, as to hope for good treatment as son-in-law in a deceased wife's parent's house (అలా నచ్చినప్పటికీ అల్లరికావలెనని డిచ్చు దీపావళి వెట్లినప్పుడు నవానికియే డిచ్చేరెందు ఒకటే.)

They have so much faith in the appropriateness of particular seasons for particular crops, that it is rare to see any raiyat trying experiments with sowing after the proper season for particular crop is past. Some later crop or

some minor crop may be put in as an alternative to letting the field lie fallow altogether.

The agricultural seasons are roughly divided into two parts styled locally as Vaisákha (వైశాఖ) and Kártika (కార్తిక). As the ploughing operations are begun with the first rains, the agricultural year begins practically with the Telugu New year, (Yugādi—యూగాది). On a certain day in the first week after Yugādi all the raiyats in the village congregate in the *Chavadi* or a temple, when the Astrologer after offering *pūja* to a copy of the new calendar, expounds to them the prospects of the new year. Margosa leaves with jaggery powder, to convey the idea of the sweet and the bitter being linked together in life, are presented as *prasāda* to the audience to swallow.

He tells them which of the rains may be expected to fall regularly, the state of the winds and the sunshine, the names of grains likely to thrive well, and which epidemic and other diseases are threatening to break out. Then each man consults the astrologer as to his individual prospects, which are determined either by the star indicated by the first letter of his name or, if he keeps a horoscope, the star under which he was born. When all this is over, the head of the village, generally the patel, consults him about the auspicious day for beginning the agricultural operations, the name of the person who may lead the first plough, and the colour of the bullock to be yoked to it, the direction with reference to the village in which ploughing has to be begun, and such other important particulars. The astrologer finds appropriate answers for all these queries from calculation, and is rewarded with presents of grain and sometimes money and new cloths.

On the day fixed, the person who has to begin the ploughing operations in the village, goes to the temple with the village elders. The *pūjari* worships the god and sprinkles holy water on the man and his bulls and plough, a sheep being sometimes sacrificed. The man begins to plough and is followed by others with other ploughs. They pass the ploughs over all the lands in the village, and then enjoy a common feast styled that of Honnéru (హన్నేరు) or the golden plough.

Each family also begins ploughing with a *pūja*, and at the time of first sowing they hold a *pūja* of the sowing implements called Kúrige-pūje.

When crops are standing, Sidi-dévaru (ಸಿದಿಡೇವರು) is worshipped to avert insect pests. When they are two or three inches high, each raiyat in one of his fields builds a small shed out of green leaves and sets up seven small stones in it in a row with another small stone in front to represent Munisvára. All the important members of the family, with the young boys, go there and offer on two plantain leaves cooked rice and curds with some condiments. A fowl is then killed and its blood is mixed with the food in one of the leaves, and is scattered over all the fields belonging to the family. The rice on the other leaf is eaten up by the boys and the remains of the fowl are taken home to be cooked and eaten by all the inmates.

All the raiyats in a village join together and enjoy the picnic of Hasté Pongalu during the Hasta rains. Small branches of *Ankolé* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*—ಅಂಕೋಲೆ), are brought in large quantities and stuck in the fields in different places. Figures of the several agricultural implements are drawn with the ashes of the potter's kiln, on the boundaries of the fields, in the paths and at the entrance of the village. A goat or sheep is sacrificed near the figure drawn at the village entrance and offerings of rice and milk cooked together called *Pongili* (ಪಾಂಜಿಲಿ) are made to it. The blood of the sacrificed animal is mixed with margosa leaves and is scattered over all the fields in the village. The head of the sacrificed animal is given away to the village *Tóti* (ತೋಟ) and the body is divided among all the raiyats.

No other ceremony is observed till the time of reaping, if the crop grows well in the normal condition. At the time of mowing the crop Kudugólu Dévaru\* (ಕುಡುಗೋಲುಡೇವರು the Sickie God's púja) is done. A handful of crop is cut and placed in the central part of the field, near five small stones set up there. The sickles of all the reapers are collected and deposited in a row in front of these stones. They are then worshipped in the usual way, with burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then ears of this handful of crop are then cut and safely preserved at home and the grain out of them is mixed with the seed grain of next year.

Before the crop is removed in carts, or in head loads, from the field to the threshing floor, a cocoanut is broken.

\* This practice of making puja to the instruments of one's calling is almost universal. Even a grass cutter woman is often seen to bow before her scythe or hoe before beginning to cut or dig grass.

The crop thus transported is stacked into a heap and allowed to remain in that state for three or four months.

The threshing of the crop begins generally in the month of *Māgha* and continues till the close of the next month. When the threshing is done and the grain is heaped together, a *Pillāri*\* (ಪಿಲ್ಲಾರಿ) that is, a cone made of cow-dung, is installed with an ear of corn stuck into it at the top. Water is sprinkled on the grain heap and the threshing floor and the grain heap with the *Pillāri* is worshipped, incense being burnt and a coconut offered. The winnowing of the grain is done after this by a man standing on a stool about four feet high and pouring down the grain from a bamboo winnow, slowly so as to let the chaff be carried away by the wind, the heavy grain falling in a heap below. It is considered essential that when this process is going on, they should preserve silence all round.†

It is the universal custom that before measuring the grain, a small quantity, if only a handful even, is set apart for charity. This is styled *Dēvara Kolaga* (ದೇವರ ಕೊಳಗ i. e., God's measure) and is distributed to a *Pūjari* or a Brahmin or to a *Dāsaiyya* or *Jangamayya* or to beggars generally.

### Note 3.

#### CROP DISEASES.

There are certain crop diseases for which the rayats apply different nostrums, some savouring of superstition, while others have more or less a remedial value.

The recognised diseases of the paddy are *Saruga Jādya* (ಸರೂಗಜಾಡ್ಯ), *Bāsara Vyāthi* (ಬಾಸರವ್ಯಾಧಿ) and *Kembatti Rōga* (ಕೆಂಬತ್ತಿರೋಗ). The *Kārtika* or the earlier crop of paddy is liable to attacks of the first disease in which the leaves turn reddish and wither away after the fall of the Pubba rain. The excreta of bats found in caves and ruined temples is mixed with the ashes of the potter's kiln and lime, and dusted over the whole field affected, and a sheep or goat is

\* *Pillāri* means a small image, and is a cone made of cow-dung or rice paste or earth, with blades of green grass stuck on the top. It is generally taken as representing *Gaṇēsa*.

† Perhaps a relic of troublesome times when the rayet wished to gather in his grains as quietly as possible, without drawing the attention of robbers or others who habitually preyed on him. Or was it meant to keep off evil spirits?

sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the standing crop. When the heads of the stalks become knotted together, urine of cattle is sprinkled over them. Búsara Vyādhī is caused by the attacks of insects about the time ears shoot forth, by which the sap is drained and the leaves turn white and drop away, leaving the stalk bare. There is no remedy known for this pest. Kembatti Rōga known in Telugu as *Pandi-Rōgamu* (పందిరోగము) is nicknamed in Telugu as *Bāpini Rōgamu* (బాపినిరోగము) or the Brahmin disease, on account of the leaves all turning red when it attacks the crop. A pig is killed near the field and its blood is mixed with margosa leaves and thrown on the standing crop. Sometimes a crow pheasant (సంహారకాకి) is substituted for the pig.

Ragi crop is also subject to various diseases. The plant suddenly begins to dry up when the crop is about an inch high. The disease is styled *Ern Dūdara* (ఎర్రదూదార) and the farmer makes pūja to a deity called *Dūdara* deity (దూదరదేవత). Small branches of *ankōlō* plant (*Alangium hexapetalum*) are stuck in the several parts of the field and a fowl or sheep is sacrificed.

A similar but less injurious disease attacks the crop when about three inches high and is called *Nārupiku Dūdara* (నారూపికుదూదర). The leaves wither and fall off, but the stems are unaffected. The farmer performs *Dūdara Dēcade* as in the case of the other disease and also sprinkles the ashes of the potter's kiln on the field.

*Aggi-Dūdara* (అగ్గిదూదర) in Telugu and *Benkidūdara* (బెంకిదూదర) in kannada, is a more serious disease and injures crop considerably. The plants attacked wither away and do not survive. To prevent the spread of the disease, incense is burnt and a cocoanut is broken and its water sprinkled on the crop. When this disease is observed to occur after a drought, the raiyats take it as a sign of impending rain. Caterpillars (కంబ్బిడులు) multiply very fast in fields attacked with this disease and eat up the pulses *Avare* and *Togari*, sown in the ragi fields. It is supposed to be a remedy to render pūja to these insects to ward off their attack. Two or three of them are caught, turmeric and *kunkuma* powders are put on them, and a cotton thread coloured with saffron is tied to each and after prayers to them not to molest the crop, they are taken to the village boundary and let off, probably with a benevolent wish that they may bestow their favours elsewhere.

*Káluyāḍḍi* (ಕಾಳುವಾಡು) attacks the crop when it is ripe for being cut. Insects eat away the stocks just at the ear heads which consequently fall off. There is no known remedy for this pest.

If there is too much rain when the ears are coming out, they all rot and turn jet and no grain is formed in them. No remedy is known for this either.

*Acare* and *Togari* pulses which are sown in lines in a ragi field are allowed to stand after the ragi is harvested as they ripen about two months later. They are liable to be attacked by insects called *Sidi* (ಸಿಡಿ) which eat up the seeds in the pods. The remedy is to burn a quantity of bones heaped up in a place when wind is blowing so that the smoke may envelope the plants and poison the insects.

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#### Note 4.

#### CATTLE DISEASES.

The importance of cattle to the agricultural people of the country cannot be overestimated. Cattle diseases cause enormous loss to the raiyats; and their want of knowledge and inability to administer timely remedies when epidemics occur cripple their resources year by year. There are, however, certain empirics in most places, who in addition to superstitious practices, know some remedies which are often very efficacious. Sometimes the cures effected by the employment of simple herbs available at their very doors are said to be little short of miraculous. But it is difficult to make these men impart their knowledge to others, as they believe that if their secret is shared with others its efficacy would disappear.

The most serious of the recognised cattle diseases is known as *Dodda Rōga* or *Dodḍamma* (great disease) i. e., Rinderpest. It corresponds to cholera for men and carries off a large number of cattle. Ragi gruel is given to sustain the strength of the animal and the mouth and the nostrils from which there is a large flow of mucus are often washed. They also segregate affected animals from the healthy ones more or less completely. Pills made of the roots of the Jambu weed (*paincum interruptum*) and jaggery are administered.

The juice of the tender shoots of the creepers known as *Ugani-balli* (ಉಗನಿ ಬಳ್ಳಿ) in Kannada, and *Tindra-balli*



in Telugu, a shrubby creeper (*cocculus cordifolius*), is given. Plantains of the variety known as *rasa-bile*, camphor and ghee mixed together are sometimes given as a medicine.

When the village is visited with this epidemic, the God of the village is worshipped. An image of Maramma is made and worshipped by the washerman in the village square. Then it is taken in state to the boundary and left there with its face towards the next village.

The disease of the eye (శంఖజాడ్య) is also contagious and the infected animals are segregated. There is water flowing from the eyes and the animal becomes listless and gives up feeding and chewing the cud. It is not a common disease, but when it occurs it is not easy to get rid of it. The treatment resorted to is branding on the back about eighteen inches across in two places. The animal is also branded often under the tail, the neck and on the chest. The juice of the green leaves of the lemon (*citrus limonium* — తరళ), gingelly oil, country arrack asafetida, pepper, garlic and mustard are all ground together, and about a hornful of the mixture is given to the animal.

Inflammatory fever or black quarters, known as Chappé Jādya (చప్పేజాడ్య) is a contagious disease generally proving fatal from a few hours to two or three days. The animal ceases to feed and to ruminate; swellings may appear on any part of the body and the parts so affected are hot to the touch. There is practically no remedy known to the raiyat, except branding on the affected parts. Sometimes a mixture of plantain flowers (బాళామలిన కుసుమే) cummin seed (జీరణి) onions (నిలకొండ్లు) and butter-milk (మజ్జిగ) ground together is given. The worship of a Goddess styled Chappalamma (చప్పలమ్మ), Goddess of Chappé disease, is observed, sheep and goats being killed to propitiate the deity.

There are certain preventive measures adopted to protect the healthy cattle when an epidemic of this disease is threatened. They are branded with a red hot iron rod on the right shoulder and on the left thigh. Milk or juice of calatropis gigantea (ఎక్కడచాలు), Gêru (గేరు semi carpeus anacardium), kernel of the castor seed (కరళాపూపు), kâdêkârâ (కాడేకార, a drug), a drug Chitramûla (చిత్రమూల) and plumbago zeylanica (నెలగొంది) are well ground together in the curds of a buffalo and mixed with castor oil. The paste is put on the thighs and the shoulders of the healthy animals. Slight blisters appear on these spots; and

it is believed that the animals suffer from a slight attack of the disease and then recover. This inoculation is said to render them immune from this particular disease.

The foot and mouth disease is known as ಕಾಲ ಜ್ವರ, ಬಾಯಿ ಜ್ವರ, ಗಾಳಿ ಸೆಬೆ, or ಗಾಳಿಯಮ್ಮ. It is a contagious disease but is not generally fatal. It spreads over large areas in the hot season and hampers agricultural operations seriously. Saliva flows from the mouth and ulcers are formed between the hoofs. The animal lifts and shakes the legs frequently ; if the sores are neglected, they breed maggots. The animal is fed on nutritious food such as conjee made of ragi flour. The feet and the mouth are washed twice every day, morning and evening, and sometimes the animal is made to stand in mire. If there are maggots, tar or camphor mixed with the oil of *Pongamia glabra* (ಹೊಂಗೆ) or margosa seeds (ಬೇವಿನ ಎಣ್ಣೆ) is applied to the ulcers. Sometimes the feet and the mouth of healthy cattle are washed with water in which fish have been washed and the same water is sprinkled over the surface of the cattle yard.

The worship of the stone marking the boundary of the village site, known as *Goddu rāgi* (ಗೊಡ್ಡುರಾಗಿ) a barren-stone in Telugu, or *Kāru kallu* (ಕಾರುಕಲ್ಲು) in Kannada, is considered to be efficacious in warding off the disease. They first make vows to this deity, and all the inhabitants of the village join in the worship. One hundred and one pots of water are poured on it and saffron and *kunkuma* powders are applied and small branches of margosa leaves tied to it. Sheep and goats are killed near the stone and all the cattle in the village are made to walk through the mire and are brought near this stone, where the *pūjari* sprinkles water over them and applies turmeric and *kunkuma* to their foreheads. This is believed not only to cure the disease already broken out but to prevent an impending outbreak. It is supposed to prevent the spread of the disease to the uninfectd houses, if the inmates of the latter make an offering of food consisting of cooked rice, curds and milk mixed together with an onion (styled ಚಲ್ಲಪ್ಪ in Telugu), at the spot where the cattle are tethered, and sacrifice a fowl and sprinkle the blood on the cattle.

Naradī or Sukhanaradī (ನರಡಿ, ಸುಖನರಡಿ Splenic Apoplexy) attacks cattle apparently in good health. If proper care is not taken soon, they succumb to the disease. The animal

ceases to feed or chew the cud. Laboured respiration, staggering gait, flow of saliva and mucus from the mouth are among the symptoms of the disease. The fæces and urine are coloured red with blood. The most popular remedy is branding on or about the region of the spleen. The internal medicines are dry chillies ground to fine powder and mixed with butter milk or the leaves of *wrightia tinctoria* or ivory wood (పొరకాటిశూపు), pepper and garlic ground together and mixed with butter-milk.

The symptoms of the disease known as Musara-jādya (ముసర జాడ్యము in Telugu) are dullness, going off feed and twitches of the muscles. The most efficacious remedies are said to be the following. A quantity of the bark of the Muttaga tree (*Butea Frondosa*) is beaten into pulp and immersed in water, and about six seers of the infusion are given as a drink. The leaves of the plants *Adusōge*, *Adratoda Vasica* (అడుసోగే), (అడ్రాటోదా పాసిక in Telugu), tender leaves of *Nallarávili* (నల్లరావీలి), *Nelagorimid* (నేలగొరిమిడి) and *Mucanelli* (ముకనెల్లి) and some garlic are ground into a paste and a powder of mustard, pepper, cloves, piper longum (పిప్పలి), నోడి (greater galangal) దంపరాస్త్రీ and the leaves of *Azima tetraantha*, (అజిమిప్పయిలీ) is mixed with that paste. Pills of the size of a gooseberry are made of this and one or two administered for two or three days. This remedy is applied for many diseases, especially those which cannot be properly diagnosed. Sometimes as soon as this disease attacks the animal, fæces of human beings are mixed in water and two or three hornfuls given to it.

Ubbasa-jādya (అబ్బాసజాడ్య) is brought on by exposure or by eating cooling substances. The disease proves fatal if it is not discovered in early stages and treated. The second remedy noted for the previous disease is also used for this disease. As an alternative the water in which washerman boils clothes with fuller's earth is given to the animal.

Dommé Jādya (దొమ్మే జాడ్య) Pleuro pneumonia) is also known as Sogadommu (సోగాదొమ్మ) or Sukhadommu, సుఖదొమ్మ in Telugu. It is a dangerous malady unless attended to in the early stages, but it is said not to be contagious. It is believed to arise from the abnormal swelling of something near the spleen (which they call బురుగుదొమ్మ) which finally chokes up the passage in the throat. The lungs get affected

and the animal coughs, and ceases to feed and ruminate. The remedies used are the oil or the juice of the bark of *Honge* (ಹೊಂಗೆ *Pongamia glabra*), or the juice of the leaves of *Addasarapaku* (ಅಡ್ಡಸರಪಾಕು) and *Muranelli* (ಮುರನಲ್ಲಿ) crushed together, and mixed with the oil of *Pongamia*, one or two hornfuls given internally, and branding on the body.

Dysentery, variously known as *Rakta katṭu*, *Rakta bhēdi* or *Kaṭṭurōga* (ರಕ್ತ ಕಟ್ಟು, ರಕ್ತ ಭೇದಿ, ಕಟ್ಟುರೋಗ) is generally preceded by simple diarrhoea which is brought on by the cattle grazing on immature green fodder after the rains. The medicines used are pumpkin and rice boiled together; or the cellular sponge-like substances found in the ant hills (ಹುತ್ತದಲ್ಲೆರುವ ಕೂಗು) mixed and ground together in water; or the juice of the leaves of a creeper called *si-londe* one hornful, followed by another hornful of milk with fine powder of haematite known as *kīvi* stone (ಕಾವಿ ಕಲ್ಲು).

Simple catarrh is known as *Kundu*, *Sela*, *Paḍiseṃu* or *Negadi* (ಕುಂಡು, ಸೆಲ, ಪಡಿಸೆಮು, ನೆಗಡಿ) and the symptoms are cough and thirst. Its cure is generally left to nature. The remedies sometimes used are unboiled milk, assafoetida, the ear heads of the grass out of which broom sticks are made, and mustard ground together; or the juice of the leaves of a small herb styled *ಪಡ್ಡಾ* in Telugu, mixed with goat's milk and assafoetida and given three days; or branding. Two women of the same name throw ashes on the back of the affected animal by means of a winnow. This is popularly known as *Kundu kēruvudu* (ಕುಂಡು ಕೇರುವುದು).

When this disease occurs in an aggravated form it is said to turn into *Sale* (ಸಲೆ). The animal is branded in addition to being given the above medicines.

Choking (ಎದುರು ಕುತ್ತಿಗೆ in Kannada and అంకటి నాళం in Telugu) may sometimes happen by the sticking of a foreign substance in the throat, which the animal makes a constant effort to bring out by coughing. The obstructing substance can, often, be felt by passing the hand gently on the animal's neck. It is removed mechanically either with the hand by a dexterous person or by inserting a cap of the citron fruit with a cord attached beyond the obstructing substance and dragging it out. Ragi conjee is then given and the part fomented with tamarind leaves and heated salt to soothe the irritation. If there is any wound, the blood of a cock is first given to the animal and a hornful of the mixture made of the juice of radish (ಮೂಲಂಗಿ) and lard (ಹಂದಿ ತುಪ್ಪ) is given as a drink.

When the glands in the throat or the epiglottis swell, the air-passages may be choked and the animal die of suffocation. This disease is known as Gudlupenjari (గుడ్డుపెంజరి) in Telugu. There are experts who break the swelling mechanically ; and the animal is fed on ragi congee and other soothing and nourishing food till the sore is healed.

The disease known as Námu (నాము) is caused by the animal eating the tender shoots of Jôla (great millet, *sorghum vulgare*) grass grown on the stubble left after a harvest. It is said to be due to an insect known popularly as Námu hula (నాముహుళ); it is perhaps due to some poisonous acid (Hydrocyanic?) which is found in this grass. The animal shivers, does not eat or ruminate and falls on the ground beating the legs violently. The juice of the leaves of the wild castor plant (పొత్తరళు Jatropha curcas) one or two hornfuls, are given mixed with water. This medicine is commonly known and is very effective.

Ura Jádya (అరజాద్య) attacks calves, when all the hair on the skin falls off. As a remedy one of the teeth of the calf known as Gajjihallu or Itchy tooth, is pulled out and the calf gets all right. It is believed that this occurs when any salt is mixed with butter-milk of the calf's dame before the calf begins to chew the grass.

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## APPENDIX B.

*List of Exogamous divisions.*

- Achyuta (ಅಚ್ಯುತ) — People of this division do not cultivate saffron.
- Alada (ಅಲದ) — Banyan tree.
- Anó (ಅನ) — Elephant.
- Ardharané (ಅರ್ಧರಾಣ).  
 5 Báci (ಬಾಚಿ) — A kind of tree.  
 Bádalú (ಬಾದಲು) — A kind of grass.  
 Bále (ಬಾಳೆ) — Plantain.  
 Bangi (ಬಂಗಿ) — Ganja.  
 Bélada (ಬೇಲದ) — Woodapple tree.
- 10 Belli (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ) — Silver.  
 Billándla (ಬಿಲ್ಲಾಂಡ್ಲ) — A kind of tree.  
 Bollikódi (ಬೊಲ್ಲಿಕೊಡಿ) — A bird, found in hedges, of black colour with white face.  
 Búsi (ಬೂಸಿ) —  
 Chalindala (ಚಲಿಂದಲ) — A cistern for water erected in the roads for the use of travellers.
- 15 Chanchali (ಚಂಚಲಿ) — A kitchen herb.  
 Chikkandu (ಚಿಕ್ಕಂದ) — A vegetable plant.  
 Dálimbe (ದಾಳಿಂಬೆ) — Pomegranate.  
 Dévagannéru (ದೇವಗನ್ನೇರು) — A kind of flower bearing tree.  
 Gejje (ಗೆಜ್ಜೆ) — Small bells.
- 20 Géndára (ಗೆಂಡಾರ) — A kind of fish.  
 Ginpu (ಗಿಣ್ಣು) — Milk of a buffalo or a cow which has lately calved.  
 Gókérta (ಗೋಕೇರ) —  
 Gókula (ಗೋಕುಲ) —  
 Gongadi (ಗೊಂದಿ) — A blanket turned into a cloak.
- 25 Góranṭi (ಗೋರಂಟಿ) — Barlaria,

- Guliganji (ಗುಲಗಂಜಿ)—The wild liquorice.  
 Hálu (ಹಾಲು)—A herb.  
 Heggana (ಹೆಗ್ಗಣ)—A bandicoot.  
 Hippé (ಹಿಪ್ಪೆ)—A tree *Basia latifolia*.  
 30 Hutta (ಹುತ್ತ)—Anthill.  
 Ichalu (ಈಚಲು)—Date tree.  
 Iriséllu (ಇರಿಸೆಲ್ಲು)—A wooden spoon.  
 Kabbádi (ಕಬ್ಬಾಡಿ)—  
 Kaḍaba (ಕಡಬ)—A species of deer.  
 35 Kaggali (ಕಗ್ಗಲಿ)—A tree.  
 Kalindala (ಕಲಿಂದಲ)—They do not cut milk hedge plant.  
 Kalivi (ಕಲಿವಿ)—A kind of tree.  
 Kanne (ಕನ್ನೆ)—A kitchen herb.  
 Kánaga (ಕಾನಗ) — *Pongamia Glabra*.  
 40 Kappu (ಕಪ್ಪು) — Flesh of animals.  
 Káre (ಕಾರೆ)—A thorny jungle plant.  
 Khachóra (ಖಚೋರೆ)—A kind of shrub bearing sweet scented  
 fruits used with sandal paste.  
 Kode (ಕೊಡೆ)—Umbrella.  
 Kolaga (ಕೊಳಗ)—An Indian measure.  
 45 Kommé (ಕೊಮ್ಮೆ)—A herb.  
 Konḍala (ಕೊಂಡಲ)—  
 Kunchi (ಕುಂಚಿ)—A hooded cloak.  
 Kurandara (ಕುರಂದರ)—  
 Kúrategé (ಕೂರಟೆಗೆ)—A milky thorny plant.  
 50 Kúrige (ಕೂರಿಗೆ)—A seed drill.  
 Mallige (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ)—A Jasmin flower.  
 Mandi (ಮಂಡಿ)—  
 Mañéndra (ಮಾಣೇಂದ್ರ)—  
 Mandalige (ಮಾಂಡಲಿಗೆ)—They do not use mats.  
 55 Masi (ಮಾಸಿ)—  
 Mávu (ಮಾವು)—Mango.  
 Mékala (ಮೊಕ್ಕಲ)—Goat.  
 Mudre (ಮುದ್ರೆ)—A seal.  
 Muddarāṇi (ಮುದ್ದರಾಣಿ)—Kitchen herb.  
 60 Mungili (ಮುಂಗಿಲಿ)—Mongoose.

Muttaga (ಮುತ್ತಗ)—Bastard teak.

Nakkalu (ನಕ್ಕಲು)—Jackal.

Nelli (ನೆಲ್ಲಿ)—The emblemic myroba jam.

Nérale (ನೇರಲೆ)—Jambalana.

- 65 Níli (ನೀಲಿ)—Indigo—They do not keep black bullocks and  
their women do not wear black bangles or black sadis.

Nittuva (ನಿಟ್ಟುವೆ)—They do not use stone posts for houses.

Nuggi (ನುಗ್ಗಿ)—Horse radish.

Núnabudagi (ನೂನಬುಡಗಿ)—A vegetable drug.

Oṭṭu (ಒಟ್ಟು)—They do not eat on plates of dry leaves.

- 70 Pachchakódi (ಪಚ್ಚಕೋಡಿ)—

Punagu (ಪುನಗು)—Civet.

Sāmantige (ಸಾಮಂತಿಗೆ)—Chrysanthimum.

Sampige (ಸಂಪಿಗೆ)—Champaka tree.

Sankha (ಶಂಖ)—Conch shell.

- 75 Sásuve (ಸಾಸುವೆ)—Mustard.

Sónṭhi (ಶೊಂಠಿ)—Ginger.

Tātārlu (ತಾತಾರ್ಲು)—

Tengina (ತೆಂಗಿನ)—Coconut.

Tyābali (ತ್ಯಾಬಲಿ)—Tortoise.

- 80 'Tunūnala (ತುಮ್ಮಲ)—A kind of tree.

Turubu (ತುರುಬು)—They do not tie their hair in a knot.

Udārlu (ಉದಾರ್ಲು)—Seeds of weed, a kind of grass largely  
grown in paddy fields.

Uḍanna (ಉಡನಾ)—Big lizard.

Uttarēni (ಉತ್ತರೇಣಿ)—A common weed (*Achyranthis aspera*).









(Preliminary Issue.)

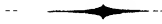
**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXI.**  
**UPPÁRA CASTE.**

BY

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## U P P A' R A S.

Uppáras or Uppaligas as they are called in the General. Mysore District are found all over the State. Their number according to the last Census (1901) was 106,207, consisting of 53,836 males and 52,371 females. The distribution of these people by districts shows that they are most numerous in the Mysore District. Their rate of increase for the decade ending in 1901 was about 19 per cent.

Their common name is Uppára (ಉಪ್ಪರ) or Uppaliga (ಉಪ್ಪಲಿಗ) in the Mysore District. They call themselves Mèlsakkareyavaru (ಮೆಲ್ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯವರು) and in formal correspondence, they address one another as Sagaravamsadavaru (ಸಗರವಂಶದವರು). Kerèbandiyavaru (ಕರೆಬಂದಿಯವರು) is a less usual name. Setti and Gauda are the honorific suffixes added to their names besides the general titles, Appa, Ayya and Anna. Those Uppáras who are engaged in the manufacture of earth salt are sometimes addressed with Bóyi added to their personal names. Amma (mother) and Akka (sister) are added to names of women.

Uppára and Uppaliga both mean manufacturers of salt, Uppu being the word for salt. They call themselves Mèlsakkareyavaru, *i.e.*, those of Mèlsakkare, the latter word (literally, sugar of a better sort) being used as a euphemism for salt. Sagaravamsadavaru (*i.e.*, descendants of Sagara) must have been invented for them by some ingenious person, as according to a Purána story, Náagara or the Sea was dug out by the children of Emperor Sagara, thus connecting the name again with salt. The name *Kerèbandi* is given to them on account of their being entrusted with the task of attending to repairs of tanks, for which they generally hold some inam lands. Meanings of terms.

The language which they talk varies with the place Language. they live in. In the Kolar and Bangalore and parts of Tumkur Districts, they talk Telugu and in the rest of the State, Kannada. Some of the Uppaligas who live in the Tamil country and are called Uppaligars, speak Tamil ;



and it is reported that this diversity of language does not act as a bar against eating together or intermarriage.

#### Origin.

They have, as usual, some fantastic stories concerning their origin. One is that Párvati finding food tasteless complained to her lord, who created a man from a drop of his sweat, and commissioned him to manufacture salt out of earth; and as he pleased his divine patrons, he was blessed with a large progeny, who were directed to have salt making as their profession. The other story is that they are the descendants of the sixty thousand sons of Emperor Sagara, who unjustly treated a Rishi named Kapila as a thief of their father's sacrificial horse and were reduced to ashes by the power of his curse. The slender basis on which both these stories rest, seems to be the salt found both in the sweat of the body and in the water of the sea which was believed to be dug by Sagara's sons.

They profess to have lived originally in the tract round Kási, and thence to have migrated south through Ratnagiri and Dharmavaram. They gradually spread in the Mysore State. They are said to have carried with them their tribal god Channakésava, for which they have built temples, such as that in Korlahatti, Chitaldrug District.

#### Divisions.

The Uppárs were probably a single homogeneous caste originally, but they are now divided into a number of endogamous groups on account of dispersion in different places and adoption of different professions. Some of them despise the original name and style themselves Banājigas—an appellation adopted by a large number of persons who wish to rise in social status. By language, Uppars are either Telugu or Kannada, and there is no intermarriage between these sections. Those who are bricklayers and masons and are generally in easy circumstances call themselves, especially in and about Bangalore, Telugu Banājigas; they are also known as Gáre Uppáras (Mortar Uppáras). Other divisions are Sída-Uppáras (Pure Uppáras) and Suṇṇa Uppáras, the latter being lime-burners.

Kallukutiga Uppáras (ಕಲ್ಲು ಕುಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಉಪ್ಪಾರರು), also called Janivara Uppáras (ಜನಿವಾರ ಉಪ್ಪಾರರು) who wear the sacred thread, work as stone masons.

Uppaligas who live in the Mysore District and the adjoining British territory, where they are known as Uppalians, constitute also a separate division.

Móle Uppáras are mostly Telugu speaking people

except those in the Mysore and other purely Kannada districts. They are so called because they still adhere to their original occupation, making earth-salt. They are also called Kerébandiyavaru and keep herds of he-buffaloes which they employ to carry earth for repairing tank bunds. These are looked down upon by the other division and are, as a matter of fact, little better than Oddās.

There is also said to be a division known as Dombar Uppáras (ದೊಂಬಿ ಅಪ್ಪರಸರು) who like the Dombars are itinerant acrobats and tumblers. They, however, do not dedicate their women as Basavis or allow them to play in public.

The exogamous divisions are known as Kulas or Bedāgus. The names given are of some plant, animal or other material object, which the members of that division refrain from cutting, eating or otherwise utilizing. Those of the same kula cannot intermarry, and their union is considered incestuous and brings on expulsion from caste. The division is based on relationship through males.

A list of exogamous divisions is given in the Appendix.

It is considered not quite proper to allow the newly married woman to remain in her husband's house for her first confinement. She is taken to her parent's where she is treated with special care and precautions against real and fancied dangers. When a child is born, a washerman carries the information to the father who gives him a present. On the third day a pit is dug in the yard of the house the navel cord and the afterbirth are buried in it in an earthen jug and a branch of Ekka plant and of Kallī are stuck on it. Cooked food is offered at the place and distributed to children. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the eleventh day, when the mother and the child are bathed and thus get rid of the pollution. The usual dinner is given to the castemen. In some places Brahmins are called to purify the house and to bless the mother and child by placing consecrated rice (ಅಕ್ಷತ) on her head.

Birth ceremonies.

The name usually given is that of an ancestor or of the family deity. But if the child should subsequently fall ill, it is considered as inauspicious and changed in consultation with an astrologer or a soothsayer or a flower oracle\* in a temple. The giving of opprobrious names is also

\* When a person wishes to know whether a given course is propitious or not, he gets Pūja made in a temple, and prays for guidance.

common as among other castes of a similar status. There are no peculiar names among them. As most of them are Vaishnavas, the names of this deity are more common than those of Siva. Names of endearment such as Puṭṭu, Sámi, Magu, are very common.

The tonsure ceremony takes place in the 3rd or the 5th year of the child. It is always held before the shrine of their family deity, to which they go on an auspicious day with some relatives. The ear holes of the child are also bored then and a caste dinner is given. The relatives present the child with some coins and fried grain and the barber is given some presents.

Adoption is allowed as among other castes. A brother's son is preferred but any one may be taken, provided he is unmarried. When a boy is adopted into a different exogamous group, he has to eschew marriage with members of both his natural and his adopted group.

#### Marriage.

It is not obligatory to marry a girl before puberty but such marriages are becoming the fashion, in imitation of the higher castes. In marriages after puberty, some ceremonies are said to be omitted, and they are sometimes styled Mále-hákuvudu (ಮಾಲೆ ಹಾಕುವುದು), i.e., marriage by putting on a flower garland. This however entails no loss of status. Women may remain unmarried if they choose.

In intermarriage, not only the same Kula but allied Kulas are also to be avoided. An elder sister's, but not a younger sister's daughter may be married. Two sisters may be taken in marriage by the same man, provided he does not marry the younger before her elder sister. The remaining degrees of prohibited relationship are the same as are generally kept in other castes. There is no objection to the exchange of daughters in marriage between two families.

Uppáras are cut up into a number of professional groups, which have in course of time become endogamous divisions: thus the Gáré Uppáras who were originally of the same division as the salt making Uppáras now decline to intermarry with the latter, and have given them the nickname of Koracha Uppáras, as Korachas follow the trade of selling salt.

Sálávali or suitability of the couple (as shown by a

---

If a flower drops especially to the right side of the idol at the time, it is taken as an auspicious sign and it is said that the god or goddess has "given a flower."

certain agreement in names) is examined by an astrologer. Then the match is settled by the ceremony of Vilyada Sāstra (ವಿಲ್ಯದಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) when the father of the boy with some persons go to the girls' house with turmeric, Kunkuma, cocoanuts and other things and present her with a Siré and a bodice cloth and some times a jewel.\*

The actual marriage extends over five days. On the first day the boy and the girl are separately anointed, bathed and besmeared with turmeric. This is called Madavaniga Sāstra. The second day is styled Chappara or Dévarūṭa. This day the marriage pendal is erected on 12 pillars with a Hálukambha. Arivéni pots are brought and installed in the house. A party of married women proceed to a river and after worshipping Ganga, bring water styled Sāstrula Níru (ceremonial water) and use it for preparing food that day. In some places a second ceremony styled Naḍumadavaniga Sāstra (ನಡುವಾದವನಿಗಾಸ್ತ್ರ) is observed when, as on the first day, the boy and the girl get a second smearing of turmeric. The next day takes place the ceremony of Dhāre.† The boy and the girl undergo separately the nail-paring ceremony, and are bathed in Māleniru. Then the boy goes to the temple where he is decorated with Bhashinga tied to his forehead and is led to the marriage house in state, being accompanied by a best man known as Jódū Madavaniga who brings with him a dagger rolled up in a red handkerchief. When he approaches the pandal an A'rati is waved to him and he is made to stand on the dais. The girl is conducted there by her maternal uncle. Then the bridal pair throw gingelly and jaggory on each other's head. The Tāli-tying, which is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony, takes place amidst the din of the attendant musical band. Then the couple sit together, and tie Kankanas to each other, after which the rice-pouring ceremony takes place. Then they rise with the hems of their garments knotted together, go round the milk post three times, the bridegroom leading the bride by the hand, look at the Arundhati star and go into the room where pots Arivéni are installed and bow to them. The maternal uncle removes the Bhashingas of the couple and

\* In some places, on the day when the Brahman astrologer fixes the day for Dhāre, he also names the persons who have to attend to the several items of marriage, such as, besmearing the pair and bringing the ceremonial water.

† The Uppaṭigas perform the Dhāre ceremony in the evening, while the other sections observe it in the morning.

the latter with their nearest relatives sit together to eat *Buvva*. Then the giving of *Muyyi* or wedding presents takes place. This evening, the bridegroom steals a vessel from his father-in-law's house, runs away and hides in his own house. The bride goes in procession, finds him out and brings him back.

Next day *Nágavali* takes place. The couple sit together and have their nails pared and after bathing, worship the pillars of the marriage pandal in the usual way. The couple go to the river in the *Madi* state, worship *Ganga* and bring two pots of water, which is used for cooking the day's dinner. Then the usual pot-searching ceremony, and the removing of the *Kaukayas* take place.

This afternoon is observed the worship of *Simhāsana* or the improvised seat. The *Yajamán* of the caste officiates at it and a sheep is generally killed near it. The *Támbúlas* are distributed in the prescribed order. The marriage proper closes that evening with the procession of the married couple in the streets. The next day a dinner on a large scale is given, and the bride, the bridegroom and some others go to the bride's house, and the bridegroom returns one or two days after. The milk post is kept for about a month and it is removed after some milk is poured on it.

The bride price which they have to pay varies in different localities between 12 and 30 rupees. A widower has to pay twice the usual sum, the additional amount being styled *Sauti Bhangúra* (ಸೌತಿಭಂಗೂರ co-wife's gold). The total amount spent at a marriage varies with the condition in life of the contracting parties. It may be roughly estimated at about Rs. 300 for the bridegroom and about Rs. 100 for the bride.

#### Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept aloof in a corner of the house for three days and on the fourth, she bathes and retires to a shed made of green leaves. She remains there for about 5 days when she is exhibited every evening in the company of married women who are invited. At the end of this period she is again bathed and taken into the house. A dinner is given to the caste people. In some places, the girl does not get rid of the pollution for about one month. About five or seven days before the end of the month, she bathes and dressed

in washed clothes, she is taken in the evening to a river or a tank in the company of married women. She does Púja to Ganga and brings home a potful of water. If she is already married, she washes the feet of the husband with the water; but if unmarried, she throws the water on some flower plant, such as jasmine. Consummation of marriage takes place afterwards. The consummation of marriage of a girl married after puberty is put off for three months after the marriage, as there should be no childbirth within a year of the marriage.\*

Widow marriage is permitted and is freely practised. **Widow marriage.** It is said that a woman may marry as many times as she pleases, provided that at the time of her marriage, she is either a widow or has been divorced. A widow cannot marry either her husband's brother or any of his agnates and sometimes she has to avoid the whole Kula of her late husband. A bachelor is not generally allowed to marry a widow, but if he insists on the connection, he is first married to an Ekke plant (*Calatropis gigantea*). It is necessary that the consent not only of the father of the widow, but of the caste has to be obtained for such a marriage. In some places, her late husband's relatives have also to give their assent. The Tálit tied by the previous husband along with other property belonging to him is returned to his heirs with a Hana styled ಬಿಡುಗಡೆ ಹಣವು, i.e., release money. The ceremony takes place in the evening at sunset and only widows or remarried women assist at it. In some places the ceremony takes place either before a temple or in an unoccupied house. In the assembly of caste-men, the intended husband presents her with some jewels and a Síre and a bodice cloth. She then puts on bangles and black glass beads which are the signs of married state of a woman. The ceremony generally takes place during the dark fortnight. The woman is seated in a dark place, either a room or a temple, behind the door; the husband, with the permission of the caste people who take their seats outside, pays down the Tera and a fine of Rs. 12 for the benefit of the caste people. He then goes to the spot where the woman is sitting and ties the Táli. The Būiga

\* It is possible that this practice of putting off the actual consummation for three months, which is fairly common, originated as a means of making certain that the married woman introduced no foreign offspring into the family.

† When a woman loses her husband, she does not remove the Táli, unless she wants to marry again.

Gauḍa or the Kólkar of the caste, throws rice on their heads, and in some places gives three strokes with a rattan to the woman, and five to the man and declares that they have become husband and wife, repeating the following formula :—“ ಒರೇ ಗುರುವಿನ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಯಾಗಿ, ಬಿಗಪ್ಪರ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಯಾಗಿ, ಈ ಪಣ್ಣಿ ನನ್ನ ಸಿನಗೆ ಹೊಡೆತಿ ವರಾಣಕ್ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನೀನು ತಪ್ಪು ನಡೆದರೆ ನಿನಗೆ ಅಡ್ಡಿಯಾಯಿತು.” (In the presence of the elder Guru, in the presence of the kinsmen, this woman is given to you as wife. If you fail her, you will be liable to punishment.)

It is the custom in some places that this marriage cannot take place in the village of the father or the second husband and should be celebrated in a different place. The pair do not return to their village for some time and the woman does not show her face to any married woman for three days. The remarried widow is not admitted into all the privileges of the caste and in some places her issue form a separate line; but the difference between these two lines is, however, lost in two or three generations. Rights of inheritance, so far as her previous issue are concerned, are not affected by the woman's subsequent marriage; and her issue by one husband cannot succeed to the property of the other husband.

The bride price for this alliance is half that of a regular marriage, and is always taken by the father of the woman.

Divorce and  
adultery.

If the husband and the wife fall out with each other on account of the continued ill-treatment of the latter by the former or when the wife commits adultery or the husband loses caste, a divorce is permitted. In such cases, the matter is laid before the caste Panchayat, who adjudge the separation and the compensation to be paid by the party at fault. In cases of adultery, the paramour of the woman is made to pay the marriage expenses of the husband in addition to some fine to the caste council. Then the woman is made to return the Tāli tied by the husband, after which she may marry again in the Kūlike form.

Adultery with a man of a lower caste entails forfeiture of caste. In other cases, it may be condoned at the option of the husband by payment of a small fine to the caste. An unmarried woman who has lived with a man without marriage may be subsequently married by him; and if she has had a liaison with a man of a higher caste,

she may be married to a caste man by Kúṭike. Those of the Gáre section, however, do not tolerate such irregularities.

Uppáras do not dedicate girls as Basavis and fallen women are put out of caste. They are branded with Vaishṇava symbols by Dásayyas, and when they die their bodies are disposed of by the same fraternity.

Uppáras bury their dead, except the bodies of lepers or pregnant women, which are always burnt.\* Disposing of the dead bodies by burial under heaps of stones (Kalluséve or Kallubáṇa) is also in vogue. As most of the Uppáras are Vaishnavas, the ceremonies peculiar to the non-Brahman castes of that persuasion are observed. As soon as life is extinct, the information of the event is sent round to all their castemen and the Yajamán and other people assemble. The Sátáni priest is sent for and he makes a Chakra out of some twigs and worships it before the corpse with the offerings of food and liquor which he partakes of and distributes to the rest. The body is carried generally on a bier, laid flat, but sometimes a Vimána is built and the body clothed and placed in a sitting posture. Dásayyas muster strong on the occasion and repeat songs in praise of Vishnu, as the procession is going. About midway the body is kept on the ground, which is on that account called Harischandra's temple, and the Dásayyas and the Tóṭi are presented with some money (styled Peddaríka ಪಟ್ಟಣ = Rs. 2½). Then the carriers change sides and carry the corpse straight to the grave. It is taken three times round the pit and is then buried as in other castes, the son throwing the first sod of earth to close up the grave. Doles of grain and sometimes money are distributed among the poor people; and all return home, after bathing, to see the lamp lighted on the spot where the deceased expired.†

Death ceremonies.

In cases of cremation, the ashes are collected on the third day and thrown either in water or on a green plant. Food, milk and ghee are offered on the grave and then on the 11th day, the important ceremony is observed. Those that call in the services of a Sátáni priest worship the Chakra in the graveyard and then in the house at midnight (*vide* the Gella account). He gets a fee of about Rs. 1½ with some raw rations for his services.

\* In some parts the bodies of persons dying on Fridays, whether lepers or healthy, are burnt.

† They keep a lamp and some water on this spot for 12 nights.



The next day a feast is prepared at home, to which all the relatives are invited. In the evening, the chief mourner with some others, goes to the Vishṇu temple to have the gates of heaven opened for the departed soul and after the usual Púja returns home for dinner. The maternal uncle and other near relatives present him with some new cloths before they return to their places.

The period of Sútaka is ten days for near agnates and three days for children. But some of it is believed to stick to the nearest agnates till the end of the first month, when a Kalasa is set up and worshipped in the name of the deceased and a dinner given. They do not observe any pollution for the death of a daughter's son, but only bathe once. During the period of mourning, they observe the usual abstinences, such as, not putting on the caste mark, and eschewing milk, sugar and flesh. They do not bury anything else with a corpse. When it is brought out of the house, they tie some rice in the shroud, but before it is interred, the rice and the cloth are thrown out on the grave, on which a three-pie piece is kept, which is taken by a Holeyá.

They do not perform Sárddhás; but once a year on the Maháláya Amávásya day, they do Púja to a Kalasa in the names of all the deceased ancestors and distribute raw rice, and other things to Brahmans, Jangamas and Sátánis. On the Mahánavamí and New Year days, they offer new clothes, etc., to a Kalasa and some resort to their family burial ground and apply sandal paste, burn incense and break cocoanuts before the tombs.

Religion.

Uppáras are mostly Vaishṇavas, their tribal god being Channakésava. They also worship Siva and several of them have this god as their family deity. They make pilgrimages to Tirupati, Kadiri and Nanjangud. They observe the important Hindu feasts such as, the New Year's day, Gowri and Ganesa, the Dasara and Dípávali. On Sivarátri day they fast till the evening and then give doles of raw provisions to Brahmans and Jangamas.

They worship all the village goddesses and the other minor gods and goddesses such as Durgamma, Yallamma, Máramma and Sunkamma. The other objects of their worship are the mounds of earth called ಉಪ್ಪಿನವಾಳಿಗಳು on which they manufacture salt. On important feasts they repair to these places, burn incense and break cocoanuts and offer Púja; but they do not sacrifice any animals to them.

Their Gurus are Srivaishṇava Brahmans, who pay them periodical visits, give them Tirtha and get some fees. Some have Sātānis as Gurus in place of Brahmans.

Uppáras, as their name implies, are the manufacturers of earth salt. In the interests of British Indian salt revenue, this industry is altogether prohibited within 5 miles of the British frontier. Elsewhere also it is in a languishing state and is dying out gradually. The process of making salt is simple. The circular mounds of earth which may be seen occasionally, with cups at the top are known as Uppinamòlè (*i.e.*, saline heaps), and are generally formed of the earth from which salt has been drained off. The crater or cup at the top is made about 5 feet in diameter and 2 feet in depth and its sides and bottom are roughly plastered with lime. A number of them are connected by open channels with a reservoir lower down which is also made with chunam-plastered sides and bottom. In the dry season, saline earth is collected wherever it is found and carried to the mounds on buffaloes. It is thrown into the basins on a bed of straw so as to fill them, and water is poured in. The salt is dissolved and the brine is carried off by the channels into the reservoir. The useless earth is removed and more saline earth and water are added, till the reservoir is filled with brine. The liquid is then carried by vessels and poured into the pans which are shallow basins about 3 feet square, where it is evaporated by the heat of the sun in the course of three or four days. The salt left, which is of dirty yellow colour in small grains, is then scraped off and carried on pack buffaloes for sale. The article thus made is somewhat bitter in taste, and has more impurities than the sea salt, and on account of the comparative cheapness of the latter, is not appreciated except by the poorest in out-of-the-way villages. In British India the manufacture of earth salt was absolutely prohibited in 1880; and here it is all but extinct.

As a consequence, most of the Uppáras have changed their original occupation and taken to agriculture. Those that are living in large towns are bricklayers and contractors and are in comparatively easy circumstances. Some in the Shimoga District are kitchen gardeners.

Uppáras are a settled people and live in substantially built house. The bricklayers and the contractors have built for themselves good houses, spacious and well ventilated,

Occupation.

Social  
status.

while those that are agriculturists are hardly distinguishable from others whose original occupation is agriculture. They live in the same quarters as other castes, and do not suffer from any disabilities such as not being allowed to draw water from the common village well. But in large towns, they have separate quarters for themselves. The washerman and the barber give their services to the Uppáras without any objection. Uppáras living in the adjoining British territories often immigrate into this State during the salt-manufacturing season and after a temporary residence go back to their native home. A section of the Uppáras who are tank diggers often emigrate to places where their labour is in demand and then live in temporary huts.

Brahmans are invited to help them in conducting marriages and to purify their houses after the pollution of birth and death. They may render such services without lowering themselves in the eyes of other Brahmans.

**Admission  
of outsiders**

Persons belonging to higher castes may be admitted as members on undergoing certain ceremonies, one of which is to go round the caste assembly carrying a basket of salt on the head. Such admissions are, however, rare, and the issue of such union are kept separate as a new line for one or two generations, after which they become merged into the main body.

They follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance and have belief in the omens, magic, etc. In the Mysore District whenever they have to swear in a caste council, they improvise a seat (ಸಂಧಿ) styled Sangamésvará's seat and swear by it (by touching it). They consult soothsayers whenever necessary and seem to have considerable faith in their prognostications.

**Tribal con-  
stitution.**

Uppáras have a tribal constitution like other castes of a similar status. The Kattēmanes are presided over by the Setties and Yajamáns, who have under them a headle, styled Bandári or Kólkár. Their offices are hereditary and they get the usual perquisites of pan-supari on all important occasions. The Uppáras belong to the Eighteen Phana section and as such command the services of the Chalavádi, the servant of this faction, whose insignia, the bell and the ladle, bear also the Uppáras' professional mark.

**Miscellane-  
ous.**

Uppáras are flesh-eaters and eat mutton, fowls, venison and fish but not beef, or any reptiles. They are said not to

drink liquor, but are not very punctilious in this matter. The bricklayers, carpenters and contractors are very clean and bathe regularly, but those employed as salt-makers and tank-diggers are hardly distinguishable from Oddas.\* There is nothing peculiar in their dress and ornament, but in some places, women wear the big nose screw, which is also the characteristic ornament of an Odda woman. Their women get tattooed with the common designs.

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\* *Vide* Odda account Monograph XI, p. 14.



## APPENDIX.

## List of Exogamous Divisions.

Agila	ಆಗಿಲ	A tree.
A'le	ಅಲೆ	Vegetable herb.
Andala	ಅಂದಲ	Palankeen.
A'ne	ಆನೆ	Elephant.
Arasina	ಅರಸಿನ	Turmeric.
Arasu	ಅರಸು	King.
Bélada	ಬೇಲದ	Wood apple.
Bellī	ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ	Silver.
Chandu	ಚಂದ್ರ	The moon.
Chatrī	ಚತ್ರಿ	Umbrella.
Chilume	ಚಿಲುಮೆ	Spring of water.
Doddi	ದೊಡ್ಡಿ	Yard attached to a house.
Gauḍa	ಗೌಡ	
Honge	ಹೊಂಗೆ	Pongamia glabra.
Honnu	ಹೊನ್ನು	Gold.
Hulivāṇa	ಹುಲಿವಾಣ	
Jógula	ಜೋಗುಲ	
Kágula	ಕಾಗಲ	A tree.
Kaggallu	ಕಗ್ಗಲ್ಲು	Black stone.
Kalaga	ಕಲಗ	A tree.
Karaga	ಕರಗ	Pot.
Kathári	ಕಠಾಲ	Dagger.
Kastúri	ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ	Musk.
Kenda	ಕಂಡ	Burning cinder.
Kottumbari	ಕೊತ್ತಂಬರಿ	Coriander.
Kudure	ಕುದುರೆ	Horse.
Madárasa	ಮದಾರಸ	
Majjana	ಮಜ್ಜನ	Bath.
Mallige	ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ	Jasmine.
Mánuka	ಮಾನುಕ	
Muchehāḷa	ಮುಚ್ಚಳ	Lid
Muttu	ಮುತ್ತು	Pearl.
Náchala	ನಾಚಲ	
Nágara	ನಾಗರ	Cobra.
Nari	ನರಿ	Jackal.
Nérale	ನೇರಳೆ	Jambolana.
Sakkaro	ಸಕ್ಕರೆ	Sugar.
Sannakki	ಸಣ್ಣಕ್ಕಿ	Fine rice.
Santatti	ಸಂತತಿ	
Soṭṭi	ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ	Headman.
Talaga	ತಲಗ	A tree.
Tuppa	ತುಪ್ಪ	Clarified butter.
Yalapa	ಯಾಲಪ	



(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XIII**

**DOMBAR CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## DOMBAR.

Dombaras (ದೊಂಬರು) are essentially a wandering tribe, though many of them have, like similar wandering tribes, such as Korachas, settled down in towns and villages. They are acrobats and tumblers by profession and are generally tall, muscular and well-made, with a complexion varying from shades of copper to dark. They numbered according to the last Census (1901) 2,911 including 1,390 males and 1,521 females. They are, as a class, illiterate, and rarely show any inclination to send their children to school.

The common name by which the caste is called is Dombaru (ದೊಂಬರು) which is a later form of the original word Dombaru (ದೊಂಬರು). They have no other names in this State. In the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency, they are known as Ituvallu (ಈಟೀವಾಳು). They are described as people who "exhibit different shows, such as wrestling, ascending high poles, walking on ropes. The women act as common prostitutes."\* The titles used by the headmen of the caste are 'Raddi,' 'Nayadu' and 'Nalik.' The suffix 'gadu' is added at the end of the personal names of males when addressed by persons of a higher caste, while the common suffixes of Appa and Ayya are used for males when they are addressed either by persons of their own or of an inferior caste.

The meaning of the term "Dombar" is not clear. Some derive it from a class styled *Dombs* in Northern India. The latter are however scavengers and are employed to carry corpses of destitute paupers, and correspond to the *Mādigas* of the south, while the Dombaras occupy a comparatively higher position. It can hardly be said that similarity of name is anything more than an accidental coincidence. The Dombaras are moreover a Telugu caste, and their traditions and customs point to their immigration into the State from the Karnool and Nellore Districts.

Dombaras who perform feats in public make a great deal of din and noise, with drums and loud shrieks to attract a large crowd of spectators. This kind of clamour is called "*dombi*" or "*dombi*" (ದೊಂಬಿ or ದೊಂಬಿ) in Kannada, but whether the caste takes its name from this term or whether "*dombi*" meaning a tumult or tumultuous rabble is

\* The Vizagapatam District Manual of 1869, page 67.

derived from "Dombar" (the name of the caste), it is not easy to determine.

Traditions  
about ori-  
gin.

A Raddi had by his younger wife, it is said, a son who was born without any limbs. Ever after, he was pursued by great misfortune, and a soothsayer having, on consultation, discovered that the unfortunate child had brought ill-luck into the family, he commanded his wife to do away with the child. Her maternal affection induced her to temporise and she hid the child in a manger. Cattle unaccountably died in large numbers, and a similar result was observed wherever the child was removed. In despair, the mother handed over the child to a wandering beggar to be disposed of in some safe place, and the latter consigned it to a ruined well. The unwelcome brat had however a tough life and was not drowned. His cries attracted the attention of the Gods Párvati and Paramésvara, who on learning his unfortunate history, miraculously gave him his limbs and at his request bestowed on him a right to obtain an earthen drum from a potter's house, and doles of rice in each house to which he would resort for beggary. The boy was in such ecstatic delight at getting his limbs, that he jumped out of the well at one bound and cast himself at the feet of his divine benefactors.\* He was then enjoined to add the profession of acrobatic performer to that of itinerant beggar. The Dombars are his descendants by a concubine he picked up in his wandering tours.

Another story is that a Raddi's wife was delivered of a daughter in the field outside the village, where she had carried her husband's midday meal. A hut was improvised for her accouchement, and after it was over, her husband's elder wife out of envy contrived that she and her child should be regarded as outcasts. The father gave all his lands and agricultural implements to the progeny of the other wife, and left to these a drum, a pole and a rope. They had to earn their living with these implements alone and learnt acrobatic feats. No one would marry a girl playing in public on a pole, and so the daughter called Dombara Chinnaśāni became a prostitute. This is said to account for the practice of dedicating prostitutes which is largely prevalent in the caste.

\* The doggerel appended seems to allude to this tradition, namely.  
 "ಹಿಂಗಾಣೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಬಾವಿನಿಂಚೆ ಜೈಟವಚ್ಚಿ, ಮುಂಗಾಣೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ವಾಳ ಪಾದಾಲು  
 ವಿದಪಡೆ" that is 'with a backward bound (somersault) he came out of  
 the well and with a forward bound (somersault) he fell to their feet.'

A Dombar performer often begins his exhibition with the following invocation :--

ಕಾಪೋಡು ಕನತಂಡಿ  
 ದೇಶೋಡು ಪಿನತಂಡಿ  
 ಸಾಲಕೂ ಮೂಲಕೂ  
 ತಗುಮೈನ ಕೊಡುಕು ನೇನು.

That is, 'the Kāpu is the begetting father, the Désa man, an uncle, and I am the fit son\* of the Sāla and Mūla (that is right and left hand people).

Dombars are said to be allied to Lambānis, a statement which perhaps is founded on the legend of Mōla, the ancestor of the Lambānis having exhibited gymnastic feats before kings. It is reported that there is a section of Dombars, who are also itinerant Dombars, but distinguished from the rest in swinging a child to and fro by a rope passed round its waist while performing feats on the pole.

The Dombars found in the State are entirely of Telugu origin and appear to have come from the Nellore and the Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency. They say their original place was Dombara Maddalapuram (ದೊಂಬರ ಮದ್ದಲಾ ಪುರಂ) in the Telugu country. During the time of the Vijjanagar Empire, they appear to have been the court acrobats, and many of this caste are still said to hold Inams in the Telugu country, in places like Jammalamadugu, Tadipatri, Poddutur, Gudamacherla. They spread into Mysore Territory in later times after the disappearance of that kingdom.

All Dombars found in this State speak Telugu. Aré Dombars who speak Mahratti are rarely seen here. Mahomedans who follow the profession of acrobats and wrestlers are known as Pailwans, but they have no connection with the Telugu or Mahratti Dombars. The Telugu Dombars have a dialect which is used only among themselves. A few examples are given in the Appendix A.

\* Accounts differ as to, to which section of the Kāpu Raddis the original ancestor belonged. Some say Kōḷati Rāḷi, some Fākanāṭis, some others Sajjana Rāḷis and so on, the section of the Raddis which they claim being that of the Rāḷis who are found in largest numbers in or about the place where the informants reside. This becomes not of much importance when we remember that all the Raddis were originally of one tribe and the sections named are the endogamous division of the main caste Raddis.

## Divisions.

The Telugu Dombars who are also known as Raḍḍi Dombars are divided into two sections, the settled (Uru Dombars-అరూదోంబరు) and the nomadic (Kāḍu Dombars-కాడుదోంబరు), which are endogamous. The wandering Dombars eat in the houses of the settled, but not *vice versa*. They seem to be subject to no exogamous restrictions; nor is any trace seen of hypogamy. But they have all of them, whether settled or nomadic, some sub-divisions which are neither endogamous nor exogamous, but which seem to be based on territorial or other distinctions. A list of these is given in Appendix B.

## Birth ceremonies.

The Dombars observe no ceremonies when a woman is pregnant. When living in villages, her parents bring the woman to their house for the first delivery; but wandering families naturally leave them where they are. During confinement, the mother and the child are kept apart in a separate hut or room, and the treatment of the patient is generally the same as in other castes. She is kept warm, laid flat on a cot of coir rope and is given some arrack and other stimulating drugs. On the second day, a pit is dug in the verandah or in front of the hut in which the after-birth and the navel string are buried, and a fowl is killed on the spot. On the third day the mother is given some chicken broth. On the 5th, the 7th or the 9th day the child and the mother are bathed. Castemen are given a dinner, and the child is put into a cradle which, for the wandering Dombars, consists of a cloth swung like a hammock between two posts or on branches of trees. The maternal uncle ties the waist thread (వలతాడు) to the child, whether male or female. The midwife is taken that evening to a toddy shop where she is liberally entertained. The custom of consulting the soothsayer for giving a name to the child is very common.

The names of individuals are generally the same as those used by other castes of similar status, Māra (మార) and Māri (మారి), Yalla (యల్ల) and Yalli (యల్లి), and Sunka (సుంక) and Sunki (సుంకి) being common. Hanumanta (హనుమంత) is a popular name as connoting strength and prowess. The names most common for women who lead an unmarried life are Chinni (చిన్ని), Lachmi (లక్ష్మి) and Venkaṭi (వేంకట). They sometimes style children Gāḷiga (గాలిగ, wind or spirit), to appease the spirit that they believe to have made children in the family die. When frequent deaths of children occur, they make a vow and name the surviving child after a family or local god.

Tonsure is performed for male children in the first or the third year after birth, either a barber or the child's maternal uncle cropping the hair. Then an *ede* (ಎಡೆ) is kept in the names of the deceased ancestors and some caste people are invited to a dinner with toddy.

These men being generally poor, rarely practise adoption. Sometimes a boy from among near relations is brought, by childless persons and they may celebrate the event by feasting the caste people. This, however, happens only in the settled class. When a man has only daughters, he generally keeps one or two of them unmarried, and they take the place of sons in the family, leading a life of free love. Prostitute women do not adopt girls as professional dancing women do. Adoption.

Polygamy is common. Dombars women play a very active part in household and other work, and so men either marry or keep as concubines more than one woman. It often happens that low class women of loose character, married, unmarried or widowed, take the opportunity of the visit of a troupe of Dombars to join them, and attach themselves to their party. Polygamy is unknown. Girls are trained, from infancy, to play on poles and such as become skilled in that art are not married, and lead a life of prostitution. Those who cannot be trained for such exhibitions only are reserved for marriage. It is not strange that in such a community, they almost never care to marry girls before puberty. Marriage.

There is nothing peculiar as regards relations eligible for marriage. According to one account, it is said that a man may not marry the daughter of a sister who lives unmarried in her father's house, though such daughter may be married to his son. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers. There is no objection to an exchange of daughters by marriage between two families.

The Dombars who have settled down in towns and villages tend more and more to adopt the marriage customs and ceremonies of the higher classes, such as consulting Brahmans and observing omens. Among the wandering section of them the marriage ceremony is very simple. They invite no pipers, use no Blashinga or marriage chaplet, nor worship any sacred pots (ಅಪ್ಪಣೆಗುಡೆ). And sometimes they do not even put up a *chapra* or marriage booth. They only consult a soothsayer about the future prospect of a happy union.



When a girl is selected, the bridegroom's party accompanied by the headman of the caste or group proceeds to the bride's father's house to propose the match. The headman conducts the negotiation and if the parties agree, the match is determined upon. A few days afterwards, the bridegroom and his party, with the Yajaman and friends, go to the house of the bride-elect and the proposal is renewed before the assembly of the caste men by the bridegroom himself and the consent is given by the bride's father. The fact is announced by the Yajaman who proclaims that this man's daughter has been given to this man's son. Then one of the caste men beats a drum (ಝೇಲು). Exchange of *timbūlas* (betel-leaves and arecanuts) is made between the parties, and the bridegroom's party supply toddy at their expense to the whole assembly. This is called the ceremony of arecanut and betel-leaves (ವಕ್ಕಾ ಕುಣಿಸ್ತು, ಮು). At this meeting, half the bride-price has to be paid down, but if the bridegroom's party is very poor, some less amount is paid as earnest money. This makes the contract binding; and if the bride's party should afterwards break it, not only has this money to be paid back, but the promise breaker has to pay a heavy fine to the caste. Among the wandering section so strict is the caste discipline that the bride's father who breaks the promise is dragged before the caste assembly which is specially called together, and made to carry a grinding stone and walk round and round the assembly. If, however, the father of the bridegroom withdraws from the contract, he only forfeits the money already paid by him. On the completion of this preliminary ceremony, the marriage may take place either immediately or after some time has elapsed.

Among the settled Dombars who are found only in a few places in the State, it is the custom to arrange for a number of marriages being celebrated together, and to proceed to their Kattémanc (ಕಟ್ಟೇ ಮನೆ) which is Tumkur, to celebrate them, before the temple of their tribal goddess Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) and under the supervision and guidance of their caste headman. If, for any good reason, the marriage has to be performed at the place of either party, the caste headman or his representative must be sent for. In such cases the marriage comes off generally in the house of the bridegroom and continues for three days.

On the day previous to that fixed for the marriage, the bride and her party arrive at the bridegroom's village and are lodged in a separate house or hut. A pandal with

only five pillars is erected, the central or the milk-post being a twig of a *Nerale* (ನೇರಳೆ-*Eugenia jambolana*) tree, brought by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. In the pandal the bride and the bridegroom are separately seated on pounding rods (ಒನಿಕೆಗಳು) and are smeared with turmeric. Then their gods, Sunkalamma (ಸುಂಕಲಮ್ಮ), (Gurumūrti (ಗುರು ಮೂರ್ತಿ) and Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) are set up in the pandal and worshipped by the Yajaman with offerings of food and toddy. The bridal pair prostrate themselves before the gods and touch the feet of the elders to obtain their blessing. In the evening, the bride and the bridegroom are seated together and make *pūja* to two *kalasas* set up before them. This is followed by feasting and drinking.

Next day early in the morning, the bride gets her nails pared, and the bridegroom shaves his face and has his nails also pared. If no barber is available, the maternal uncle performs the service and gets a *tāmbūlu*. Then the boy and the girl are made to sit face to face on two pounding rods and are bathed and are then made to dress themselves in fresh clothes. The bride carrying some rice and fruits packed in her garments is led along with the bridegroom to the marriage pandal, the boy holding a dagger rolled up in a kerchief. They sit facing each other on two pounding rods and between them are placed, in a plate, the *kankanas* (wrist threads), *tālī* (the marriage disc), five toe-rings, with dry cocoanut and other articles. The bride then puts one of the toe-rings on the second toe of the bridegroom's right foot, and a married woman puts the remaining rings on the bride's toes. Then each ties on the right wrist of the other, the *kankanas* which are made of woollen and cotton threads twisted together and a betel-leaf tied to them. In some places the *kankana* is bound by the respective uncles of the bridal party or by one of the elders of the caste. The *tālī* is handed round in the assembly and then put on the bride's neck by the bridegroom while women sing songs. A drum is sounded and a boy proclaims that the marriage has been completed.

All those in the assembly pour milk (the Dhāre) on the heads of the couple joined together; *talabalu* or the throwing of rice on each other's head follows. The pair holding each other by the right hand go round the milk-post thrice and then go to offer cocoanuts to the gods. On returning they again sit on pounding rods and pour into each other's hands, some milk which they drink up. This part of the

ceremony they call milk-union (ಮಲಧಾರ \*). Tāmḇúlas are then distributed to all the assembled, the headman and his deputy being given each two. The couple and some relatives on each side sit together and eat *Buvvam* (ಬುವ್ವಂ) from the same dish.

On the morning of the third day called Nágavali, the newly married couple get their nails pared, and bathing and putting on fresh clothes go to an anthill, in state. They pour milk into the snake holes and make púja burning incense and offering fruits and flowers. The bride carries on her head a small quantity of earth dug out of an anthill; and the pandal posts, are worshipped after their return. In the afternoon after dinner the púja of Simhāsana † takes place. The Vajaman of the caste who is of the Maṭḷi (ಮಟ್ಟಿ) sub-division among the wandering section and of the Sómakurāju (ಸೋಮಲರಾಜು) sub-division, among the settled, officiates at this ceremony, when *tām-búlas* are distributed to the members present, who are scrupulous in exacting that the prescribed order of precedence is observed. That evening the milk-post is removed after the usual púja, and the caste men and the bride's party are given a special treat, a large quantity of toddy being consumed.

Tera or bride-price is Rs. 52. This is paid either at once or in easy instalments. The settled section have, however, reduced the sum to Rs. 24 which they generally pay down at the time of marriage. Sometimes when the girl's parents are in good circumstances, the payment is remitted either partly or in full. But the wandering Dombars are very strict in enforcing the payment. If the bridegroom is too poor to pay, he has to work for his wife's parents till he discharges the debt. If he evades payment, his wife is not sent to his house at all and sometimes is married to another man, who may be able to pay the amount. It is stated that if the wife goes to her husband's house, before the *tera* is discharged against her father's consent, she is never again admitted to the latter's house. The obligation could be enforced by coercion at a caste panchayati, and some accounts say that even after the man's death, his property would remain liable to discharge it. Formerly among the wandering Dombars when a girl was married, the son-in-law had to live in his father-in-law's house, in a separate hut till a child was born. This practice, however, has fallen into desuetude.

\* Pledging truth on milk is considered as the most solemn form of taking oath.

† See the account of the Béda caste, page 9.

The marriage expenses are quite out of proportion to the poor condition of the caste as a whole. During the period of marriage, five to ten pigs are killed to feed the guests and more than 15 rupees is spent in toddy, and drunken brawls among the assembled guests are frequent. The expenses are shared by both parties, but the bridegroom's party contribute the larger share.

When a girl attains puberty, a separate shed is put up Puberty. with date mats and green leaves and she is kept there for seven days, during which time she is considered to be impure. The girl is made to sleep there alone, an old woman being told off to sleep outside the shed to keep watch during the period. The girl is fed on good and nutritious food consisting of dry cocoanut, ghee, gingelly, fried Bengalgram and jaggory in addition to the ordinary fare. In the evenings, married women give her turmeric powder and *kumkuma*. It is considered inauspicious for any one to see this girl for the first time early in the morning. On the 8th day in the morning, the shed is pulled down by the maternal uncle who throws away the materials at a distance from their residence, where the girl sets fire to them. Among the nomadic section, the girl's glass bangles are broken and the string of glass beads (ಕರವಣಿ) is also removed. The clothes worn by her during the period are also burnt in the fire. She goes back wearing an old cloth, and is made to bathe near the house. While bathing she is made to change place three times, two potfuls of warm water being poured over her head, at each place. After bathing, she is given a new cloth to wear but is made to remain outside the house. A hen is sacrificed at the spot where the shed stood. That day, the girl has to take her food outside the house. She bathes early the next morning and fasts till the evening; she has another bath then, and gets new clothes to wear. Then a party of married women take her to the temple of Anjanéya. The god is worshipped, and she is given *tirtha* or holy water. When she returns to the house from the temple, cow's urine is sprinkled on her head. In the house cooked rice is served in a heap on a plantain leaf or an eating dish, to which the girl offers *púja*, burning incense and breaking a cocoanut. Then she touches the rice with her right hand. This rice is then served to the castemen who have assembled there by invitation. The father has to spend two or three rupees for toddy. The girl becomes pure after this entertainment.

Widow  
marriage

The settled Dombars do not allow remarriage of women who have lost their husbands. Among them a widow must remain chaste as long as she continues to reside in her husband's house. If she is found out to have been in criminal intimacy with any one, not only has she to answer a charge before the caste people, but the relations of her deceased husband are fined for her fault. To avoid any such contingency, as soon as a young woman loses her husband, she is sent back to her parent's house by her husband's relations. If she goes back to her father's house, she may become a concubine of any one. The wandering Dombars, on the other hand, freely permit a widow to remarry as many times as she pleases, and there is nothing derogatory in her doing so.

The man selected must not be the brother of her deceased husband and must not be within the prohibited limits of relationship. The ceremony which is the same as in other castes among whom widow marriage is allowed, takes place in the evening and before her father's house. A bachelor may marry a widow, but it is generally a widower, or a married man who wants to have an additional wife that takes her. In the presence of the caste men assembled, he presents her with a white *saree*, and when she is dressed in it, ties a turmeric root in a string to her neck as a *tali*. The jewels which her previous husband might have given her are all returned and the consent of the people of her husband's party is generally taken. The woman loses all her claim to her previous husband's property and the children by him belong to his family. The essential and the binding portion of the marriage is the tying of the turmeric root.

The *tera* or bride-price to be paid is half that payable for a regular marriage, but sometimes even so low a sum as ten or fifteen rupees is accepted. It goes not to the previous husband's family as is the case in some castes, but to the father of the woman, a nominal payment which may be only of a betel-leaf, being sometimes made to the former husband's family. In fact, soon after the death of the husband, his widow, if there is any prospect of her marrying again, goes back to live in her father's house. The consent of the father is first obtained by the man that proposes to wed her. It is also necessary that the caste men should assent to the match, their representative, the Yajaman being formally consulted in the matter. Besides the *tera*, the man has to pay a fine to the caste, give them a dinner and bear the expenses of toddy for the day.

Divorce is allowed at the instance of either party. The marriage tie is so loose that even a small pretext, such as an occasional quarrel, or other incompatibility of temper, will bring on separation. In such cases, before the assembled caste men called together for the purpose, the parties state their unwillingness to remain as man and wife, on account of the ill-treatment of the husband, unchastity on the part of the woman or any other cause, and the relationship is severed when the wife is made to return the *tali* to the husband. The party that is found to be at fault is fined the cost of a dinner with toddy to the caste people. The woman so divorced is, in the case of wandering Dombars, at liberty to marry another, in which case the latter will pay the marriage expenses incurred by the former husband.

Divorce.

Adultery with a man of the same or of a higher caste is condoned by payment of a small fine, and if the husband is willing, he may keep her. If a married woman elopes with a man of the caste, a fine equal to the marriage expenses of the husband is levied and the woman is married to him under *kutige* form. She then becomes his legitimate wife and does not suffer in status. But if a married woman be guilty of adultery with a man of a higher caste, and the husband is not willing to take her back, the caste council levies some fine from her, gives her *tirtha* and makes her a \**kulam bidda* (ಕುಲ ಬಿಡ್ಡೆ, daughter of the tribe), a licensed prostitute.

Adultery.

If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man of the same caste, she will be married to him and the full *tara* of Rs. 52 levied from him, in addition to some fine which always goes to the headman of the caste. If he refuses to marry her, he is outcasted and she is retained in the caste by the Yajaman giving her *tirtha*. She may be married to any man that offers to marry her, or she may be allowed to become a prostitute on payment of a small fine to the caste. If on the other hand an unmarried woman should bear children to a man of a higher caste, she and her children are subjected to some fine, and admitted into the caste after some expiatory ceremony. This ceremony consists in cutting a few locks of her hair, slightly burning the tongue with a bit of gold, making her swallow some *vibhūti* (sacred ashes) and getting her to beg pardon of the *guru* of the caste. She may thereafter marry any one of the caste or may become a prostitute, in which

\* See the Bêla account, Monograph No. III, page 13.

case, she has to undergo the same ceremony of dedication as other girls do.

Dedication  
of Prostitutes

The Dombar caste is notorious for dedicating girls as prostitutes, the reason they assign being that when they adopted the profession of playing on the long poles, a woman was taught the art as being likely to attract a larger and more appreciative audience, and as she thus became the object of attention of the public in general, she could not be married to any and was therefore to be left as a common woman. The practice is as common among the settled as among the wandering Dombars, though the former have long ceased to play on the pole. The wandering section select smart and good looking girls and train them up for athletic feats. Those who succeed in learning them remain unmarried and lead a life of promiscuity. A troupe of Dombars, without at least one prostitute among them is a rare thing. Such women take a prominent part in their exhibitions, and are rarely equalled in dexterity by their male coadjutors. When off the stage, they generally go about in fairs and other public places, so as to attract customers for the more objectionable part of their trade.

The dedication takes place when the girls come of age between fifteen and sixteen. On an auspicious day, the caste people assemble by invitation. The girl is bathed and dressed in new clothes and is seated on a pounding rod before the assembled caste men. Married women or prostitutes similarly dedicated besmear her with turmeric and *kunkuma*, put on *sise* \* and fill her garment with cocoanut, rice and other lucky articles. On rising from her seat, she bows to the elders to receive their blessing, and is then taken in procession to a temple of Anjanéya or Yallamma, a man beating the drum (ᱪᱟᱞᱟᱝ) and women singing songs. She gets *kurtha* from the *pūjari*. Before the temple the caste men congregate, and the girl is seated in their midst on a pounding rod. She is again besmeared with turmeric and *kunkuma* and the maternal uncle ties a *tāli* to her neck. Basavis or married women pour *sise* on her. The girl bows to the caste men assembled and is then conducted home in procession. At home a good dinner is provided for the guests by the father who also pays for their entertainment in the toddy shop in the evening.

\* See account of the Koracha caste, Monograph No. VII. page 10.

The settled section of the community observe nearly the same ceremonies with slight variations at the dedication of a girl to this life. A measure filled with rice with a cotton thread wound round it is placed by her side to represent a bridegroom, when she sits in the temple at the time of the ceremony. *Simhāsana pūja* takes place and the permission of the caste is given by the *Yajaman* to give her license to lead a life of prostitution.

The wandering section of the Dombars repeat the same ceremonies as are observed at the marriage, on a smaller scale, when the girl thus dedicated as a harlot, receives her first lover. The latter has to present her with new clothes and four rupees and they are provided with a new hut and a cot to sleep in. Basavis only take part in bringing them together and indecent songs are sung, while the girl and her paramour are seated on the cot. But the latter when not hardened often feels too bashful to submit to such public treatment, and then the girl alone sits during the time the Basavis sing songs, and he is allowed to smuggle himself in after all the women guests withdraw.

These public women are said to remain faithful to their protectors when kept as concubines. It is even asserted that they may be flogged and fined by the caste if they prove false. Such a woman may, however, be set free being given a parting *Tāmbūla* (ವಕ್ಕು ಕು). A dedicated woman who does not enter into an alliance of a more or less permanent nature is free to consort with any man, provided he is not of a lower caste, such as Holeyā, Mādiga Nāyinda (barber) or Agasa (washerman). Sometimes the Basavis get themselves branded with Vaishnava symbols of *Sanakha* and *Chakra* and then their bodies may after death be carried and buried by Dāsaris.

A Basavi who wishes to give up her life of prostitution may be married in the *kūṭike* form; she will not be allowed to perform acrobatic feats in public after this; and her children born before the marriage are left with her father.

The Dombars bury the dead. In some places, the corpse of a pregnant woman, or of one suffering from leprosy, is disposed of by heaping stones on it, at a spot near a hill (*kallu-sēre ಕಲ್ಲುಸೇವೆ* stone service). The body is carried in a lying posture by hands among the wandering, and on a bier (ಚಟ್ಟು) among the settled Dombars. The chief mourner carries fire and a pot full of water, walking

Death ceremonies



before the procession. The body is buried with the head turned to the south and the chief mourner breaks the pot at the head side and sticks the firebrand in the ground there. The surviving widow breaks her bangles there and takes off her *tālī*. After washing their hands and feet in a water-course, the whole party repair to a liquor shop where a pot of toddy\* is kept ready for them. The chief mourner pours toddy on the hands of the carriers to wash, and hands over one or two jugs of it to each of them. Then all drink the toddy and the party return to the deceased's house with a jugful of the liquor. They look at a light burning on the spot where the deceased expired and after condoling with the family, the relatives return to their houses. At night, a ball of rice (cooked) mixed with curds, styled *jīca mudda* (ಜೀವ ಮುದ್ದ) is kept on fine sand spread at the place of death, with a little water and the jug of toddy. Early in the morning the next day, the spot is examined with great care to see whether the spirit of the deceased has visited the place and partaken of the refreshments, as indicated by any marks visible on the sand bed. Then the remaining rice, toddy and water are thrown on a green plant.

On the third day, they place offerings on a low platform of earth raised on the grave. Rice cooked with pork and such other things as the deceased was particularly fond of, not excluding snuff and tobacco, are laid on two plantain leaves as *edē* (ಎಡೆ) and frankincense is burnt, and the spirit is exhorted not to molest the survivors. The offerings are in the end given up to crows. Again on the eleventh day, the family members bathe and putting on washed clothes go to the grave-yard, where food cooked with meat is again offered.

A *tithi* (ತಿಥಿ) or feast of the dead is performed at the end of the month. On that day, all the members bathe, and renew the cooking earthen pots, throwing out the old ones as polluted. Their headman is invited to purify the house. In the central part of it, a *kalasa* is installed. New clothes are kept near it together with food and toddy. Incense is burnt, and a pig or sheep is sacrificed. A dinner is given to the caste men and they spend the whole night in drinking as if to drown their sorrow in liquor. It is after this that the death pollution is fully removed. Those of the caste who have the Vaishnava symbols,

\* This is in some places bought by the caste men who give it to the chief mourner and his party by way of condolence.

Sankha and Chakra branded and who are called *Tirumamdhāris* invite a Sātāni man to officiate at these ceremonies. The priest installs a Chakra and does pūja to it both at the burial ground and at home, offering it large quantities of toddy which he distributes to them as *tīrtha*, reserving a good quantity for himself.

They do not perform Srāddhas. On the New Year, Mahālaya new moon, and Gauri feast days, they offer new clothes in the names of all the deceased ancestors; but the wandering section rarely observe these ceremonies. If a wife has any troubles attributed to the molestation of the ghost of her husband's deceased wife, a *tūli* consecrated in the latter's name is worn by her. They do not perform any additional ceremony for those who die of an unnatural death.

The settled portion of the caste are found in Tumkur, Manchenahalli in the Goribidnur Taluk (Kolar District) and in the Chiknayakanhalli Taluk (Tumkur District). These are all related to one another, and the other place where they are found in pretty large number is Kodikonda in the Hindupur Taluk of the Madras Presidency. Their dwelling houses are generally built apart from the quarters of the other castes and do not differ in character from other houses of people of a similar station in life. The wandering section always pitch their huts outside the villages, and part of the reason in both cases is that they tend pigs in large numbers, which would be an intolerable nuisance to neighbours, if they settled near the other castes. The huts of the wandering men are made of bent bamboos covered over with date mats, in the form and size of the tops of country carts; and they carry them from place to place on donkeys or oxen. They are generally too small for the family, which huddles itself close together to keep off the cold. The few things they possess such as the implements of their trade are thrown inside; but they keep their beasts of burden in the open, and provide a separate enclosure for their pigs. Their cooking is also done outside the huts. The prostitutes are provided with separate huts or rooms, so that they may entertain their visitors without attracting undue notice. Dombars generally move in gangs of ten or twelve families, under the leadership of an elderly member, and each settlement is guarded by watch dogs which keep excellent watch at nights.

Settlements

Social  
status.

The Dombars are low in social status. The wandering section eat at the hands of Vaddas and Bédas, but the settled people draw the line with the Bestas. Except Holeyas and Mádigas, no one eats in their houses. They eat the flesh of all kinds of animals, bats, cats, \* owls, rats, and bandicoots included. Some eat crows also; but beef and the flesh of monkeys and snakes are eschewed. The settled section have given up eating owls and bandicoots.

The Dombars are considered as impure to touch, though they are allowed to enter the outer apartments of the houses of the higher castes. Brahmins help them only to fix auspicious days and to discover whether a proposed match is agreeable to the rules of astrology, but they do not officiate at any religious or other ceremonies for them. Dombars are very hard drinkers, women and children being also addicted to the vice, and their camps are generally noisy and troublesome to those who live near at nights. They may draw water from the village well. The barber shaves them and pares their toe-nails and the washerman has no objection to wash their clothes. But as a matter of fact, the wandering Dombars have rarely any clothes to be put to the washerman, and the little washing that may be necessary they do themselves. They are allowed to enter the outer parts of the temples, but take no part in the ceremonies connected therewith. Their position in social rank is the same as that of the Korachas.†

Admission  
into the  
caste.

The Dombars freely admit recruits both male and female from any caste not lower than their own, as fixed by the test of commensality. Korachas are not admitted and it is said that Brahmins and others of the higher castes are also not admitted. The usual incentive for others to join the ranks of Dombars is the sexual passion for either sex. When a man, especially of a higher caste,

\* It is considered a great sin to kill a cat, but they say that the sin of killing is washed away by eating it.

(ಕೊಂದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಪ ತೊಂದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಯಿತು)

† It is said that the Korachas and the Dombars were formerly related as brothers. Once upon a time when both were in need of a bride, they began to bid for the same girl by gradually increasing the bride-price. Dombars brought up the price to 20 pagodas and stopped there, while the Korachas increased the bid to 25 pagodas, and carried away the Girl. Ever since they have been separated into two rival groups.

is blinded by his passion for a Dombar prostitute and offers to join their society, she generally dissuades him at first. He is taken into the fold only if he proves intractable. The headman and other members of the caste assemble at the hut of the convert who is again given a chance to retract. If he is firm, he has to shave his head, beard and mustachios clean, and after bathing, is taken with the wet clothes on to the temple of Yallamma. He is purified by having his tongue slightly branded with a piece of heated gold, and with swallowing Panchagavya\* and the *Pūjāri* sprinkles some *tīrtha* on his head, and gives him a spoonful to drink. He feeds the castemen and removes the leaves himself† after dinner; he has also to supply them with drink that evening. Besides, a money contribution has to be paid to the temple of the tribal goddess, and the Yajaman who has given the sanction has to be presented either with money or a pair of cloths, or some other thing of value. If the person that is admitted is a woman, her paramour bears all the cost. He cannot put off the event indefinitely and should there be any unreasonable delay, he is excommunicated. Admission into the caste in this manner makes a man as good a member of the caste as if he had been born in it. He labours under no disability and the issue born of his connection with the Dombar woman are legitimised.

Caste organisation.

Dombars have a tribal organisation to enquire into and punish infractions of caste rules. The rigidity with which these rules are enforced varies in the two sections. There is no doubt that these two sections formed one society and were under the same authority, but as one of them became settled, it seems to have formed its own councils which are quite independent of those of their parent stock. The Yajaman or the head of the settled Dombars is a man belonging to the Sômalārāju sub-division, and as these men form a compact community found in a few places only, his authority over them is effective. His office is hereditary. He resides in Tumkur, and when disputes arise, the parties generally go to that place to obtain his adjudication. When they cannot go, he goes to their place or sends his representative, and no important event can take place within the caste without his presence or that of his representative. It is for this reason that they generally perform many marriages together at once. They have another hereditary functionary called the minor yajaman or *kondikāḍu* (ಕೊಂಡಿಕಾಡು, beadle) who

\* See page 23 of the account of Komati caste Monograph No. VI.

† i. e., the leaves out of which they have eaten their food.

acts as the convener of caste meetings and the headman's general assistant. On important and ceremonial occasions, they get an extra *tímbúla* each; and when any caste dispute is decided, they get some honorarium, either payment of money or the presentation of a cloth. The Guru of the settled Dombars is a Srivaishnava Brahman, said to be a resident of Chelur in the Tumkur District. He visits them occasionally, gives them *tirtha* and *prasáda* (holy water and holy victuals) and is rewarded with some customary fees.

The wandering section, owing to their nomadic life, is broken up into a number of groups, each having its own Yajaman. The common head of this section is said to be a man of the *Matli* (ಮಟ್ಟಿ) sub-division and is styled *Matli Náyadu* (ಮಟ್ಟಿನಾಯಡು) who is regarded as having supreme jurisdiction over them both in spiritual and temporal matters. His head-quarters are in Chitvel in the Pullam-pet Taluk of the Cuddapah District. Formerly, this office<sup>1</sup> belonged to the *Nátakaráyana* (ನಾಟಕರಾಯನ) sub-division, but one of the holders thereof lost the esteem of the community by his low behaviour. There was a dispute about his retaining this dignity, and the Pályégár (petty chief) of the place who was asked to decide it, hung up a \* *tórana* (ತೋರಣ) of the cocoanut kernels to the town gate, and ruled that the party which would succeed in throwing down the *tórana* by jumping over it, should have the headship. A boy of the *Matli* tribe who had been tending donkeys, succeeded in accomplishing the feat by taking a single somersault over the *tórana* and standing before the chief at another somersault. Thus pleased, the Pályégár passed an edict that he and his descendants should be recognised as the head of the caste. He also presented the boy with an inam of wet lands worth twelve *varahas* (pagodas) and a ring. This ring is still said to be in the possession of the present representative of this division, and to bear an inscription in Telugu, declaring that the wearer is the headman of all the Dombars "within the four seas." A person of the *Mannepala* (ಮನ್ನೇಪಲ) also styled *Gandhaparajula* (ಗಂಧಪರಾಜುಲ) division is the hereditary *Pradháni* (ಪ್ರಧಾನಿ) or the lieutenant of the Yajaman. The authority of these men is, however, only nominal, and many groups of wandering Dombars know their distant headmen

\* *Torana* (ತೋರಣ) is a string with green leaves or flowers or other articles tied to and stretched across an entrance as a decoration, and to denote an auspicious occasion.

only by repute. On marriage and other occasions, however, they allot the first two *tumbilas* to these two functionaries.

For settling disputes that may arise, each wandering gang or three or four together elect among themselves a *Yajaman* and a *Buddhiranta* (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತ or Deputy), from the *Matli* and *Munnepala* families, if available. They meet periodically to settle disputes that may have accumulated in the interval and the disputants pay the cost of maintaining them. They have very wide powers, and the guilty person may be fined, flogged or put out of caste. They thus settle not merely caste disputes, but also property disputes, and these Dombars rarely resort to Courts. An outcaste is denied all intercourse with his relations and can secure his reinstatement only by obedience and payment of an additional fine.

The settled Dombars follow the Hindu Law of Inheritance. If a man dies leaving sons and Basavi daughters, each of the latter gets half as much as the share of each son. The caste Panchayat always allot some property to a destitute and widowed daughter. If at the time of the father's death a Basavi daughter has died leaving children behind her, the latter are entitled to the share of their mother. When a Basavi dies without issue, her property goes to her brothers and Basavi sisters in the same proportion as above mentioned. Inheritance

Among wandering Dombars, they have little need for rules of inheritance, as they rarely possess property to divide. The father is the sole owner of the few beasts of burden a family may possess and the other scanty articles. If, after his death, a partition is desired, the elders of the group meet and effect a partition.

All the Dombars whether settled or wandering, have great faith in sorcery, magic, omens, oracles, etc. When ever they commence any important event, they consult the soothsayer or ask for a flower, as they style it, from their tribal deity. Religion and superstitions.

The name of their tribal god is *Gurumurti* (ಗುರುಮೂರ್ತಿ) and their tribal goddess is *Yallamma* (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ). Like other wandering tribes, they also worship *Maramma*, *Sunkalamma*, and other malicious spirits. In recent years, they have been largely influenced, by the Vaishnava faith and many have undergone the branding of the symbols of that faith, namely, *Sankha* and *Chakra*, at the hands of the Sâtânis

and undertake pilgrimages to Tirupati, the shrine of Venkatarāmanaswāmi, in the North Arcot District. In the quarters of the settled Dombars, when they contain sufficiently large number of houses, they invariably have a temple for Yallamma which they worship under the name (recently given) of Adi-Sakti (అదిశక్తి). They strongly believe that any neglect shown in the worship of this goddess is sure to bring on misfortune to their families. The Yajaman of the caste is the *pūjāri* and he worships the goddess on every Tuesday, making offerings of cocoanut, plantains and cooked rice. Once a year, on the Lunar new year's day, animals are sacrificed before this temple.

They periodically hold a grand feast in the name of Yallamma. On such occasions, the settled section all meet together in one place, generally Tumkur, but the nomadic section celebrate the worship when two or three groups happen to meet together at a place. The worship comes off on a Tuesday. On a spot cleaned with cowdung and water, six or seven pots of toddy are arranged in a row on planks laid thereon, the central pot being considered as representing the goddess. Margosa leaves and cotton thread dipped in turmeric are tied to each, turmeric paste and *kumkuma* being also applied to them. All the people of the caste assembled there take a bath and put on washed clothes. The Yajaman, who has observed fast the previous evening, also bathes and dressing himself with washed clothes supplied by the washerman, worships the pots with great reverence. All the people sit round with folded hands. Offerings of cocoanuts and flowers are made, and frankincense is burnt in large quantities. Then a number of sheep and goats are killed by the *pūjāri* after sprinkling *tirtha* (holy water) on them. The *Asādi* of the Mādiga caste, who has been invited for the occasion, sings the praises of Yallamma who takes possession of one of them. The toddy in the pots (except the central one), with more quantity added, if necessary, is distributed among all those assembled who get fully drunk. This revelry continues the whole night. Early the next morning, *mangalānti* (మంగళాంతి) is waved to the remaining pot and the liquor therein also distributed to all present as *tirtha*. This is followed by a general dinner.

When Sunkalanamma is worshipped, an earthen pot filled with water is installed on a Tuesday under a tree, and before it on a plantain leaf, cooked rice and curds with

an onion are offered. Turmeric and *kumkuma* are put on the pot. No animal is killed.

Dombars worship a number of other minor gods and goddesses, such as Munisvara (ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ), Gurumūrti (ಗುರುಮೂರ್ತಿ), Māramma (ಮಾರಮ್ಮ) and Kortigeramma (ಕೊರ್ತೆಗರೆಯಮ್ಮ-a local goddess). Another peculiar goddess is known as Kāluvaḷiamma (ಕಾಲುವಳಿಯಮ್ಮ). This is a goddess of epidemics and is believed to accompany travellers when they return from a long journey. To propitiate this deity, those who have just returned to the settlement repair to a grove and there set up three small stones under a tree and worship them with the offering of a fowl or a sheep. The sacrificed animal is cooked there and is eaten by the people attending the worship.

The characteristic profession of these men is the exhibition of rope-dancing and other acrobatic and athletic exercises. Occupation They show considerable dexterity in their feats, and many of their feats would bring credit to members of any ordinary circus troupe organised in much more elaborate fashion. The women especially are adepts in exhibitions on the pole or the tight rope. They play in the open maidan and make a collection at the close, the plate being taken round, for obvious reasons, by the most attractive member of the troupe. The collections may amount to anything up to 20 rupees according to the size of the place and the ability of the performers to please the audience. Sometimes they get presents of clothes. Their performances are not now so largely patronised as when there were no better organised circus companies going about the country. The want of finish and management interfere with the success of the *scandési* work in this as in so many other departments. The Dombars have a supply of blunt swords, scimitars, daggers and other antiquated arms which they exhibit on a cloth spread before the audience during the performance.

They make combs of various kinds of soft wood and sometimes of sandalwood or horn and vend them in villages and towns. It is said that a goldsmith paramour of a Dombar woman taught them the art, presenting her with the few instruments (saw, chisel and file) required for the work; and the Dombars show particular regard to goldsmiths as their patrons. It is chiefly the women that manufacture these articles and hawk them about in the streets.

Dombars are included among the criminal tribes and are placed under surveillance. They are credited with



daring and love of excitement. They obtain information of likely places for raiding through their women, and before embarking on any such enterprise, they invoke the aid of their goddess. They are also said to train their boys by an apprenticeship to this trade.\*

Dombars also breed pigs on a large scale which boys and women are employed to graze. Men engage themselves as day labourers in the villages near or about which they encamp, their women going about begging also. They are expert bird catchers, which they secure either by spreading snares or applying bird-lime (ಚಗಟು) on their roosts.

The settled Dombars are almost all engaged in agricultural pursuits, the proceeds of which they supplement by comb making and pig breeding.

Miscellaneous.

Dombars are vindictive, and should they consider themselves ill-treated or slighted at any village they may have visited, or not sufficiently remunerated for their gymnastic feats, they take other steps to remunerate themselves at the expense of the inhabitants thereof. Men usually wear short hip-trousers made of coarse white cloth and styled *challana* (ಚಲ್ಲಣ), and sometimes after a series of successful forays or at festivals and when they give their performances, they put on gaily shawls, jackets and laced turbans. These articles of dress are sometimes obtained as presents, but not infrequently by less legitimate means. Another characteristic part of their dress is the cotton waist band (ಸಮಕಟ್ಟು) of black colour ornamented with hanging tassels at either end. While performing, they tie this band round, pass it tightly between the legs and tuck up the ends at the waist. They wear a silver *tūli* (ತುಳಿ) with an effigy of Hanumanta engraved on it suspended round the neck, silver bangles on the wrists and also silver rings.

The family women of the nomadic section, do not wear *rurike* (bodice) and put on glass beads profusely round the neck. The prostitutes are more civilised and their dress and ornaments are the same as those of other more respectable classes, the one ornament which distinguishes a prostitute from the rest being a silver bangle (ಕಪ್ಪ) which she wears round her left ankle.

Their women undergo tattooing, the operation being performed by a woman of the Korama caste. The designs

\* Notes on the Criminal Tribes of the Madras Presidency-Mullaly.

are the ordinary ones, but a prostitute has a streak (સિલ) of tattoo on her forehead and if she is so disposed, gets a likeness of her favourite paramour tattooed on her arm.

It is reported that a section of the wandering Dombars do not eat food after they hear the sound of the jackals in the night and that like the Jains they have their evening meal before sunset.

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## APPENDIX A.

Words, phrases, etc., in the Dombar dialect and their equivalents in English.

## NOUNS

Karuvu	...	ಕರುವು	...	(1) Hut (2) Village
Game	...	ಗನ್ನೆ	...	Toddy
Kowruganne	...	ಕಾರುಗನ್ನೆ	...	Arrack
Kavuru	...	ಕವುರು	...	News
Mesa	...	ಮೆಸ	...	Food
Pachcham	...	ಪಚ್ಚಂ	...	Dhall water
Tiluvu	...	ತಿಲುವು	...	Water
Tadem	...	ತಾಡಂ	...	(1) Way (2) Door
Sirasam	...	ಸಿರಸಂ	...	Head
Vagatam	...	ವಾಗಟಂ	...	Mouth
Kivistaram	...	ಕೀವಿಸ್ತರಂ	...	Ear
Chattam	...	ಚತ್ತಂ	...	(1) Hand (2) A field
Pashtyam or patimu	...	ಪಾಷ್ಠ್ಯಂ or ಪಾಟಮು	...	Leg
Kanigam	...	ಕನಿಗಂ	...	Blood
Nerem	...	ನೆರೆಂ	...	Hair
Pattemu	...	ಪಟ್ಟೆಮು	...	Stomach
Abba	...	ಅಬ್ಬ	...	Father
Siragadu	...	ಸಿರಗಡು	...	Son (male child)
Pinka	...	ಪಿಂಕ	...	Daughter (female child)
Tobbirikam	...	ತೊಬ್ಬಿರಿಕಂ	...	(1) A man (2) Husband
Masa	...	ಮಸ	...	(1) Woman (2) Wife
Mandirènu	...	ಮಂದಿರೇನು	...	Wife
Dásimasariga	...	ದಾಸಿಮಸರಿಗ	...	A prostitute
Nerupam	...	ನೆರುಪಂ	...	Marriage
Pakyalu	...	ಪಕ್ಯಲು	...	Rice (uncooked)
Kivulu	...	ಕೀವುಲು	...	Ragi

## APPENDIX A—contd.

Pattukondi	... ಪಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡಿ	... Paddy
Daipaḍam	... ದೈಪಡಂ	... Pestle
Kalastaram	... ಕಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Grinding stone or stone
Tegem	... ತೆಗೆಂ	... Rope
Nelastaram	... ನೆಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Ground
Malastaram	... ಮಲಸ್ತರಂ	... Tree
Bólistaram	... ಬೋಲಿಸ್ತರಂ	... A mat
Irupam	... ಇರುಪಂ	... (1) A hill (2) Wood
Elem	... ಎಲೆಂ	... (1) A leaf (2) Paper
Malem	... ಮಲೆಂ	... Rain
Nerupam	... ನೆರುಪಂ	... Sunshine
Dévarikam	... ದೇವರಿಕಂ	... (1) Light (2) God
Gontṭikam	... ಗೊಂಟಿಕಂ	... Arecanut
Elēmu	... ಎಲೇಮು	.. Betel-leaf
Búrigyálamu	... ಬೂರಿಗ್ಯಾಲಮು	... Tobacco
Telipem	... ತಲಿಪೆಂ	... Chunnam (lime)
Rettáni	... ರೆತ್ತಾನಿ	... Night
Kanṭṭikam	... ಕಂಟಿಕಂ	... Brass vessel (ಚಂಬು)
Tatṭṭekam	... ತಟ್ಟಿಕಂ	... Cot
Kógilam	... ಕೋಗಿಲಂ	.. Earthen vessel
Vàtukoyyi	... ವಾಟುಕೊಯ್ಯಿ	... A bag
Kenda	... ಕೆಂದ	... A cloth
Masagatākenda	... ಮಸಗಟೆಕೆಂದ	... Woman's cloth (a sādī)
Sirasapukenda	... ಸಿರಸಪುಕೆಂದ	... Head cloth (turban)
Tuḍuvukenda	... ತುಡುವುಕೆಂದ	... Lip trousers
Netlakenda	... *ನೆಟ್ಟುಕೆಂದ	... Large cloth, a blanket
Gorapaḍam kenda	... ಗೊರಪಡಂಕೆಂದ	... Sheep cloth or coarse woollen blanket (ಕಂಬಳ)
Gorapaḍam menrem...	ಗೊರಪಡಂಮೇರಂ	... A sheep

\* Netla means large or big.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

Elemgoddédi	... ಎಲಿಂಗೊದ್ದೇದಿ	... Eater of leaves a goat
Kaike	... ಕೈಕೆ	... A dog
Nadava or Sikkanadava	ನಡವ or ಸಿಕ್ಕನಡವ	... A donkey
Netlanadava	... ನೆಲ್ಲನಡವ	... A horse (a big donkey)
Badisam	... ಬಡಿಕಂ	... A cow or bullock
Dagarugoddédi	... ದಗರುಗೊದ್ದೇದಿ	... A buffalo (eater of night soil)
Mannigam	... ಮನ್ನಿಗಂ	... A pig
Lyuva	... ಲ್ಯುವ	... A fowl
Kásikam	... ಕಾಸಿಕಂ	... A cat
Chinna Narasigádu	... ಚಿನ್ನನರಸಿಗಾಡು	... A jackal
Netla Narasigádu	... ನೆಲ್ಲನರಸಿಗಾಡು	... A tiger
Jáyikam	... ಜಾಯಿಕಂ	... A sword
Nádamarupam	... ನಾದಮರುಪಂ	... A gun
Netla Irupam	... ನೆಲ್ಲಇರುಪಂ	... The pole
Minem	... ಮಿನೆಂ	... The stout rope for tying to the pole
Marupam	... ಮರುಪಂ	... Dombar paly
Gonḍelu or Gónelu	... ಗೊಂಡೆಲು or ಗೋನೆಲು	... Rupees
Biluvulu	... ಬಿಲುವುಲು	... Copper coins (ದುಡ್ಡುಗಳು)
Sirupalu	... ಸಿರುಪಲು	... Pies (ಕಾಸುಗಳು)
Bāgumgónē	... ಬಾಗಂಗೋನೆ	... Half a rupee
*Pink	... *ಪಿಂಕ	... Quarter of a rupee
Chintaginja	... ಚಿಂತಗಿಂಜ	... One anna (a tamarind seed)
Dondódu	... ದೊಂದೋಡು	... A shop keeper a Kómati
Suttetikádu	... ಸುತ್ತೇಟಕಾಡು	... A sliver smith
Gannódu	... ಗನ್ನೋಡು	... Idiga (toddy drawer)
Kogiláloḍu	... ಕೋಗಿಲಾಲೋಡು	... A potter
Neráloḍu	... ನೆರಾಲೋಡು	... Barber (man of the hair)
Kendalódu	... ಕಂದಲೋಡು	... Washerman
Elikódu	... ಎಲಿಕೋಡು	... The patel
Tānangivādu	... ತಾನಂಗಿವಾಡು	... (1) The shanbhog (2) A Brahmin

\* Also means a female child or daughter.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*

Púróḍu	...	ಪೂರೋಡು	...	The tálari (watchman)
Lairóḍu	...	ಲೈರೋಡು	...	The tóti
Jóḍamóḍu	...	ಜೋಡಮೋಡು	...	A police constable
Gemma	...	ಗೆಮ್ಮೆ	...	A thief
Neṭḷaṭaruva	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಕರುವ	...	Cutcherry or Police station (a big house)
Tatekam	...	ತಟಕಂ	...	(1) A tank (2) Train
Savarénainóḍu	...	ಸವರೇನೈನೋಡು	...	A wiseman
Sonapam	...	ಸೋನಪಂ	...	Jewels
Túparam	...	ತೂಪರಂ	...	Bangles
Neṭḷóḷḷu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟೋಳ್ಳು	...	Big men or king
Neṭḷabiḍimóḍu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಬಿಡಿಮೋಡು	...	Guru or king
Mundarajampa	...	ಮುಂದರಜಂಪ	...	Somersault (ಮುಂಗಾಣಿ)
Lenkáṭam	...	ಲೆಂಕಾಟಂ	...	do (ಹಿಂಗಾಣಿ)
Jarikam	...	ಜರಿಕಂ	...	Shoe
*Gonṭikam	...	ಗೊಂಟಿಕಂ	...	Horn of a bullock
Gabbidi	...	ಗಬ್ಬಿಡಿ	...	A pregnant woman
Adimóḍu	...	ಅದಿಮೋಡು	...	He

## NUMERALS.

Ojogaṭi	...	ಒಜೋಗಟ	...	One
Nainam	...	ನೈನಂ	...	Two
Súlam	...	ಸೂಲಂ	...	Three
Maggam	...	ಮಗ್ಗಂ	...	Four
Chattam	...	ಚತ್ತಂ	...	Five (fingers of the hand, the latter being called 'chattam)
Kyàsàru	...	ಕ್ಯಾಸಾರು	...	Six
Gópáram	...	ಗೋಪಾರಂ	...	Seven
Nainam maggálu	...	ನೈನಂ ಮಗ್ಗಾಲು	...	Eight (two fours)
Ojogaṭi vaidu	...	ಒಜೋಗಟವೈದು	...	Nine or 1 less (then ten)

\*It also means Arecanut.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*NUMERALS—*concl'd.*

Gachchakáyi	....	ಗಚ್ಚ ಕಾಯಿ	...	Ten
Do	Ojogaṭi	...	ದಿಟೋ ಒಬೋಗಟಿ	Eleven (ten & one)
Do	Iggénu	...	ದಿಟೋ ಇಗ್ಗೇನು	Twelve
Do	Súlam	...	ದಿಟೋ ಸೂಲಂ	Thirteen (ten & three)
Nainamgachchakāyi	...	ನೈನಂಗಚ್ಚ ಕಾಯಿ	...	Twenty (two times ten)
Silam	do	...	ಸೂಲಂ ದಿಟೋ	Thirty (three times ten)
* Neṭṭa gachchakāyi	...	ನೆಟ್ಟ ಗಚ್ಚ ಕಾಯಿ	..	Hundred (big ten)

## VERBS.

† Neṭṭumáḍipilu	...	ನೆಟ್ಟುಮಾಡಿಪಿಲು	...	To bow (ನಮಸ್ಕಾರ ಮಾಡು),
Sáyichehu	...	ಸಾಯಿಚ್ಚು	...	Come
Purigilu or óḍigilu	...	ಪಾರಿಗಿಲು or ಒಡಿಗಿಲು	...	Run
Suniya or Sonchu	...	ಸುನಿರು or ಸೂಂಚು	...	Go
Kàvu	...	ಕಾವು	...	Go
Pimmu	...	ಪಿಮ್ಮು	...	Give or keep
Kéḍu	...	ಕೇಡು	...	Ask
Bávalichehu or much-chipillu	...	ಬಾವಲಿಚ್ಚು ಮುಚ್ಚಿ ಪಿಲ್ಲು	...	Hide or conceal
Nabbinamu	...	ನಬ್ಬಿನಮು	...	Hide or reside
Máripilu	...	ಮಾರಿಪಿಲು	...	Sell
Ituko	...	ಈತುಕೋ	...	Take or buy
Killuko	...	ಕಿಲ್ಲುಕೋ	...	Lie down or sleep
Ettipilu	...	ಎತ್ತಿಪಿಲು	...	Get up or rise
Karinchu	...	ಕರಿಂಚು	...	Kill
Karaṭe	...	ಕರಟೆ	...	Died
Daipu	...	ದೈಪು	...	Beat
Kaipu	...	ಕೈಪು	...	Eat
Yájiniku	...	ಯಾಜಿನಿಕು	...	Withdraw
Sutṭavillu	...	ಸುಟ್ಟವಿಲ್ಲು	...	Burn
Marugu	...	ಮರುಗು	...	Join
Baddichehu	...	ಬದ್ದಿಚ್ಚು	...	Know or understand
Sonaìyipu	...	ಸೊಂದಾಯಿಪು	...	Send away

\* They have no words for numbers above one hundred.

† The ending *pilu* used largely to convert *nouns* into *verbs*.

APPENDIX A—*contd.*VERBS.—*concl'd.*

Karipilu	...	ಕರಿಪಿಲು	...	Receive
Nabbadu	...	ನಬ್ಬದು	...	Is not or no

## CLAUSES.

Gemmalichchu	...	ಗೆಮ್ಮಲಿಚ್ಚು	...	To steal
Párigilatádu	...	ಪಾರಿಗಿಲತಾಡು	...	He runs
Sáyistádu	...	ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾಡು	...	He comes
Karuvukávu	...	ಕರುವುಕಾವು	...	Go into the hut or village
Pattemu sutṭa viltadi	ಪಟ್ಟಮುಸುಟ್ಟಿ ಎಲ್ತಡಿ	...	I feel hungry (my stomach burns)	
Tiluvukaipu	...	ತಿರುವುಕ್ಕೈಪು	...	Drink water
Mesakaipu	...	ಮೆಸಕ್ಕೈಪು	...	Eat food
Yádelipitiki sonche	...	ಯಾದೆಲಿಪಿತಿಕಿಸಂಚೆ	...	Went out
Adikku nabbinamu	...	ಅದಿಕ್ಕು ನಬ್ಬಿ ನಮು	...	We live that side
Adimóðikelle	...	ಅದಿಮೋಡಿಕೆಲ್ಲೆ	...	Fell down to the ground
Máripilatádu	...	ಮಾರಿಪಿಲತಾಡು	...	He sells
Netlasiraga ayyindi	...	ನೆಟ್ಟಸಿರಗಾಯ್ತೆಂದಿ	...	She has attained puberty (she has become big child)
Tobbirikam sáyistadi	ತೊಬ್ಬಿರಿಕಂ ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಡಿ	...	Marriage consummation takes place	
Dànni pimmukonnádu	ದಾನ್ನಿ ಪಿಮ್ಮುಕ್ಕೊನ್ನಾಡು	...	He has kept her	
Pillaggáviri	...	ಪಿಲ್ಲಗ್ಗಾವಿರಿ	...	He was (arrested and) taken away
Pachchéga	...	ಪಚ್ಚೇಗೆ	...	Let us go
Ejam nabbadu	...	ಎಜಂನಬ್ಬದು	...	There is not anything
Adimódu sádénabbadu	ಅದಿಮೋಡುಸಾದೇನಬ್ಬದು	...	He did not come	
Rettániki sáyistanu	...	ರೆತ್ತಾನಿಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾನು	...	I shall come this night
Adimónidagḡira gávu	ಅದಿಮೋನಿದಗ್ಗಿರ ಗಾವು	...	Go to him & he will give you four rupees	
maggam gróuelu	ಮಗ್ಗಂಗೋನಲು	...		
pimmutádu.	ಪಿಮ್ಮುತಾಡು	...		



## APPENDIX A—concl'd.

## CLAUSES—concl'd.

Elem daḍaputádu ...	ಎಲೆಂದಡುಪುತಾಡು ...	He writes
Páṭemulo daiputádu ...	ಪಾಟೆಮುಲೊದೈಪುತಾಡು.	He kicks
Vandla karuvulo nera- pam outundi mesapu- táru sonchu.	ವಾಂಡ್ಲ ಕರುವುಲೊ ನೆರವ ಮುಟಿತುಂದಿ ಮೆಸಪುತಾ ರುಸೊಂತು	Marriage takes place in their house, & they will give you food
Iddaru sáyistáru oganni karipiluko oganni sondáyipu	ಇದ್ದರು ಸಾಯಿಸ್ತಾರು, ಬಗೆ ನ್ನಿ ಕರಿಪಿಲು ಕೋ ಬಗೆ ನ್ನಿ ಸೊಂದಾಯಿಪು	Two persons are com- ing, receive one (into the hut) and send away the other
Nerupam peṭṭutádi ...	ನೆರುಪಂಪೆಟ್ಟುತಾಡಿ ...	Sunshine comes

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## APPENDIX B.

List of sub-divisions of Dombars which are neither endogamous nor exogamous.

- 1 Aisarapóllu (ಐಸರಪೋಳು).
- 2 Bhūpativāllu (ಭೂಪತಿವಾಳು).
- 3 Gandbapurājuvāllu (ಗಂಧಪುರಾಜುವಾಳು).
- 4 Gōṇṇudāsuvāllu (ಗೋಣ್ಣುದಾಸುವಾಳು).
- 5 Jattivāllu (ಜಟ್ಟಿವಾಳು).
- 6 Kaggadivāllu (ಕಗ್ಗಡಿವಾಳು).
- 7 Kalabandivāllu (ಕಲಬಂದಿವಾಳು).
- 8 Kanakaraḍḍivāllu (ಕನಕರಡ್ಡಿವಾಳು).
- 9 Kāserupuvāllu (ಕಾಸರುಪುವಾಳು).
- 10 Kastūrivāllu (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿವಾಳು).
- 11 Kūtavarāllu (ಕೂತರವಾಳು).
- 12 Mallepūṇṇavāllu (ಮಲ್ಲಪೂಣ್ಣವಾಳು).
- 13 Mannepulavāllu (ಮನ್ನೆಪುಲವಾಳು).
- 14 Maṭṭivāllu (ಮಟ್ಟವಾಳು).
- 15 Murārivāllu (ಮುರಾರಿವಾಳು).
- 16 Naḍumulēnivāllu (ನಡುಮುಲೇನಿವಾಳು).
- 17 Nāṭakarāyanivāllu (ನಾಟಕರಾಯನಿವಾಳು).
- 18 Pallekondalavāllu (ಪಲ್ಲೆಕೊಂಡಲವಾಳು).
- 19 Sōmalarājuvāllu (ಸೋಮಲರಾಜುವಾಳು).
- 20 Sōṇḍhruvāllu (ಸೊಂಡೂರುವಾಳು).
- 21 Tōlangivāllu (ತೋಲಂಗಿವಾಳು).
- 22 Uppuvāllu (ಉಪ್ಪುವಾಳು).



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**XVII  
MADIGA CASTE.**

BY

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## MÁDIGAS.

The Mádigas (మాదిగలు), who are known as the left hand caste (ఎడగ్య-Edagai), are regarded as lower than the Holeyas or the right hand caste \* in the social scale.

Their quarters are separate from those allotted to the Holeyas, and are generally further removed from the main village. Again during the celebration of the festival of the village goddess Māramma, the share of the sacrificed animal which the Mádigas gets is the last, while that of the Holeyas is the last but one.

The Mádigas are the nearer the primitive stage than the Holeyas and they differ much more appreciably in outward appearance from the higher castes. They are generally strong and muscular, and somewhat short in stature, and dark in colour with some what flattened noses. It is generally said that one cannot be certain of the origin of a fair Mádigas and a dark Brahman. †

The Mádigas numbered according to the Census of 1901, 296,821 of whom 139,386 were males. They are distributed over all the districts, though the four districts of Mysore, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur contain 88 per cent of this caste.

The caste is commonly known as Mádigas (మాదిగ). Name. They are also styled Edagaiyavaru (ఎడగ్యాయవారు) or of the left hand faction. Among themselves they apply the terms Jāmbavas (జాంబవారు), Padmajātiyavaru (పద్మజాతియవారు) and Mātangas (మాతంగులు), as being more euphemistic. Panchamas is a word which has been recently invented to apply to this and the Holeyas caste, as a term not possessing the

\* In this country, the right hand is considered superior to the left, the former only being employed for eating or handling sacred things, while the left hand is exclusively used for cleaning the lower parts of the body. The designation "right hand" denotes some superiority over the left.

† The Telugu proverb to this effect is, ఎడమదిగవాణ్ణి నల్లబ్రాహ్మణుని కన్నరాదు.



association, suggested by the more familiar names, with the low social status. Chambára (ಚಂಬಾರರು) and Bégára (ಬೇಗಾರರು) are also the names which others apply to this caste. Chandála (ಚಂಡಾಲ) and Antyaja (ಅಂತ್ಯಜ) are the nicknames, when special stress is meant to be laid on the inferiority of this caste.

In addressing them, the naked names without honorific additions are employed generally by all the other castes; and sometimes the suffix *gádu* (ಗಡು in Telugu) and *gú* (ಗು in Kannada) are added to emphasise the comparative inferiority of the person addressed. Among themselves *appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ), *ayya* (ಅಯ್ಯ), and *amma* (ಅಮ್ಮ) are the honorific suffixes employed to elderly persons. The term "*Manegár*" (ಮಣೇಗಾರ-headman) is sometimes applied to the headman or an elderly respectable member of the caste.

The Mádigas and the Holeyas are sometimes known as the "black people," *Nallajanamu* (ನಲ್ಲಜನము) in Telugu and *Kappujana* (ಕಪ್ಪುಜನ) in Kannada and the term *Nalla kulicháramu* (నల్ల కులచారము) is said to be the usage of these castes. But these terms are not well known and their application not quite established. \*

Meaning of the terms. The meaning of the term Mádiga is not clear. It is supposed to be a corruption of Matanga. The caste known as Mhangs in the Mahrashtra country correspond to Mádigas and the names may perhaps be connected with each other. The termination "*iga*" seems to indicate that it may denote their profession, but the first part cannot be traced to any root in the Kannada language. Matanga in Sanskrit is applied to a *Kiríta* or a mountaineer or a barbarian. Matanga was applied to a Dynasty (as it was believed) of hill tribes, but whether they had any connection with these Mádigas, it is impossible to say. They have no such tradition, and say that the name is derived from Matanga † Rishi.

Mádigas belong to the left hand group of castes, as the Holeyas to the right hand and somehow each of these castes which is the lowest in its group, has appropriated the name of the group for itself, Mádigas being generally known as Edagai (ಎಡಗೈ-left hand) men and Holeyas, Balagai (ಬಲಗೈ-right hand) men.

\* See Mysore Census Report of 1901, p. 254. Some of the uneducated use the term "black men" (ಕಪ್ಪುಜನ) for natives or Indians as distinguished from "red men" (ಕೆಂಪುಜನ) for Europeans.

† To the term Matanga, a meaning is given as 'one that cannot go into the middle of a village.'

Jámbava \* is the name given to a subdivision, but it is also popularly used to denote the whole caste. The name occurs in Ramayana as that of the oldest member of the heterogeneous army of Rama's allies. These Mádigas say they are descended from him, and believe that he was born six months before the creation of the Earth. Perhaps that is their way of laying claim to be the oldest inhabitants of the country, a claim which has some probability in its favour.

The reason for the appellation of Padmajáti (ಪದ್ಮಜಾತಿ, lotus caste) to Mádigas cannot be traced.

Chambar, corresponding to Chakkili (ಚಕ್ಕಿಲಿ) in Tamil, is a corrupted form apparently of *Charmakára* (ಚರ್ಮಕಾರ), a worker in leather.

The name Bégar cannot be said to be a proper name for this caste, though it is sometimes applied as such on account of their being commonly employed as servants for communal village work. The term Bégar (ಬೇಗಾರ or ಬೇಕುಗಾರ) means either a watchman or one who does petty services for revenue and other officials for which he cannot ask for payment, as it is considered to be part of his customary duties for the village known collectively as *bitti* and *bégári* (ಬಿಟ್ಟು, ಬೇಗಾರ).

The term *Panchama* is one of recent coinage (ಪಂಚಮ, the fifth), and is applied to these and Holeyas as they are outside the four castes mentioned in the Sastras.

*Chandála* (ಚಂಡಾಲ) literally a cruel man, is rarely applied to any caste, except when it is meant to exhibit contempt, and then it applies indifferently to any low caste. *Antyaja* (ಅಂತ್ಯಜ) literally 'born at the end' can also be hardly regarded as a special name for this caste.

There is little doubt that this caste represents the Origin. earliest stratum among the inhabitants of this country who have settled in towns and villages. In colour and features they differ more widely than the Holeyas from the higher classes of the people. It is impossible to trace their origin with any certainty, but they have also some current stories bearing on the subject which as usual are meant to make out that they had originally a higher status than they now possess. It is said that Jámbava Rishi was created by A'di Sakti, primeval force, six months before the Earth and when

\* Jambava of the Ramayana is said to have been a bear as Hanu-ma was a monkey. He is stated to have lived down to the time of Krishna, with whom he wrestled for the possession of a gem styled Samantaka Mani.

the latter was still in a fluid state, he was floating on its surface. By the command of the Creator he killed his younger son and mixed his blood with liquid earth, whereupon it curdled into a solid mass. The name given to his younger son is Heppumuni (Heppu meaning curdle). The boy however was revived by the grace of Paramésvara and Párvati and gave rise to the caste of Dakkalóru who are regarded as the inferior progeny (ಹಳೆಮಕ್ಕಳು-Halémakkaḷu) of Mádigas. Mádigas claim descent for themselves from Yugamuni, the elder son of Jámbara.

They were pure at first, but Jámbara Rishi was one day presented with a cow by Siva for the benefit of his children. Once during his absence at Siva's Court, his son Yugamuni, had a visit from another rishi called Sánkhyā and entertained him hospitably; the latter found the milk of the cow so sweet that he tried to prevail upon Jámbara's son to kill her and eat the flesh. Yugamuni did not agree but Sánkhyā himself killed the animal and induced the others to partake of the meat. On his return Jámbara was horrified at the deed, and dragged both the offenders for punishment to the P'swara's Court; they were doomed to become Chandálas thenceforth, and their descendants became the right hand and the left hand castes, as Sánkhyā had stood on the right side and Yuga on the left side at the entrance to the Court while awaiting Judgment.\* It is said that Mádigas have been condemned to the mean trade of shoe-making as an expiation for the original offence of their ancestor.† The wife of Yugamuni in the above account is given the name of Matangi but there is another story which makes a male Matanga Rishi their progenitor. Who this Rishi was they do not know but say that it was his curse that has brought upon them their low position in life. One Matanga is mentioned in the Mahabhárata as begotten by a Súdra barber on a Brahman woman. He was therefore a Chandála and could not shake off this character although he performed the most severe penances. It is possible that the name adopted by Mádigas has come from this source.

It is stated that a Western Chálukya King Mangalésa (567—610 A.D.) conquered the Matangas. Who these were has not been definitely settled, and it is conjectured

\* Mysore Census report 1891, page 255. Another version of the story is given in the account of the Holeyas.

† There is a current proverb in Kannada and Telugu about expiating the sin of killing a cow by the present of a pair of shoes. This has no apparent connection with this story but denotes an utter disproportion between an offence and its reparation.

that they were hill tribes and that Mádigas are their descendants.\* The tribal goddess of the Mádigas is known as Mátangi and they are sometimes popularly spoken of as Mátangi's issue. They themselves have no traditions of any connection with a ruling race, and the conjecture may be due to a mere similarity of names and to the belief that being aboriginal, they should have ruled the country at some remote period.

The claim to a descent from Jánbava may perhaps be an indication of their original character. Jánbava is associated with the armies of the allies of Rama in the Ramayana and is said to have been a bear as the bulk of them were monkeys. It is now generally agreed that these terms were applied to the non-Aryan races who helped Rama in his invasion of the southernmost portion of India.

Mádigas speak Kannada or Telugu according to the locality they live in. There are some immigrants into the State from the southern parts of the Madras Presidency and these speak Tamil; but their number is insignificant. Language.

The caste contains two main divisions based on the language they speak, the Kannada and the Telugu Mádigas. The Kannada Mádigas do not intermarry with the Telugu speaking Mádigas. Each language group has three endogamous divisions which are Tanige Buvvadavaru (ತಣಿಗೆಬುವ್ವದವರು) in Kannada and Tale Buvvamuvalḷu (తలిబువ్వమువాళ్ళు) in Telugu (of the eating dish division); Hedige Buvvadavaru (ಹೆಡಿಗೆ ಬುವ್ವದವರು) in Kannada and Gampa Buvvamuvalḷu (గంప బువ్వమువాళ్ళు) in Telugu (of the basket division); and Mora Buvvadavaru (ಮೊರೆ ಬುವ್ವದವರು) of the winnow division. Among the last of these there is again the distinction of single and double winnows. Divisions.

These divisions are named after the manner in which the bride and the bridegroom eat Buvva (food or common marital meal at marriages) that is, as they keep the food in an eating dish (ತಣಿಗೆ), a basket (ಹೆಡಿಗೆ) or a winnow (ಮೊರೆ). It is said that the people of the last division, in some places, make a figure of a human body out of the cooked rice and other articles used for Buvva (ಬುವ್ವ) and that the bride and the bridegroom with some of their nearest male relatives on either side eat up the figure, the bridegroom and his party beginning to consume from the head and the bride and her party from the legs. From this practice they take the name of

\* Bijapur Gazetteer, page 381; Kanara Gazetteer, page 81; Madras Census Report of 1891, page 302.

Hena buvvadavaru (ಹೆಣಬುವ್ವದವರು) in Kannada, and Pñige-dōmativ llu (పినిగెదోమతివల్లు) in Telugu (of the corpse division)

In addition to the above there are two other divisions among the Mādigas known as Jāmbavas (ಜಾಂಬವರು) and Dakkalōru (దక్కలూరు) which deserve special mention.

Jāmbavas are the *Gurus* of the Mādigas and have some *mathas* for themselves, such as those at Kodihalli (Hiriyur Taluk) and Nelamangala. They affix *muni*\* to their personal names (as *e.g.*, Rudramuni) and wear a linga and mark their foreheads with ashes (Vibhūti) and sandal paste. When they pay periodical visits to their disciples, they lodge either in a tōpe near the quarters of Mādigas or occupy a house specially vacated and cleansed for them. They consider Pāñchālas (gold-smiths) as their patrons. Whenever they go to a village in which Pāñchālas live, they make it a point to visit their houses, and standing outside, get some presents from them. The Jāmbavas may marry girls from the ordinary Mādiga families after subjecting them to some purificatory ceremony, but they on no account give their girls in marriage to the other Mādigas. All the Jāmbavas talk Telugu and say they belong to the Cuddapah country, and their women throw the loose end of their garment over the right shoulder while the other Mādiga women let it fall on the left side.

Dakkalus are considered to be the Hālemakkaḷu (hereditary bondsmen) of the Mādigas and are treated by them as outcastes. Their progenitor is said to be the second son of Jāmbava whose head was sacrificed at the time of hardening the crust of the earth. His head and trunk were thrown into a well, but there was still so much vitality that the severed body continued to speak. Siva and his consort passing in the aerial regions heard some noise in the well and impelled by curiosity came to the place, questioned the body and learnt its story. The trunk and the head were brought together by the God and restored to full life. The boy declined to go back to his father or to accompany the God to his heaven of Kailāsa, and as he proved so refractory, he was nicknamed *Dakkadava* (దక్కదవ that is, one that could not be held in restraint) and sent to roam about the world with a curse that he and his descendants should have no home of their own, and should

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\* Muni (meaning a recluse) is an obsolete title affixed to the names of Rishis.

live on food begged from the descendants of the other son of Jámbara, who are Mādigas. Even now the Dakkalus have no recognised head-quarters and are always moving from place to place. They are not allowed to enter the Mādiga quarters. When they come to a village, they pitch their camp in a tópe or other place at a small distance from the houses of the Mādigas and announce to them their arrival. The latter are bound to supply them with food and drink and would on no account incur their displeasure lest they should curse them. While leaving the village, they get some presents from each family of the Mādigas. On important occasions such as marriage, these Dakkalus are not forgotten but have some money presents and *támbula* kept apart for them.

The Mādigas have a number of exogamous divisions known as *kulas* (ಕುಲಗಳು) or *Bedaqus* (ಬೆಡಗುಗಳು). Most of them are named after various material objects such as trees and animals. Though some of these septs do observe the rule of not eating, cutting, or otherwise using the object represented by their names, the connection if it ever existed universally, is now generally forgotten and no significance is attached to it.\*

Exogamous divisions.

As mentioned already, men of the Jámbara division may take wives from other divisions, but the women should marry only in their own division. This is a genuine case of hypergamy. But sometimes those Mādigas who have recently adopted the Vâishnava faith in the place of the worship of village goddesses, decline to give their girls to others, while they have no objection to marry girls from other divisions. But the others do not admit this as a mark of superiority, as they hold that a married girl going out of the family cannot contaminate it, whereas a girl entering the family from a lower stratum introduces inferior blood.†

Hypergamy.

No ceremonies are observed during the pregnancy of the woman. The usual prohibition against the pregnant woman's husband doing such things as carrying a corpse, putting on the roof of the house, killing any animal, obtains in this caste also.

Birth ceremonies.

When the women show signs of approaching delivery, they make a vow to their family God and set apart a small coin in earnest of a larger offering to be made in case of safe

\* A list of exogamous divisions is given in the Appendix.

† This belief is embodied in the proverb, ಕೂಟ ಹಣ್ಣು ಕೂಟಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊರಗು the bride given away becomes an outsider to the kula or tribe,

delivery. On the birth of the child, it is washed and the navel cord is cut by the midwife. The navel string and the afterbirth are buried below the eaves of the house and on the third day a little milk is poured on the spot. It is a belief that they hold with many other castes that if a child comes out of the womb with the limbs foremost, it forebodes evil to the midwife, who is often believed quietly to strangle such a child. In cases of difficult delivery, the mother is given some arrack to drink. All the women who attend on such an occasion are supplied with toddy at the expense of the husband.

On the third day, the mother and the child are bathed in water in which the tender leaves of certain plants, Gaj-jaga (ಗಜ್ಜಗ-*molucca bean*), Ankôle (ಅಂಕೋಲ-*Alangium lamarckii*) and lime tree, are boiled. A small pit is consecrated with *pûja* in front of the house and the mother sits on it with the child in her lap. The neighbours each contribute a potful of water for the bath.

An elderly woman goes round and collects a morsel of food from each house and gives it with toddy to the newly confined woman to eat. Similarly, old rags are collected for the child's cradle. In the evening four pots are placed at the corners of the pit made for the bath and the midwife makes *pûja* to them, placing before them an offering of meat and rice cooked together, on leaves of *Ekka* plant (*calotropis gigantea*). She is then presented with a winnowful of grain and a *hapa* in coin for a male child and half that sum for a female child, besides being liberally supplied with toddy. The caste people are feasted in the evening. Except on that day, the confined woman is fed on rice only till the tenth day without any condiment. This purifying ceremony is known as Mutṭu Dèvaru (ಮುಟ್ಟುದೇವರು) Pollution God or Gundì Dèvaru (ಗುಂದಿದೇವರು) Pit God.

On the sixth day, a stone is set up in the confinement room and worshipped by the midwife with the burning of incense and sometimes the sacrifice of a fowl. This is known as the Goddess Satvi which is believed to record the child's destiny on its forehead. A light is waved before it and then carried and placed in an unfrequented place; it is said that if any one casts a glance on it while being carried, some evil will overtake the mother and the child. On this day, the child is first put into a cradle, generally on old one being used for the purpose and consecrated with *pûja*.

The name giving ceremony takes place about the end of the first month. A Koracha woman is always consulted as to the fitness of the name to be given. That day some castemen are asked to dinner. The following may be taken as examples of typical names among the Mādigas:—

Males.		Females.	
Honnūra	(ಹೊನ್ನೂರ).	Kāli	(ಕಾಳಿ).
Sattiga	(ಸತ್ತಿಗ).	Malli	(ಮಲ್ಲಿ).
Kadiriga	(ಕದರಿಗ).	Sunki	(ಸುಂಕಿ).
Māra	(ಮಾರ).	Hanumi	(ಹನುಮಿ).
Māda	(ಮಾದ).	Yalli	(ಯಲ್ಲಿ).

The giving of nicknames is very common in this caste. Gidda (ಗಿಡ್ಡ) Mōṭa (ಮೋಟ) both names meaning a dwarf and Lottiga (ಲೊಟ್ಟಿಗ) 'a drinker (of toddy) by pots' may be cited as examples. The practice of giving opprobrious names is also common. Tippa (ತಿಪ್ಪ manure heap), Gundā (ಗುಂಡ round stone), Sudugūḍa (ಸುಡುಗುಡ burning ground) and Satta (ಸತ್ತ one dead) are some of them. When an opprobrious name is given, the child is put into a winnow and drawn on a manure pit, and the paternal aunt kicks the winnow with the child in it with her left foot, to deceive the Fate into a belief that the child's parents are so indifferent to its value, that the child is hardly worth taking away from them. When all the male children born in a family have died, the nostrils of the last born male child are pierced to make the evil spirit (Fate) mistake the child for a girl and to let it alone.

Mādigas believe, like many of the other lower classes, that children are specially amenable to the attacks of evil spirits. Various kinds of charms are placed round their necks as a protection against their evil influence. White beads strung on the waist thread keep off such spirits. If a child happens to have a fall in the street, the mother kicks the spot with her left foot, and applies a little earth moistened with the child's spittle to its forehead. Sometimes a vesselful of water and some ragi flour are thrown on the spot to appease the hunger and thirst of the evil spirits which, while prowling in the air, should have caused the child to fall down. Any illness occurring soon after such a fall is attributed to it and a vow is made to the Earth Goddess. To fulfil this, a pit is dug either where three paths meet or under a spout discharging rain water from the roof of a house, and into it some rice, dhall and other condiments and a live frog or a chicken are thrown. Frankincense is burnt and a cocoanut is broken. Bhūmamma



(ಭೂವಾಮೃತ-*Earth*) is invoked and the child is made to cross the pit thrice, after which its feet are washed, to carry away the illness. The pit with all its offerings including the live frog or chicken is then filled up.

The children are believed to be specially exposed to the attacks of the evil spirits till they complete the age of twelve. The elderly members of the family generally know what symptoms denote such an attack and they call in the aid of a sorcerer who exercises the spirit generally by tying a talisman (yantra ಯಂತ್ರ) to the patient.

The head of a male child is first shaved in the third year, the ceremony being observed at the shrine of the family deity or near a water course, where Gangamma (Water Goddess) is worshipped.

#### Adoption.

Being generally very poor, Mādigas rarely practise adoption to supply the want of natural issue. They do not seem to attach any importance to the existence of a son for increasing the chances of their salvation in the next world. But the practice of adoption is not altogether absent, though it has but little religious significance, as may be inferred from their styling such a boy a Sākumaga (ಸಾಕುಮಗ) or brought up son. A brother's son is considered the most eligible and in his absence, the son of an agnatic relation. A brother cannot be adopted. The boy to be adopted must always be younger than the adopter and of tender age, though, they say, the limit cannot be fixed; but on no account can a married man be adopted. The ceremony observed is like that observed by the Korachas.\*

#### Marriage.

There is no limit of age for marriage in either sex. But some say that marriage after a girl has passed the age of puberty is of an inferior sort, and some important parts of the regular ceremony, such as the bringing of the sacred pots (arivēṇi) are omitted.

Marriages are brought about by the parents or other elders of the family.

Polygamy is allowed and the reasons for taking an additional wife, are the same as in other cases, such as the want of issue, the need for an additional working hand, or some fault or defect in the first wife. The additional wife is generally a widow or a divorced woman and is married in the Kuḍike form or a concubine is considered sufficient. Polyandry is unknown.

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\* See Page 6. Korachas.

Marriage must be inside their own groups, such as Kannada Mādigas, but outside their own *Kulas* or *Bedagus* the members of the same *Kula* or *Bedagu* being considered related as brothers and sisters. Marriage with the daughter of an elder sister or of maternal uncle or paternal aunt is considered most suitable. A man cannot marry his paternal uncle's or maternal aunt's daughter as she is regarded as equal to a sister. Two sisters may be married either by one man or by two uterine brothers, the elder marrying the elder sister, the younger, the younger. Exchange of daughters is not only practised but is most commonly in use, the reason being the saving of the bride price by both parties.

Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the father of the boy, who repairs to the house of the bride's father for whom he has to procure toddy at his expense. Such visits are repeated several times till the bride's father expresses his consent, after which the agreement is sealed by the ceremony of Oppu-Vīlya (ಒಪ್ಪುವಿಳಿ). In the presence of the head and other castemen, the bride's father and the bridegroom's exchange *tāmbūlas*; and a further confirmation takes place subsequently on an auspicious day fixed for them by the village astrologer. The latter's opinion is also obtained about the Sālāvali (ಸಾಲಾವಳಿ) or the mutual compatibility of the names of the parties to be married. For this ceremony of Vīlyada Sāstra (ವಿಲ್ಯದಾಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) the boy's father accompanied by some married women go to the girl's house, taking with them certain provisions consisting of seven seers of rice, two or three cocoanuts and small quantities of ghee, oil, jaggory, powdered turmeric, etc. A meeting of the caste people is convened and the girl is seated on a plank, and presented with fruit and flowers placed in her garment. Five Kalasas are installed before her and worshipped. An essential part of the ceremony is the *Simhāsana pūja*, a heap of betel leaves and arecanuts with *Vibhūti* balls at the four corners being placed on a kambly.\* In front of this is placed the *Mudre* or insignia of Arulappa Saramaru (ಅರುಳಪ್ಪರಸರಮರು), which is a sacred symbol preserved by the head of the caste and brought out only for such occasions. After the worship is over, the girl rises from her seat and does *Namaskara* (bowing) to the sun and the elders. In some places, she gets a present of Rs. 5, three rupees from the bridegroom's father and two from hers. But generally the father of the girl gives

\*See Page 9. Bédas.

her a *hana* (4 as. 8 p.) called *Dévarahana* (ದೇವರಹಣ. God's money). This is subsequently used to prepare a *tāli* which is tied to her on the first day of the marriage (the first saffron smearing-ಮೊದಲರಸಿಸ). The boy's father has ordinarily to pay in addition one rupee as the astrologer's consultation fee and half a rupee for feeding charges. He has also to bear the expenses of buying toddy for the castemen. After this ceremony is performed, the girl should not, properly speaking, be married to any other. Any party that withdraws from the agreement has not only to reimburse the expenses incurred by the other party, but has also to pay a fine to the caste, which is spent on toddy, and the girl may be married to another person, but the full marriage rites are not gone through.

The marriage takes place generally in the boy's house. The ceremonies follow in the same order as among some others of the Non-Brahman castes, beginning with the *Dèvaruṭa* (God's feast) and *Modalarasina* (first smearing of turmeric).

The *pandal* is erected on twelve posts covered with *Honge* or cocoanut leaves; and the central or milk post is of fig (*atti*) or milkbush (*kalli*) tree, cut by the bridegroom's maternal uncle. The post is decorated with seven stripes of turmeric drawn round it and seven betel leaves tied to it. There is also a package of nine sorts of grain attached to it by a thread. It is believed that a pregnant woman will meet with some evil if she sees this log while it is being taken to the bridal house.

On the evening of the day, the bride's party arrive at the place and are received by their hosts with due honour. They are supplied with provisions consisting of nine seers of rice, one jaggory cube, and a vesselful of rice.

The sacred pots (*arivem* ಅರಿವೇಮ) are then fetched by the married women of both parties from the village potter. They are painted and placed outside by him; and the women decorate them with lines of saffron and rice flour in fifteen places. They are set upon a bed of manure mixed with nine kinds of grain, and *pūja* is offered to them sometimes with the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat. Red marks are impressed on the wall on each side of the entrance to this room with the palm of the hand dipped in blood or coloured water, to keep off the evil eye. A thread dipped in a solution of turmeric powder is tied to each pot, and a similar one to the wrist of each married woman. This part of the ceremony is called *Ganga-pūja* (worship of Water Goddess), and is followed by a general dinner.

Early in the morning the next day, the bride and the bridegroom undergo the nail paring ceremony, a man of their own caste doing the service. The bridal pair bathe in the *malenivu*. They are made to sit by turus within a square formed by passing a cotton thread seven times round the necks of four earthen or brass vessels filled with water and placed at the corners. Some balls of cooked rice are placed in the vessels and on various parts of the body of the parties to be married and they are made to bow towards the sun. Four married women take the vessels and pour the water contained therein on the head of each of them. After this the boy and the girl are made to sit on the threshold of the house with folded hands. The thumbs of the two hands are tied together with a cotton thread and a bradawl stuck into a lime it is placed in the hands. An earthen jug full of water is kept at the spot. The bridegroom and the bride are each lifted up by the maternal uncle who turns round three times with the burden and each bows towards the sun, and upsets the water jug by kicking it. They are then carried inside the house and deposited on the marriage dias. The maternal uncles are each presented with a turban, twelve betel leaves, twelve nuts, one cube of jaggory and four pies. This ceremony is called *Binaga* or *Sarchidisuvalu* (ಬಿನಗ ಅಥವಾ ಸರ್ಚಿದಿಸುವುದು) i. e., release from bondage.

Then putting on new wedding clothes, the bridegroom goes out of the village and sits under a tree, where his limbs are smeared over with turmeric paste. He is then made to stand facing the east, and water is poured into his hands through funnels made of betel leaves. He turns round three times and bows towards the sun, and throws away the leaves towards the east. After similarly acting towards the other cardinal points, he sits on a kambly spread under the tree. Then his party go to and return from the marriage house three times taking each time new clothes and other articles to the girl. The third time the bridegroom sets out with a dagger in his left hand rolled up in a red kerchief. The bridegroom's sister carries, in a new basket, some betel leaves and arecanuts, limes, turmeric, paste, a gold *tali* and a skein of unbleached cotton thread. Near the house a light is waved before him to ward off the evil eye. A mock resistance is overcome by throwing half pounded paddy by the two parties at each other. The bride and the bridegroom are made to sit near the Ariveni pots with their hand joined together. The maternal uncle of the bride gives betel leaves and arecanuts to

the head man styled Pedda Mādiga (Telugu) or Doddā Mādiga (Kannada) and putting on the thread known in this connection as Bondi (ಬಂಡಿ) round the bride's neck, ties the *tāli* to her.\* Bhāśingā and Kankaṇas are then tied to each party. They are then led into the pandal and made to stand facing each other on the marriage dias. Either the Yajaman or another old man conducts the marriage ceremony. The couple place cummin seed and sesamum grain (ಜೀರಿಗೆ ಎಣ್ಣೆ) on each other's heads. Dhāre or milk pouring ceremony, Talabālu or putting rice on each other's heads and presentation of garlands to each other, take place. Lastly the husband is made to tie another *tāli* round the neck of the girl and thereupon the binding and essential portion of the marriage is completed.

The *Simhāsana pūja* (literally worship of the lion seat or throne) then takes place. A black kambli done into four folds is spread on a spot cleaned with cowdung water near the marriage seat and some rice is spread over it and drawings are made of their professional instruments such as an awl, a knife and a saw. A kalasa or vessel filled with sweetened water is placed on this bed and a quarter rupee piece is thrown in. It is decorated with a silver chain round its neck and lumps of *Vibhūti* are placed on the corners of the kambli. In front of the kalasa, betel leaves and arecanuts are arranged in a pile. The bridal pair worship all this with the help of the Yajaman and the Darsanadavaru (ದರ್ಶನದವರು) or Dāsayyas and the Chowḍike-yavaru (ಚೌಡಿಕೆಯವರು) the pūjāries of their tribal goddess. The betel leaves and nuts are then distributed among the people assembled in a prescribed order of precedence. The first *tāmbūla* is set apart for the sun and the moon, the second for the Bhūmīdēvi (Earth Goddess), the third for Gaṇṭama Vābayya, a mythical hero who is believed to have conferred a boon on the caste by procuring for them a king known as Penugonda Ratnakambli Rāja (ಪೆನುಗೊಂಡ ರತ್ನ ಕಂಬಳಿ ರಾಜ), their guru, then the Yajaman, then the Kattēmanes, then a *tāmbūla* to the whole caste people and lastly to the Dakkalus, their reputed children. Afterwards *tāmbūlas* are given individually to the assembled persons.

The bridal couple then rise and walking round the milk post three times, go into the room where the Arivēnis are installed, holding each other's hand and with the fringes of their garments knotted together. Near the arivēnis takes place the important ceremony of *Buvvada pūje* (ಬುವ್ವದ ಪೂಜೆ)

\*In some places the husband himself ties the *tāli*.

బువ్వా) or *Dōmati pūja* (దోమతిపూజ). On a spot cleaned with cowdung and water a plantain leaf is spread, and on it is consecrated an eating dish, a basket, or a winnow according to the section the parties belong to. Married women observing fast cook in new earthen vessels four to eight seers of rice mixed with jaggery, holding a cloth to their noses to prevent the rice becoming contaminated by their smelling it. It is then placed in a dish, winnow or basket and mixed with four or five seers of ghee, plantains, and sweet cakes, and made into balls. Then the bridal pair and the three married women who have observed a half fast (eating only once a day) for the previous three days worship this Buvva. Some balls are then distributed to all the caste people as *prasāda* and the rest are divided equally and put into two dishes, baskets or winnows as the case may be. The bride and her relations take one portion and the bridegroom and his party the other, and they consume the whole of it at one sitting without leaving a single morsel. It is said that they should carry the food to their mouth only with two fingers. The "dish" and the "winnow" sections perform this ceremony in the God's room (*Arivēni room*) while the "basket" section do it in the *pandal* which is closed by a screen. The bridal pair alone remain inside to eat the rice and their relatives receive their balls and go outside to eat them. Whatever remains unserved must, as a matter of right, go to the bride's relatives. The basket is kept in the *pandal* and is removed thence only when the structure is pulled down after the marriage.

Among some winnow section people an extraordinary custom prevails in eating the Buvva. With the cooked rice that is served in the winnow a human form is made and worshipped by the bride and the bridegroom and the parents of the latter. Then the bridegroom and his party sit near the head, the bride and her party sitting near the legs, and both parties eat up the whole figure. Any part that may remain uneaten is distributed among the claimants thereto. All those that are not connected with the families of either party are scrupulously excluded. The marriage ceremonies among this section take place at night and are finished before morning. It is apparently thought that this improvisation may be taken to represent what perhaps used to take place in grim earnest, and its observance is not generally admitted.

When the relatives of the bridal pair come out of the room where they have partaken of the Buvva repast, the

maternal uncles of the bride and the bridegroom intercept them at the threshold and beat them with whips of twisted cloths. There is considerable fun and excitement when they try to evade the blows.

When this ceremony is over, all the caste men are given a dinner, and in the evening the bridegroom's party must supply toddy to every one of the caste people including women and children.

Next day they observe the Nágavali ceremony. The newly married couple fetch water from a well in four vessels. Then the bringing of earth from an ant hill and worshipping the posts of the pandal is observed as among other castes\*. Then takes place the pot searching ceremony and removing off of the Kankanas. The newly married couple are taken in a procession in the streets that evening.

The next two days the party repair to the bride's house where a feasting takes place, and return to the bridegroom's place, after which the "milk-post" is removed, and the marriage festivities finally closed.

The expenditure is about the same as among the Holeyast†. The most important item is drink and the expenditure on toddy goes to about Rs. 30. The bridegroom pays the whole of it on the *Vilya Sástra* and *Dháre* days; but on the other days the bride's father contributes a third of what is spent for drinking.

The bride price is Rs. 12, half of which is paid on the *Vilyada Sástra* day and the other half on the *Dháre* day. A widower has in some places to pay an additional sum of a rupee and a half as *Sautihonnu* or the co-wife's money. This is more a local than a caste custom.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is kept outside for nine days and is not allowed either to touch other persons or to enter the inner portion of the house. A shed made of green leaves of *Lakkili* or other plant is put up for her residence. The maternal uncle must bring the materials for the shed, and pull the shed down on the tenth day when the girl bathes. On the first day the girl is bathed standing on an old shoe and a broom. If the girl is already married, her mother-in-law comes the next day and presents her with cocoanuts, plantains, and other things placing them in her garment and then gives her a bath. The husband generally bears the feeding expenses of that day. If the girl is

\* See Kuruba caste, page 11.

† See Holey caste, page 10.

unmarried, all this is done at the expense of the maternal uncle. After bathing, the girl is led to a water-course to do *Ganga Púja* and then she may go inside the house freely. When she is subsequently married, she may live with her husband without any further ceremony.

Modesty or ignorance often makes girls reluctant to disclose their change of state, and when they thus continue in contact with the others, it is believed that the pollution will bring on some evil to the family.

The consummation of marriage of girls who have attained puberty before being married is put off for three months after the marriage to avoid the possibility of any issue being born within the first year, which is considered inauspicious. It has been ingeniously suggested that this period is meant to ascertain whether the girl has been chaste before the marriage.

Widow marriage is allowed and freely practised but in some places such parties and their issue form a distinct line. A widow may not marry a brother of the deceased husband or any of his nearest agnates, and sometimes even the whole sept of the deceased husband is avoided. A bachelor may not marry a widow. The ceremony is simple and takes place in the evening before the house of the widow's father. A meeting of the castemen is convened by the *Yajaman*. All jewels or other property belonging to the deceased husband are returned to his relatives who signify their consent to the union by accepting a *Támbúla*. The man presents the widow with a new cloth, which she wears. The new couple take their seats in the assembly on a *Kambli*. A *Kalasa* is set up on a *Gaddige* (seat) known as *Aralappana Gaddige* (Aralappá's seat). It is worshipped by the pair. A *Táli* is tied to it. The man and the woman exchange betel leaves and the headman of the caste gives them a *Támbúla* to signify his permission. Either a widow or a woman married a second time takes the *Táli* from the *Kalasa* and gives it to the man, who ties it to the widow. No women who have their first husbands living take part in the proceedings of the marriage, but they may attend the dinner party. In some places, the newly married widow may not show her face to regularly married women for three days. The husband has to supply oddy to all castemen.

Widow marriage.

The *Tera* or bride-price for a widow is Rs. 6. A widow may marry as many times as she pleases, and it is



said that the price diminishes at every subsequent marriage. Widow marriages are always brought about by the parties themselves.

#### Divorce.

A divorce can be easily obtained and the divorced woman may marry either her paramour or another person in the *Kúḍike* form; or she may remain as a prostitute without losing caste. A man who elopes with a married woman, has to pay the marriage expenses of her husband, besides a fine to the caste, before he can marry her. The return of the *Táli* tied at the marriage by the husband, in the presence of the assembly of the castemen and the headman, operates as an effective divorce.

Adultery may be condoned except when a *Mádiga* woman misbehaves with a *Holeya* man, when she is irredeemably put out of the pale of the caste. It is said that a wife who is living in adultery may even after the lapse of some years be reconciled with her husband and go to his protection with any children that may have been born in the interval. An unmarried girl committing sexual indiscretion with a man of the same caste and becoming pregnant, is either married to the latter in the *Kúḍike* form or has her fault condoned; and any other casteman may subsequently marry her.

#### Basavis.

Dedication of girls as *Basavis* is common in this caste. Some families have the custom of devoting the eldest girl to this life; while in many cases, a girl is so dedicated in pursuance of some vow taken at a time of illness or other distress. This is invariably done after the girl attains her puberty.

On a lucky day, the girl after bathing is taken to the temple dressed in new clothes. She is there seated on a *Kambli* with a dagger by her side to represent the bridegroom. All the members of the caste with the headman should be present. A *Kalasa* is installed and the married women or *Basavis* smear the girl with turmeric paste and place the lucky things, such as rice and cocoanuts, in her garment. The girl then rises and standing in front of the dagger pours rice over it in token of her having been wedded to it. Then either the *Pújári* of the temple or a *Basavi* touches the dagger with the *Táli* which is tied to the girl's neck. The girl now carries the dagger and places it within the temple. The *Pújári* hands over to her a cane and a begging pouch which she hangs on to her left shoulder. She is then branded with a *Sankhu* (४०३०) and *Chakra* (४०४०) on the shoulders

and sometimes a *Chakra* mark is branded on her breast, but this is dispensed with if the *Basavi* is not a virgin. It is said that formerly the girl was required to sleep three nights in the temple; but now she spends one night there and often this is also dispensed with. When the ceremony is over, the girl goes round and bows to all the castemen and elders and receives their blessings. The father of the girl must give a dinner to all the castemen and give them also toddy to drink.

Such a girl may consort with men of any caste except a *Holeya*, and her issue are treated as well as if they were legitimate in all respects. During the *Jātra* of *Máramma* the presence of some *Mádiga Basavis* is secured wherever they are available. When new pots are brought for this worship and when the buffalo is led to the sacrificial post, *Basavis* come dancing and singing songs in praise of *Máramma* and spitting on the by-standers.

A married woman or a widow sometimes becomes a *Basavi* or a prostitute; but she is not allowed the status of a regular *Basavi*, nor is any elaborate ceremony observed, except the getting of the permission of the castemen, and giving a dinner. Such women cannot take part in any auspicious ceremonies.

The dead are buried except in the case of pregnant women and lepers whose bodies are cremated. When a pregnant woman dies, the fœtus is first removed, as otherwise a serious calamity is believed to follow. Sometimes the body of a leper or of one killed by wild beasts is buried under a heap of stones by *Kallu-Néve* (ಕಲ್ಲುನೇವೆ) or stone service. Death.

The customs observed in preparing the body and carrying it to the burial-ground, and the mode of burial are the same as in some of the other castes.\* The body is always carried with the head towards the village, as the reverse would be equivalent to bringing the corpse into the village, which would result in some calamity.

After the burial, all go to a well or river, the chief mourner bathes and the rest wash their feet and hands and return home to see a light kept on the spot where the deceased expired. After a formal consultation, the headman of the caste fixes a day for beginning the obsequies. The corpse-bearers cannot enter the inner portion of their houses till the third-day ceremony is over. On the night

\* See *Dombár Caste*, page 13.

of the death, some water is placed at the place and *rāgi* grain spread round the vessel so that the spirit may leave its mark on the grain if it should come to drink; and the inmates seriously look for such marks in the morning.

On the third day, the agnates get rid of the *Sūtaka* by bathing. The chief mourner, the corpse-bearers and some other relatives go to the grave to offer food and water (ಕೂಳಿನೀರು ಹಾಕುವುದು). A figure representing the deceased is drawn on the spot and a sheep or a fowl is sacrificed before it. They then place some cooked food on a leaf for crows and retire to a distance. On their return home, the shoulders of the bearers who carried the corpse are touched with milk and ghee. On the tenth day, the house is cleaned with cow's urine and sometimes whitewashed, and the earthen cooking pots are replaced by new ones. A *Kalasa* is kept in the middle of the house and is worshipped with the offerings of food and new clothes and a dinner is given to all the castemen, followed by a general carousal at the toddy shop in the evening.

During *Sūtaka*, they do not go to temples or celebrate any worship of the family god, and eschew flesh and milk. At the end of the first month, they give another dinner to their caste people, making *Pūja* to the *Kalasa* as usual. Till the completion of the month, they may not perform any auspicious ceremonies in the family.

They do not perform annual or monthly *Srāddhas*. On the lunar new-year's-day, *Vināyaka Chaturthi* and *Mahālaya Amāvāsye*, all the members of the family bathe and go fasting to the burial-ground, where they make *Pūja* by applying sandal paste to the stones and burning incense and offering coconuts. On returning from the grave-yard, they instal a *Kalasa* filled with toddy and worship it, sacrificing generally a sheep or a fowl. It is said that to propitiate the first wife, the second wife offers her *Pūja* in the usual way whenever she wears for the first time a new cloth.

*Sūtaka* is observed for three days for the death of any agnate. All except the parents merely bathe after the death of a child. On the third day, they go to the grave-yard and put on the child's grave, some fried grain, milk and ghee. They do not observe any pollution for the death of daughter's or sister's son.

Social sta-  
tus.

Mādigas are the lowest caste found in the State. They are a settled people and generally live apart in ill-built thatched houses, in quarters outside the main village,

known as *Mádiga-kéri* (*Mádiga* quarters). Their habits and the nature of their work contribute to make this the dirtiest part of the village. The houses have only one entrance with flimsy shutters and without any windows. They are divided by a partition wall of about four or five feet high into two parts, one being used for kitchen and store, and the other, the larger half, for sleeping and tethering the cattle. Some of those living in towns have, however, built more substantial houses. They are not allowed to use the common village well, and have barbers and washermen among themselves. *Mádigas* cannot approach Brahmins within the distance of about twenty paces. Any Brahman who has been touched inadvertently or purposely by a *Mádiga* must purify himself by bathing, and washing all his clothes and renewing the sacred thread.

They do not employ Brahmins for conducting their ceremonies, nor will any Brahman condescend to lend them his services. The *Mádigas* will under no circumstances allow a Brahman to enter their quarters, as they firmly believe that such a thing will bring on the ruin of their families. If unknowingly any Brahman enter their quarters, they abuse him saying “*ಛೇ ಕುಚ್ಚು ನಾಯ್ಕ, ಹೋಗು*—Fie! Get out, you mad dog!” and after he leaves the place, they clean the whole place with cow-dung and water. This restriction is, however, gradually losing its force.

*Mádigas* freely take in recruits from all other castes except the *Holeyas*. The ceremonies observed at the time are the same as those observed by the *Holeyas*.\*

Admission  
of stran-  
gers.

They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. Cases of partition and disputes of trivial nature are settled by the *panchayats*, comprised of either the village elders or their own castemen. A *Basavi* daughter enjoys the same privileges as a son in the matter of inheritance, while a destitute widowed daughter or sister is always willingly received into her parents' house or given some article of value at the time of partition.

Inheritance

They have strong belief in omens, both good and bad. Whenever they have to begin any important ceremony, not only are Brahmins consulted for choosing an auspicious day, but they observe many omens. Often, they consult the soothsayer if any unforeseen thing happens in the house. Children are always protected from evil

Omens.

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\* See *Holeyas* account, page 15.

spirits by wearing charms. They generally put on beads strung to the waist-thread, and a *Tāli* with the figure of *Hannumanta* (ಹನುಮಂತನ ತಾಳಿ) on the neck. A charm usually worn on the neck is a square metallic piece containing numbers up to 9 arranged in squares, so as to total fifteen in every line. Thistāli has on the other side the figure either of *Hannumanta* or any goddess. Another charm worth mentioning is a piece of metal with the figure of a dog, supposed to cure the whooping cough, which in Kannada is known by the name of dog-cough (ನಾಯಿ ಕೆಮ್ಮು).

8	3	4
1	5	9
6	7	2

Occupation.

Mádigas are workers in leather. They have a primitive way of tanning and preparing it. They first apply chunnam to the hides of cows and buffaloes and keep them for some days. Then in a pit which they call *Galle* (ಗಲ್ಲೆ) and which they consider sacred, a lotion of the bark of the *Avarike* plant (*Cassia auriculata*) is made and the skins are soaked in it. They then beat the skins with wooden mallets and stretch them in the sun to dry. This leather is used for making leather buckets (ಕಪಿಲೆಬಾನೆಗಳೂ), shoes and other simple things. Those in towns have recently learnt more refined ways of tanning sheep and goat skins out of which they prepare shoes and slippers.

When employed as village watchmen, they are known as *Talāris*. In some places, they enjoy inams for this work and other kinds of free service such as carrying Government property from place to place, and acting as guides from village to village. They are also known as *Bégaris* as they are bound to serve without remuneration. They are employed as scavengers in large towns, and in small places it is their duty to sweep the villages and keep them clean. These variations in calling do not affect their social status.

Formerly each family of Mádiga was attached to one or more families of raiyats or agriculturists, whose work they had to do and in return get the customary remuneration. The Mádiga was entitled to take the carcass of any cattle that may die in his principal's house. This qualified kind of serfdom has however all but died out except in the rural parts.

A village Mádiga has to supply each person who contributes to his yearly allowance of grain, a pair of sandals and some leathern ropes for the ploughing cattle. He has also

to make the leather bucket for lifting water with the hides supplied by the raiyat and to keep it in proper repair. He is required to help at the harvest. In return for this service, the Mádiga gets, in addition to the dead bodies of cattle in his patron's house, one bundle of unthreshed crop and a winnowful of grain\*, food for the working man, and the remnant of the grain left on the threshing-floor after measurement. He is also given other perquisites such as food on marriage and other festivals observed in his patron's house.

The Mádigas find a ready market for the articles that they can make, but on account of their intemperate habits, both men and women drinking to excess, they are poor as a class. The chief implements of their profession are *Rampi* (ರಂಪಿ—a small saw), *Iri* (ಆರಿ—an awl), *Goota* (ಗೂಟ— a peg), *Uli* (ಉಲಿ—a chisel), *Adikallu* (ಅಡಿಕಲ್ಲು—the stone on which they keep the leather while cutting it), *Kodati* (ಕೊಡತಿ—an iron mallet), and *Ohuri* (ಓಹರಿ—a knife). They are all of a rude pattern and the Mádigas are rather slow in taking to improved tools. But in towns they generally provide themselves with improved implements of foreign make and also use the stitching machine.

*Tappale* (ತಪ್ಪಲೆ) and *Randhólu* (ರಂಡೋಲು—the big drum) are the instruments they use whenever they have to proclaim any important event in the village. These instruments are made by themselves. The *Tappale* is the characteristic instrument of the caste, and this has given rise to a functionary known as *Tappatiga* (a man who beats the Tappale) who is the *Pújári* in the caste.

Some Mádigas have taken to agriculture. They hold lands either in their own right or cultivate others' lands on *Vára* or other tenure. But most of them are either day labourers or hired servants under raiyats on annual contracts. The conditions of the contract vary in different localities but the most common terms are for the master to feed the servant twice a day, and to give him a *Kambli*, a turban and a loin cloth, and *pan-supari* and tobacco.

The Mádigas, Malas and a few other low castes must, Religion. as regards their original religious beliefs, be classed as animists or *Sakti* worshippers. They are notorious for their allegiance to the minor goddesses, such as *Maramma* and *Masanamma*. The tribal goddess of the Mádigas is *Matangi*

\* ಕೂರ ಹುಲ್ಲು ಮೊರೆ ಭತ್ತ is the popular phrase for this customary remuneration.

which they now call *Mahālakshmi* or A'di Sakti. *Mātangi* was said to be the wife of *Jamadagni*, the father of *Parasurāma*, and was also known as *Rēnuka*. She used to go every day to a river to bathe and fetch water for her husband's ablutions, and by virtue of her chastity, she used to carry the water home in a vessel made out of sand. One day when she went to a river, a *Gandharva* king happened to pass in the aerial regions. The lady, who saw his figure reflected in the water, had an involuntary feeling of admiration for its symmetrical beauty, an emotion which no virtuous wife should have towards a stranger. She tried to make, as usual, a vessel out of sand but could not succeed as the virtue had departed from her. She accordingly went to her husband without the water, and when questioned why she returned empty-handed, explained to him all that had happened. *Jamadagni* became extremely angry and called upon his son *Parasurāma* to behead his mother. As a dutiful son, he pursued *Rēnuka* who ran and concealed herself in the *talle* (तल्ले) or the pot in which the skins are soaked in a *Mádiga's* house. *Parasurāma*, unable to identify his mother, cut off the heads of all the women present there and brought them to his father. *Jamadagni* was much pleased with the obedience of his son and asked him what boons he would have. Among others, he begged his father to restore his mother's life. The *Rishi* accordingly granted the boon. *Parasurāma* took the head of his mother to the *Mádiga* quarters where he had killed her and not being able to find out her body he placed the head on the headless body of a *Mádiga* woman. When the body came to life, the mistake was discovered and she could not be taken to the *Rishi's* hermitage. She thus became the tutelary deity of the *Mádigas* under the name of *Matangi*. The soaking pot is therefore considered by them as *Matangi*, which they worship with offerings of turmeric and vermilion on Tuesdays and Fridays. In some places a grand feast is held on *Dípāvali* in honour of this goddess, when all the inhabitants of the *Mádiga* quarters join together and sacrifice a number of goats, sheep and fowls, toddy pots also being consecrated in the name of the goddess.

*Máramma* is another of their tribal goddesses who attained her position according to a popular story in the following manner. A *Mádiga* boy endowed with fair features went in search of employment to a far off place called *Rásúri-paṭṇa*. A Brahman mistook his origin and received him as a student into his family and finding him

an apt pupil, made him proficient in Védas and Sástras. His daughter was given in marriage to him and they had a number of children, who, however, unconsciously betrayed their base origin by playing at shoe-making with leaves. After several years, the Mádiga's mother who had been searching everywhere for her lost son discovered him in the guise of a Brahman in this town. Finding it impossible to evade her, he got her head shaved and clothed her like a Brahman widow, and lest her speech should betray her, he enjoined her to pass for a dumb woman. Thus introduced into the family, she was treated with great respect by her daughter-in-law. But the sight of a sumptuous breakfast loosened her tongue and she exclaimed that the sweet cakes she tasted were not so good as buffalo tongues. The Brahman woman at once knew what this meant and going to her father asked him what would purify an earthen pot polluted by the touch of a dog. Applying the means suggested to herself, she heaped paddy straw round the house in which the whole family was asleep at night, entered the flames and perished with ail of them.

Her stern virtue had its reward. It was ordained that she should thenceforth become the goddess of epidemics under the name of Mári and receive *Púju* ever afterwards. Her husband would be born again and again as a he-buffalo, her children as small kids and her mother-in-law as a sheep and all would be sacrificed to her. It was also said that after the buffalo was killed, its entrails should be placed on its head and a lamp lit thereon, and that the right front leg should be cut and placed across in its mouth as a punishment for the Mádiga having laid his unholy hands on her breast.

In almost every village, a temple of this goddess is found. In some places she is represented by a large bust made of stone. On the outbreak of a severe epidemic, especially of small-pox, special festivals in her honour are organised. Women dressed in *Maḍi* go to the shrine carrying lamps made of sweetened rice flour on their heads on Tuesdays and Fridays. Sometimes, in the centre of the village, a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a washed cloth is spread thereon. Cooked food\* and curds are brought from every house in the village and made into a heap on which a bunch of margosa leaves is stuck. This is worshipped with the offerings of turmeric and *Kunkuma* powders and incense and cocoanuts; and a sheep or a goat is sacrificed before it when the devotees can afford it.

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\* This *Púju* is known as ಕುಂಭಕೂಳಿಹಾಕುವುದು (Offering of a rice heap).



A much grander feast is celebrated in honour of Mári at irregular intervals, the hostility between the right-hand and left-hand groups often coming in the way of its performance. The Mádigas and the Holeyas take the prominent part according as the left or the right hand section is in the ascendant. This is meant to commemorate the fate of Mári's husband, and at the close of every such festival, a he-buffalo is dedicated for the next celebration and allowed to roam at large through the village fields and grow fat till the time of sacrifice.\* Sometimes additional beasts are similarly dedicated as votive offerings to Mári on the occurrence of any serious illness in a family.

The village elders and all the villagers pay their share of the expenditure. It is generally in *Chaitra* or *Vaisákha* that the festival is celebrated. The period is proclaimed by the beating of tom-tom in the village and during the week preceding the event, no one is allowed to go out of the village. The frying of catables is also interdicted in every house during this period.

An image specially made for the occasion is installed on a raised place in a shed built of green leaves in front of the Mári temple or some other central place. In the morning of the prescribed Tuesday, the *Pájári* of this goddess washes the idol and worships it. *Aratis* are brought from each house in the village and offered in order of precedence. The *Pájári* is always a non-Brahman; he is either a Kammára, a Bédá or sometimes even a Mádiga. In the evening the newly made image is brought with great pomp in a procession accompanied with loud though discordant music. It is worshipped near the house of the blacksmith who decorates the idol behind a screen, painting its eyes and forehead. As soon as the screen is removed, a number of cocoanuts are broken and one or two goats are killed. The spectators are afraid of going in a line with the idol's eyes, as it is believed that the goddess does harm to the person who catches her sight first. After the usual worship, the image is carried by the blacksmith who walks on washed cloths spread on the way by the washerman. Then the whole procession comes to the shed with great pomp, a Mádiga man known as *Ranagayya*† dancing before the idol and uttering abusive language. Near the shed, some

\* The owners of the fields dare not turn out the animal lest they might incur the anger of Mári.

† *Ranagayya* is supposed to represent, the brother of Mári's Mádiga husband. He is also styled *Gósangi* (ಗೋಸಂಗಿ).

sheep or goats are killed and the image is finally installed in it, a pot filled with toddy being also consecrated and placed in front of the idol. Then auspicious things (ಮಂಗಳ ಭವ್ಯಗಳು) such as *Tili*, nose-screw, toe-rings and yellow *sadi* are brought in state by the village headman and tied to the goddess. Presents of rice, cocoanuts, betel leaves and arecanuts, plantains and other fruits are given to the goddess as if she were a bride, heaped in her garment.

In the meantime, a party of Mádigas fetch the he-buffalo set free in the name of Máramma and hold it tight by the ropes. Its temper has been subdued by keeping it on short rations for two or three days previous to this event. Some quantity of oil is poured on its head and bunches of margosa leaves are tied to the horns. Turmeric paste and *Kunkuma* powder are rubbed on its head. It is then taken in procession through all the streets in the village, Raṇagayya leading it indulging in dancing and abusive songs. As the procession approaches each house in the village, the inmates thereof bring water in a small vessel and throw it on the buffalo, and then pour some oil on its head and apply turmeric and *Kunkuma* powders to its forehead. When the buffalo is brought back to the shed, it is tied up to a forked post just opposite the image, the neck resting on the fork. An Asádi man beats on a drum and sings the praises of Máramma, reciting the story relating to her birth, marriage and death. Sometimes a band of Mádiga *Basavis*, most fantastically dressed, dance before the goddess, while Raṇagayya, also dressed in a queer fashion, capers about freely, indulging in filthy language and spitting on the persons in the way. While this din is going on, the *Pújári* worships the god, and waves *Arati* and sprinkles *Tirtha* on the buffalo's head. A Mádiga or a Bédá (according to the custom of the place) with a single stroke of a sharp long scythe cuts off the head of the beast, another man catching its blood in an earthen vessel. As soon as the head is severed from the trunk, the tongue is drawn out and the right foreleg of the animal is cut off and thrust into the mouth crosswise. The head in this condition is carried to a small shed (called Mátangi's shed) erected in front of Mári's idol and kept there on a raised platform. A layer of fat taken from the stomach of the animal is spread on the eyes and mouth and a light is kept burning on the head in an earthen basin. Two small kids and a sheep are also killed and their heads kept near the buffalo's. Then a number of sheep and goats and sometimes he-buffaloes are killed, so that the

whole place becomes reeking with blood. A large quantity of boiled rice is soaked in the blood caught in earthen vessels, and is mixed with the undigested food found in the stomach of the consecrated buffalo. This rice is carried in baskets, on the heads of Mádigas, followed by Asádi, Raṇagayya and others, who run crying out ' *Kó bali* ' (receive the sacrifice) to a spot on the boundary of the village. One or two sheep are again sacrificed there and the party run round the whole village boundary throwing out the coloured rice and calling out ' *Kó bali* . ' Similarly all the fields in the village are traversed. It is nearly day-break the next day, when this procession returns to the Mári's shed. Then *Aratis* are waved round them and *Tírtha* and *Prasáda* are given to them.

In the morning, the slaughtered animals are all divided among the twelve office-bearers (*Ayagararu*-ಅಯಗಾರರು) of the village, and such of them as are not meat-eaters make over their shares to the Mádigas or Holeyas as the case may be. The heads of all the sheep slaughtered become by right the property of the village washerman.

This fair continues sometimes as long as one week, but generally it is finished in three days. Various sports are held and the village keeps it as a general holiday. The idol is carried on the last day to the boundary of the village where a new shed has been put up. As soon as the image of Máramma is removed from the old shed, the heads of the sacrificed beasts kept in the Mátangi's shed are buried in it and the shed is burnt down. Then the procession goes to the village boundary with great pomp, the Asádi singing the praises of Mári, and Raṇagayya (Gósangi) abusing her and others in the filthiest language. At the boundary, the idol is placed on a dais in the new shed, and the *Pújári* throwing a curtain round, breaks the bangles put on it and removes the *Táli* thread, thus indicating that Mári has entered into widowhood. They all return to the village where the Mári's temple has been already locked. Next day all the village people collect together and set free another buffalo in the name of Mári. This restores the married condition of the goddess when the temple is opened and all the villagers offer cocoanuts, etc., to the image and get *Tírtha* and *Prasáda*.

The other names which the Mádigas give to their goddess in different forms are *Pújamma* (ಪುಜಮ್ಮ), *Akkayyamma* (ಅಕ್ಕಯ್ಯಮ್ಮ), *Masanamma* (ಮಸಣಮ್ಮ), *Kálamma* (ಕಾಳಮ್ಮ), *Chandamma* (ಚಾಂಡಮ್ಮ), *Marigamma* (ಮರಿಗಮ್ಮ), *Kollápurī*

amma (ಕೊಲಾ ಪುರಿಯಮ್ಮ), Durgamma (ದುರ್ಗಮ್ಮ), Yallamma (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ) and Gangamma (ಗಂಗಮ್ಮ). The last is always worshipped on a Monday near a water-course, while the others are worshipped either on Tuesdays or Fridays. Muniśvara (ಮುನಿಶ್ವರ) is a male god or spirit worshipped generally by them, the worship being conducted in a grove.

Their worship is conducted either under a margosa tree in their *Hatti*, i.e., quarters, or outside on the prescribed days of the week, the *Pājūri* being a man of their own caste. The margosa tree is considered sacred, as the peculiar dwelling place of the goddess they worship. Their shrines are generally surrounded by these trees and they do not wantonly cut them or use their fuel except when cooking in the groves in course of performing a *Pūja*.

Mādigas pay reverence to their patron saint Aralappa (ಆರಳಪ್ಪ), said to be a contemporary of Basavanna, the great Lingayat reformer. He is believed to have shown his devotion to Basavanna by presenting him with a pair of sandals made out of the skin cut from his and his wife's thighs. Basavanna being extremely pleased with his devotion, gave him *Lingadhāraṇa*, i.e., allowed him to wear on his person the Śaiva emblem. Even now Aralappa is revered by the Mādigas in all important ceremonies, such as marriage.

They pay reverence to all the gods of the other Hindus. A section among them known as *Désābhāṅḡadāraru* (ದೇಶಾಭಂಗದವರು) are Vaiṣṇavas, having as their gurus Śātānis or Śrivaishṇava Brahmans. Some of these become *Dāsaris* who earn their food by begging and whose presence is necessary on all important ceremonies. Mādigas observe the Hōḷi (ಹೊಲಿ), the New Year and the Gauri (ಗೌರಿ) feasts.

They have a strong faith in sorcery, witchcraft and soothsaying, and many devil-scarers are found among them. When ordinary remedies fail in case of illness, an exorcist is called and asked to find out whether the sick person has offended any of the family gods, or his sickness is due to any spell cast over him by an enemy, or if he is possessed by any evil spirit. If the anger of any of the family gods is the cause, a vow is made to propitiate it; but if the cause is traced to either a spell cast by an enemy or to an evil spirit, the devil-scarer by an appropriate performance removes the cause and ties a talisman as a protection

Superstitions.

against future trouble. Mádiga children wear charms made of leather.

Religious  
orders.

The gurus of the Mádigas are Jámavas. Those of the Vishnu faith who follow Srivaishnava Brahmans and Sâtánis as gurus also recognise the status of the Jámavas.

A'sádi is a Mádiga whose duty it is to sing the praises of Mámamma during her *játra*. He gets heavily drunk and goes on repeating the songs relating to the history of Mári, to the accompaniment of his drum. A'sádís are found scattered in small numbers throughout the State.\*

Gósangi, which probably means a cow-eater, is another functionary whose presence is necessary during the Mári *játra*. He is a beggar and repeats songs relating to the origin of the caste while playing on a stringed cylindrical instrument known as *Javakane* (ಜವಕಣ). During the Mári festival, he represents Ranagayya, supposed to be the brother of Mámamma's Mádiga husband, and hurls all sorts of foul abuse on her for having destroyed his family in that horrible way.

*Bála Basava* (ಬಾಲಬಸವ) is a man of the Mádiga caste who pays them periodical visits and sings to them of the history of Basava and Aralappa to the accompaniment of a *Tambúri*.† He is rewarded with doles raised by subscription. *Bála Basava* is also credited with the power of foretelling events, such as famines, that may happen during the next twelve years. He bears a *mudra* (an insignia) of *Góni Basava* (a bull with saddle).

Mádigas have also a priest of their own known as *Tappatiga*‡ (ತಪ್ಪಟಿಗ) who is a *Pújári* of their temples, into which no other casteman is allowed to enter. The office of the *Pújári* is hereditary. He is initiated in the following manner. After bathing, he puts on washed clothes and is taken to the temple. There, after *Púja*, a necklace containing some beads and a *Táli* bearing the representation of a goddess is tied to his neck. Thenceforth he cannot engage himself in his caste profession of working in leather, but has to live on fees levied during marriages and by begging. He has to worship the god, and gets some customary perquisites

\* Gollas have also a man among them called an A'sádi, whose duty is also similar.

† A *Tambúri* is a stringed instrument formed like a *Vina* but without its note gradation.

‡ Literally a drummer.

*Dásayyas* who are dedicated to Vishnu are branded with *Sankhu* and *Chakra* and abstain from working in leather. The presence of a *Dásayya* is necessary in all feasts observed by the *Désábhága* section. He must repeat the word “*Góvinda*” before he eats. His paraphernalia consist of *Sankhu* (conch shell), *Jágaṭe* (gong) and *Bavanasi* (begging bowl or pouch).

*Máchála* (ಮಚಲ) is a beggar attached to the caste. He begs only from *Mádigas*. He carries a bugle (*Kahale-ಕಹಳೆ*) and a shallow drum (*Tappate*). He is generally invited during marriages and when they have to observe the worship of the family god. He pays periodical visits and gets some prescribed fees.

*Dakkalava* (ದಕ್ಕಲವ) has already been described. There are also *Jogis* and *Nílagáru* among *Mádigas*.\*

*Mádigas* are the lowest of the “left-hand” section of the community. The whole caste is parcelled out into groups independent of one another, except that when an important matter has to be settled, the headmen of the groups near one another send invitations to others to attend the meetings. These groups are called *Kattemanes*. Each group has a headman styled *Dodḍa yajamína* (in Kannada) or *Pēḍa yajamínaḍu* (in Telugu), meaning the senior headman. He is called *Manégára* (ಮಣಗಾರ) in some places. He presides over the tribal deliberations and gets an additional *Támbúla*. Next to him is the *Chikka yajamína* or the junior headman, otherwise called *Budhivanta*. He presides over the caste council in the absence of the senior headman, and during marriages he officiates and conducts the ceremony. Under them is the *Kólkar* or *Kondikáḍu* being the beadle and as such bound to call together all the castemen whenever necessary. These also get extra *Támbúlas*. The jurisdiction of these officials extends, as in other castes, to punishing a man for transgression of any caste rules, as, for example, adultery, and to admitting strangers into the caste.

As regards their professional organization, it is said that each family must strictly adhere to their own patrons or principals, and that, in the event of disagreement between himself and his patron, no other *Mádiga* must do the latter's work. Such strict rules are going out of use. Where unpaid labour has to be done in villages, all the *Mádigas* do it by turns.

\* See Holeyá account, page 18.

Miscellaneous.

The Mádigas are hard drinkers, both males and females indulging in toddy to excess. They eat carrion of cattle, sheep, pigs and all other animals except monkeys, snakes and a few others. They do not eat in the houses of *Náyindas* and *Agasas*, and no one eats in their houses.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Men put on the scanty clothing usually worn by the poor among the lower classes, namely, a loin cloth, a turban and a *Kambli*, and the women wear *Sire*, but not *Bavike* (bodice cloth), the latter being worn only by the *Basucis*. They are a filthy class and wash themselves only occasionally; women sometimes dress their hair, but it is generally neglected. The *Jámbava* and the *Gósangi* wear a *Linga* in imitation of the Lingayets and put on ashes and sandal in horizontal lines and *Akshate* mark in the forehead. They sometimes enact plays in which they put on disguises and sing of the origin of their caste. They respect the *Akkasúle* caste and consider these people as their fathers.

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## APPENDIX.

(LIST OF EXOGAMOUS DIVISIONS).

- Aivalli (ಐವಳ್ಳಿ).  
 Ankélu (ಅಂಕೇಲು).  
 Āri (ಆರಿ). They do not either cut or touch *Baumi*  
 tree (*Prosopis speregera*).  
 Belli (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ), silver.  
 5 Bandāri (ಬಂಡಾರಿ).  
 Bhógam (ಭೋಗಂ).  
 Billu (ಬಿಲ್ಲು), a bow.  
 Chattri (ಚತ್ರಿ), an umbrella.  
 Chimalu (ಚಿಮಲು), ants.  
 10 Chinnada (ಚಿನ್ನದ), gold.  
 Chittālu (ಚಿತ್ತಲು), a kind of fuel tree which they  
 do not use.  
 Enme (ಎಮ್ಮೆ), a buffalo.  
 Enna or Benue (ಎನ್ನ-ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ), butter.  
 Gonabā (ಗೊಣಬ).  
 15 Gongadi (ಗೊಂಗಡಿ), a cloak worn over the head  
 and the face.  
 Gujjalu (ಗುಜ್ಜಲು).  
 Handa (ಹೆಂಡ).  
 Hatṭi (ಹಟ್ಟಿ), court-yard.  
 Heggaḍe (ಹೆಗ್ಗಡೆ), chief man.  
 20 Honnu (ಹೊನ್ನ), gold.  
 Humḍa (ಹುಂಡ).  
 Hutta (ಹುತ್ತ), an ant-hill.  
 Huvvu (ಹುವ್ವು), flower.  
 Jinivāgala (ಜಿನಿವಾಗಲ).  
 25 Rāmagatti (ರಾಮಗತ್ತಿ).  
 Kambli (ಕಂಬಳಿ), a blanket.  
 Karaḍi (ಕರಡಿ), a bear.  
 Kengāre (ಕೆಂಗಾರೆ).  
 Kōri (ಕೋರಿ), a rag.  
 30 Kūrma (ಕೂರ್ಮ), a tortoise.  
 Kuri (ಕುರಿ), a sheep.  
 Kusume (ಕುಸುಮೆ), a plant.  
 Lakkibanda (ಲಕ್ಕಿಬಂದ).  
 Lakkipāmada (ಲಕ್ಕಿಪಾಮದ).  
 35 Maddale (ಮದ್ದಲ), a drum.  
 Māgi (ಮಾಗಿ).  
 Mallige (ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ), jasmine.



Mandala (ಮಂಡಲ), herd of cattle.

Mandima (ಮಂಡಿಮ),

40. Míñiga (ಮಿನಿಗ), a fish.

Muchelali (ಮುಚ್ಚಲಿ), a lid.

Munaga or Nuggi (ಮುನಗ-ನುಗ್ಗಿ), horse-radish  
(*Moninga pterigosperma*).

Nágara (ನಾಗರ), cobra.

Nakka or Nari (ನಕ್ಕ-ನರಿ), a jackal which they  
neither kill nor eat.

45. Pálu or Ilálu (ಪಾಲು-ಹಾಲು), a kind of herb.

Pasapu or Arasina (ಪಸಪು-ಅರಸಿನ), turmeric.

Puli or Huli (ಪುಲಿ-ಹುಲಿ), tiger.

Sáda (ಸಾದ).

Sákila (ಸಾಕಿಲ).

50. Saṇṇakki (ಸಣ್ಣಕ್ಕಿ), a species of rice (husked paddy)  
Setṭi (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ).

Sóge (ಸೋಗಿ), the leaf of palms, sugarcane or  
screw-pine.

Telamáru (ತೆಲಮಾರು).

Yalachi (ಯಲಚಿ), the jujube.

Yákila (ಯಾಕಿಲ).

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XVIII.**

**IDIGA CASTE.**

BY

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## I' DIG A S.

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I'digas are found in almost all parts of the State— Name.  
Mysore and Shimoga Districts containing the largest number. The caste profession is drawing toddy from date (I'chalu ಕಚಲು) trees. They do not operate on other classes of palms which yield a similar liquor. Their number as given in the Census of 1901, was 48,156 of whom 25,620 were males.

They have no other names or nicknames given to them. Sometimes they call themselves in mutual correspondence “ Sons of the goddes of the toddy pot ” (Surá Bhándésvari-makkaḷu—ಸುರಾ ಭಂಡೇಶ್ವರಿ ಮಕ್ಕಳು), a title which was apparently coined for them on account of its euphonious sound.

Various derivations are given of the word I'diga. Derivation  
of the term  
I'diga  
Some derive it from the word I'delu (ಈಡು) meaning to draw, while others say that it comes from I'dalu (ಈಡಲು), that is, the name of the toddy tree in Telugu. In some parts of the Shimoga District bordering on the Bombay Presidency, they are styled Iḷigaru (ಇಳಿಗರು) which is said to be a corrupt form of Iḷisóru (ಇಳಿಸೋರು), that is, drawers (of toddy), but it is more likely that this term is another form of the word I'digaru, I having been substituted for d, a local peculiarity.

The toddy drawers of Malabar are known as I'ḷavar (I'iyar) which is said to be derived from the word *Simhala*, the ancient name for Ceylon, it having been surmised that the term “ must have passed through *Simhala*n to *Sihala*n and *Ihalan* and finally to I'ḷavan\*” I'ḷavars are the drawers of toddy from the cocoanut tree which they are believed to have introduced into India.† It is doubtful whether the I'digars are really allied to I'ḷavars.

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\* Malabar Manual, page 145.

† Compare Tenkáyi (ತೆಂಕಾಯಿ) that is, Tenkalu-kayi, i.e., fruit of the South.

The word I'diga appears to be derived from I'di (ಈದಿ) meaning toddy and it corresponds with the Tamil words ತುಳಿ (I'di) and ಎಲಿ (E'li) and with the Telugu word ఈడ్డ (I'dre) all of which mean toddy, the termination *iga* (ಇಗೆ) being a noun suffix denoting occupation (ತದ್ವಿತ್ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯ).

Language.

Their language is Telugu and except in the Western districts where they have forgotten their original language and adopted Kannada, they speak it at home. Even those who speak only Kannada are not regarded as a distinct caste for marriage and other relations.

Origin.

The I'digas claim to have been originally Banajigas who became a distinct caste from the profession adopted by them. They exalt their calling by attributing to it, as usual, some supernatural origin. While going in a jungle with Parameśwara, it is stated, Pārṇvati felt sore athirst, and they could find not a drop of water. Seeing a date tree Pārṇvati felt that its juice would be sweet and Siva seeing a Banajiga going to a village with his strings of bangles slung on his shoulders, commissioned him to pierce the trunk of the tree with his trident in the manner pointed out by Pārṇvati.

The man placed his bangles on the tree and using his Lingam thread as a sling for his feet while climbing the tree, he filled his Linga box (ಕರಡಿಗಿ Karadige) with the juice and offered it to the goddess. The gods found its taste so delicious that they commanded the man to adopt this profession and to supply the gods in Indra's paradise with the liquor and to ensure that the drawer may not be tempted to appropriate the ambrosial liquid to his own use, they bound him with a strong oath never to drink the liquor he drew. The Banajiga thus lost his religious emblem as well as his former profession. The truth of this story may be verified by the resemblance of bunches of date fruit to a bangle seller's Mallāra (ಮಲ್ಲಾರ i.e., a sling of bangles slung on the shoulder). The liquor thus supplied led to drunken brawls in heaven and the man who was mainly responsible was made to drag the inebriated gods back to their places. He was thence known as I'diga (that is, one that drags).

Another account traces their descent to two Rishis. The poison that was thrown out by the great serpent when he was used as a rope for churning the ocean poisoned all the waters of the world. To save the Dēvas from thirst, Siva commanded the Rishis Kaundinya and Kārūṇya to tap the Kadamba (date) tree for its juice. Goddess Pārṇvati

herself showed them how to make the cuts on the bark, and Siva distributed the liquor to the gods using the shells of margosa fruit as drinking cups. These Rishis were appointed as hereditary vendors of liquor for the Dēvalōka; but after some generations, their avarice tempted them to adulterate the precious juice and they allowed unhallowed persons to touch the divine drink. They were of course doomed to fall after this, and they are now the Iḍigas who are to cater to the wants of lower classes exclusively, the higher classes being forbidden to drink.

The prohibition against drinking by the higher castes is ascribed to a different cause by another story. In the war between Dévas and Daityas (gods and demons) the latter possessed a great advantage in the power of their priest Sukrāchārya to revive all the dead warriors by means of a mantra known only to him. The Dévas prevailed upon their Guru, Brihaspati to send his son as a pupil to the house of the rival Guru, so that without revealing his purpose he might learn the priceless mantra. The boy was received into the family and so ingratiated himself by his good conduct as to be regarded as a son. The demons, however became suspicious and resolved to kill him. In order to place it beyond the power of Sukrāchārya to revive him, they burnt the body and mixed the ashes in the toddy which the Guru drank. Missing the favourite pupil, the high priest discovered by his superior vision what had been done. He could of course bring the pupil to life but he himself would die in the process. To overcome the difficulty the wise priest brought the boy to life, and as he lay in his stomach, taught him the secret mantra and enjoined him to use it to revive his Guru after he came out of the latter's body. The boy thus achieved the secret object of his mission.\* After this experience, Sukrāchārya was so convinced of the dangers of drink that he cursed the liquor and prohibited all Dvijas (twice born classes) from touching it on pain of excommunication.

Iḍigas are immigrants into Mysore from the Telugu country. One tradition gives Rājamahēndri as their original place, while another says that they came into Mysore from Penukonda. Dānana Gauda otherwise styled as Nirvāṇa Gauda and Gopāl Gauda, related to each

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\* It must be added however that the Dévas did not derive any benefit, for out of their cunning plot, Sukrāchārya's daughter falling in love with the revived pupil asked him to marry her, and on his refusal, bestowed on him a curse which deprived him of his new found virtue.



other as brothers-in-law, are mentioned as the two men who founded the caste. In addressing each other in formal correspondence they mention their connection with these two names in the superscription of their letter as follows:—

(ಕಾಂಡಿನೈ ಗೋತ್ರ) ಕಾರುಣ್ಯ ಗೋತ್ರ ಪವಿತ್ರರಾದ ಗೋಪಾಲ ಗಾಡ ನಿರ್ವಾಣ ಗಾಡ or ದಾನಾರ ಗಾಡವಂಶೋದ್ಭವಕರಾದ ಸುರಾಭಾಂಡೇಶ್ವರಿ ಅವ್ಯಯನವರ ಪಾದ ಪೂಜಿತರಾದ).

Of the pure Gótras of Kaundinya and Kárunya, the progenitor of the line of Gópálagaṇḍa and Nirváṇa gaṇḍa and worshipper of the goddess of the toddy pot.

Endoga-  
mous divi-  
sions.

This caste contains two main endogamous divisions namely:—(1) Maḍḍi or Sáccha (ಮಡ್ಡಿ-liquor ಸಾಚ-*pure*) I'digas and (2) Bellada (ಬೆಲ್ಲ-jaggory) or E'ni (ಎಣಿ-ladder) I'digas. The former are also styled U'ru I'digas (village dwellers) in contradistinction to the other division who used mostly to reside in date groves and were thus called Kaḍu I'digas (jungle dwellers).

Maḍḍi I'digas practise the profession of drawing toddy and vending it to others for drinking, while Bellada I'digas would convert the juice into jaggory. This latter work which is carried on in the toddy groves has now been almost wholly discontinued and both classes are engaged in supplying toddy for drinking. The U'ru I'digas never drink toddy themselves while the Kaḍu I'digas indulge in the habit; and it is said that this is the chief cause of their becoming split into two endogamous groups.

Another division is said to have existed formerly under the name of Daṇḍu i'digas (*i.e.*, Army I'digas) whose duty it was to follow an army to tap trees near camps and supply the liquor to the soldiers. It is possible that this was only the name of the profession. At any rate, no representatives of this section seem to exist now.

The people of the two sections do not dine with each other and it is claimed that Bellada I'digas are inferior to the Sáccha or U'ru I'digas whose houses they do not enter.

In some places in Mysore and Bangalore Districts, the Sáccha I'digas are again divided into three groups known as *E'pumaneyavaru* (ಎಳು ಮನೆಯವರು) *Muvattumaneyavaru* (ಮುವತ್ತು ಮನೆಯವರು) and *Aravattumaneyavaru* (ಅರವತ್ತು ಮನೆಯವರು) *i.e.*, those of seven families, those of thirty families and those of sixty families. These eat together but do not intermarry except that, it is said, the members of the

'seven families' take girls from the class of the 'thirty families' but not *vice versa*. The origin of those subdivisions cannot be traced.

I'digas have two exogamous divisions styled S'asme-yavaru (సాస్మయవరు) and Boddeyavaru (బొడెయవరు). The former are said to belong to the Kârunya gôtra and the latter to the Kaundinya gôtra. These divisions are common to the two sections of the I'digas. They have, in addition, family names, which are the names of places from which their respective ancestors emigrated, as for example, Sôlûrivâru సోలూరివారు—of Sôlûru village, Jâdapallivâru (జడపల్లివారు—of Jâdapalli), Atlûrivâru (అల్లూరివారు—of Atlûr) etc. It may be noted here that all the Telugu castes found in the State have family names which are generally indicative of exogamous restrictions.

Exogamous divisions.

A woman is taken to her parent's house on the occasion of her first pregnancy. In the fifth or seventh month, they celebrate the ceremony of decking her with flowers and present her with new clothes and entertain her husband and near relations at a feast. The husband is expected to eschew certain acts during this period such as killing an animal, or carrying a corpse. He is considered to be in an impure state and is not allowed to besmear a bridal pair with turmeric paste. Pregnant women are carefully kept in a dark place on eclipse days, so that not a single ray of the eclipsed luminary might reach them.\*

Birth ceremonies.

On the birth of a child the woman is considered impure for five or seven days. When the child's navel cord is severed, on the day of birth, the wound is staunched with a red-hot needle, and this treatment is believed to prevent the child from getting convulsions. At the threshold of the confinement room, an old winnow and a broomstick are kept and a bunch of margosa leaves is stuck to the door frame. The woman and the child are made to bathe on the fifth or the seventh day, the whole house is cleaned and whitewashed, and all cooking earthen pots are replaced by new ones. A Brahman is made to purify the house by sprinkling holy water before cooking is begun for feasting the castemen. The child is named by the paternal aunt and is put into a cradle for the first

\* These are not so much caste as general superstitions and it is believed that if an *enciente* exposes herself to such rays, the child will have some bodily deformity such as 'hare-lip.'

time that evening. Sometimes Dásayyas are invited for repeating *tirumantra* and perform Pûja during the night.

The name given is usually that of the family God or of a deceased ancestor and it is selected by the eldest member of the family. Sometimes a soothsayer is also consulted. If a child gets ill or suffers from other misfortune, the name is sometimes considered unlucky and another is given in its stead. Like others, men of this caste try to deceive the God of death, by naming a child after some low or filthy object to show that they attach no particular value to its existence. There are no names peculiar to the caste, but the names O'baliga (ඔබලිග), Anjaniga (අන්ජනිග) and Dásiga (දාසිග) are most popular.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is generally practised. The boy to be adopted must be of the same exogamous division as the adopter, and so a sister's son or a daughter's son cannot properly be taken in adoption. A brother's son is preferable to a stranger. When there is a daughter, a sister's son is generally married to her and made an *illátum* son-in-law, and a man who has no daughter sometimes adopts a daughter of one of his cousins for this purpose. The chief part of the ceremony is removing the waist thread of the boy and substituting another before a caste gathering. Some present is usually given to the natural mother.

#### Marriage.

Polygamy is somewhat common, as an additional wife is useful in attending to house or trade business, but the common reason for marrying a second wife is the want of issue by the first wife or her bodily infirmity. The first wife is generally a consenting party and lives amicably along with the new partner. Polyandry is unknown.

Marriages of adults is the rule, though marriages of infants are celebrated when the parents are in good circumstances and wish to adopt customs considered as respectable. Twenty is about the general age of marriage for men. The husband must always be older than the wife. They observe the usual rules about the prohibited degrees of marriage. A man may marry two sisters, and two sisters may be married to two brothers. Exchange of daughters is allowed and practised. When two families exchange daughters, the *tera* or bride price is not, as a rule, paid by either party. When a girl is married before puberty, she remains in her parent's house, except for casual visits to the husband's house, till she attains womanhood and the consummation of marriage takes place.

If the pair are considered compatible, the bridegroom's father commences the negotiations. The formal compact is openly made at the *Vilya Sâstra* (betel leaves ceremony) at which the intended bride is seated on a kambly and presented with new cloths, and betel leaves and areca nuts are exchanged between the father of the bride and the father of the bridegroom. The girl's father is to give a dinner to the castemen.

The marriage takes place in the house of the bridegroom whither the bride's party repair, on the evening of the day previous to the commencement of the ceremony. On the first day, the parties fast till midday and then go outside the village to worship a snake-hole. This snake worship is known as *Nâgara-tani*. The mortar and pestle to which a yellow dyed cotton thread is wound are worshipped by married women in the marriage house and then they go with four new earthen pots to a well or tank to bring home holy water (ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದನೀರು) which is used for cooking food. A pandal is erected on twelve posts, and the maternal uncle of the bridegroom brings home a branch of the Kallu wood to serve as 'milk post' after offering Pûja to it. A package with five kinds of grains is tied to it and the post is wrapped with a yellow cloth supplied by the washerman, and it is imbedded in a hole in which a bit of gold, a pearl and a bead of coral and some butter and milk are placed. The persons to be married are then seated on planks separately and are rubbed over with turmeric (ಮದನಣಿಗಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ) or bridal ceremony).

The next day they celebrate the *Dêvarûta* or God's feast at which the Vaishnava section of the Iḍigas invite Dâsayyas to perform Pûja and distribute *prasâda*. Then a party of twenty-four married women go to a potter's house and bring the sacred pots which are deposited in a room\* on a bed of manure mixed with nine kinds of staple grains. The maternal uncle brings a twig of a Nêrale (Jambolana) tree and ties it up to the "milk-post" (ಎಳೆವಾರ). He is subjected to considerable banter and rubbed with turmeric as if he were a woman and presented with Tâmbûla and some money.

The *Muhûrta* or the main ceremony takes place on the third day. It is begun very early at about 2 a.m., with the Bîra-gudi ceremony. At a place where three

\* The Bellada (Jaggory) Iḍiga section keep these pots on the marriage dais and worship them everyday during the marriage.

paths meet a spot is cleaned with cowdung and water, the person who cleans using only the left hand, and it is decorated with lines of *rangoli* powder drawn thereon and a bow and an arrow are placed near it, a screen concealing it from view. New clothes and jewels to be presented to the bride are also placed there. The whole thing is worshipped with the offerings of cocoanuts, sweet cakes, etc. A number of boys with marks of *uñas* put on them are taken there. Plantains and sweet cakes are stuck to the arrow and the bow and the arrow are given to one of the urchins. He runs round the screen three times followed by the other boys who all shout loudly and make great noise. At the end of the third turn, they scatter and run away in different directions. Then the party noiselessly return home without once looking back. It is said that this proceeding should not be witnessed by strangers.

The bathing with *malenirn*, the procession of the bridegroom, the tying of the *táli* and the worship of the sacred pots all take place more or less in the same order as in other similar castes. The bride's sister does the honour of welcoming the bridegroom, first serving him with food and sweet cakes. His maternal uncle ties the *bhāshinga* on his turban; and the bride's brother (jocularly styled *kōḍuga* or monkey) is fantastically rigged with margosa leaves round his head and walks in front of the procession carrying a bow and an arrow. He is also called *Billina-Kenchā* or *Kenchā* of the bow. The bridegroom carries a dagger in his left hand wrapped in a piece of red cloth. As they approach the pandal, each party throws handfuls of half-pounded paddy at the other.\* An A'rati is waved at the entrance to the bridegroom who is then led straight to the dias, and made to stand facing the East. The bride is then brought by her maternal uncle and made to stand opposite to the bridegroom, a cloth being held up as a screen between them. A Brahman Puróhit is in attendance and under his direction, the bride and the bridegroom place cummin seed and jaggory on each other's head. The screen is removed and the couple sit facing each other and tie *Kankāṇas* or wrist threads, to each other. Then the bridegroom ties the *Táli* (or the lucky thread) to the neck of the bride. This is considered the essential and binding portion of the

\* Among the Bellada Idiga section the entrance of the pandal is decorated with a *tōraṇa* made of *bouli* (ಬೊಲಿ the ends of newly woven cloth) dipped in turmeric water.

ceremony. They are made to join hands and the assembled people including the Patél and the Shanbhog of the place and the caste Yajaman pour milk (दध) on a cocoanut, held fast by the couple in their joined hands. They now sit side by side with the hems of their clothes knotted together and married women rub them with turmeric. They then rise from their seats, go round the 'milk-post' three times holding each other by the hands and then go into the room in which the *arivèni* pots are installed. The way is obstructed by the bridegroom's sister who, on a promise from her brother to give her either the first-born daughter, a cow or some other article of value, is induced to leave the way. In front of the *arivènis*, food styled *Buvva* consisting of a mixture of sweetened rice, plantains, ghee and curds is served in two dishes at which the couple with their near relations sit to eat. Two jaggory cubes are given to the couple. Each bites off a slice out of it and gives the remaining portion to the other to eat. On eating *Buvva*, each party throws a two anna piece into the dishes in which also they wash their hands. The brother-in-law of the bridegroom throws out the contents of the dishes and takes the coin. In the evening, the couple are shown the star *Arundhati*.

On the *Nágavali* day, the couple get their nails pared, fetch earth from an ant-hill and make it into twelve balls and place one near each post of the pandal with offerings of food. The pot-searching ceremony takes place on the dias, at which they are asked to pick up a gold or silver ornament (a nose-screw and a bangle) concealed in a pot of coloured water. Whoever first picks up the gold is considered to be the future dictator of the family. In the evening the bridegroom carries the manure and the sprouts of grain sown in the bed under the *arivèni* pots and goes in procession to a fig tree near a water course, the bride carrying the *kalasa*. The plants and the manure are thrown at the foot of the tree, and three small stones are set up there and worshipped along with the *kalasa*. The couple pour twelve potfuls of water to the fig tree and go round it. They then make *Púja* to *Ganga* in the water course and carry two pots filled with water on their heads. After return home, takes place the worship of *Simbásana* or the improvised seat at which the headman of the caste officiates and distributes betel-leaves and nuts in the prescribed order of precedence. The *Támbugá* to God is first set apart, then one each to the *Guru*, *Nádu*, *Désa* and *Gaḍi*

and then twelve Tāmbúlas to the Yajinan (headman). Then the remaining betel leaves and nuts are distributed to all.

Next day, the couple and some others go to the bride's village, spend one or two days in feasting in the bride's father's house and return to the bridegroom's. On a subsequent auspicious day within the first month, the 'milk-post' is removed after pouring some milk over it and the girl is sent to her father's house.

The bride price or *tera* is Rs. 15 and this should be paid partly on the day of betrothal (Vilya-Sāstra) and the balance on the Dhāre day. It is reported that formerly there were two scales of *tera* Rs. 15 and Rs. 30; if the higher *tera* was paid, the girl had to be sent to the husband's house at once and the latter might refuse to send her back to her father's house; but if the smaller sum was given, the husband was bound to send her whenever her father went to take her. Now this distinction has ceased to exist and Rs. 15 only is paid.

#### Puberty

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, during which period she is kept in a shed of green leaves in the yard of the house. As soon as signs of womanhood are discovered, she is given a bath and sent into the shed being dressed in a white Sīre (garment) supplied by the washerman. Every day the girl is given a bath, her cloth is changed and fresh green leaves are put on the shed. The usual gatherings of married women in the evenings, the exhibition of the girl before them in state, distribution of turmeric and kunkuma to the gathering take place, and the girl is given some rich food consisting of pulses, sugar, etc. At dawn on the fourth morning, the girl pulls down the shed and throws away the materials at a distance. She is then bathed and is admitted into the outer part of the house. The spot where the shed stood is cleaned with cowdung and water and an *Idde* (ಎಡೆ) of curds and rice is placed there on a plantain leaf, incense is burnt and a cocoanut broken. The house is purified by a Brahman Puróhit who kindles Hóma fire. For twelve days more, the girl is exhibited in the evenings in the company of married women, presents of cocoanuts plantains, etc., are given, and *arati* is waved to her at the close of each sitting. The expenses of the first few days are borne by the husband's party, if the girl has been already married, or by the maternal uncle if she is unmarried. This is called a shed feast (ಗುಡ್ಡಾ ಬಸಿ). After twelve days, the house is whitewashed and purified. On

the spot where the shed stood, an *lde* of cooked rice and green pulse is offered. A fowl or a sheep is killed in the girls presence there and a dinner to the castemen follows.

If the girl has already been married, an auspicious day is fixed for the consummation of the marriage, preferably within the 16th day. The couple are seated together and rubbed with turmeric. The girl is presented with fruits and flowers, and the couple begin to live together from that night. But if the girl is unmarried, the second course of *osiges* is put off and is done a few days before the marriage. But her consummation cannot take place within three months after the marriage, or till after the Gauri feast, at which she worships the goddess and gives presents of Bágina \* to some married women.

Widow  
marriage.

Widow marriage styled Kútike (union) is generally allowed, though it does not find favour with one of the sections. Widows with children do not generally marry again, but a young widow, as soon as she loses her first husband, is sent to her parent's house, if she is disposed to wed another. They say that so long as the widow remains in her husband's house no proposal for her second marriage can be entertained. Bachelors are not allowed to marry widows, and the widow is not allowed to marry the brother of her deceased husband. The ceremony of widow marriage always takes place in the evening near her father's house and in the presence of castemen. No married women attend the ceremony. The man that wants to marry the widow begins negotiations with her father who, if he consents, lays the matter before the castemen. The latter send for the relatives of her deceased husband and get their consent to the proposal. When this is given, any property of the husband which the widow still has including even the *túli* is returned. The *tert* or bride price payable is half that of the first marriage. It is said properly to belong to her first husband's heirs, but generally the latter decline to receive it as derogatory to their dignity and give it away

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\* Some grains such as rice, dhal and other pulses, with combs, powder boxes and other articles of female toilette are placed in a new winnow and covered over with another winnow and presented to married women on occasions in which they are to be honoured—especially on the day of Gauri-úja which falls on the third day of the first fortnight of Bhàdrapada (August-September) every year. The main object is to secure for the hostess a long and prosperous married life. These presents are known as Bágina (बगिना).



to the castemen. The ceremony observed at the marriage of the widow is simple and is generally held on a Wednesday. The widow to be married is given a bath and brought to the assembly by other widows or remarried women. She puts on the new clothes presented by the man and gets new bangles. Either the headman of the caste or one related as maternal uncle ties the *Tiki* in the name of the new husband. In some places this is done by the man himself. *Pan-supari* is distributed to the caste people and a dinner is given. The woman may afterwards put on turmeric and kunkuma, the signs of married life, and for all intents and purposes is treated as a *muttaide* (married woman), except that she cannot take part in marriage ceremonies. It is reported that her children are freely admitted to all the privileges of the caste, and may be married into families of the regular marriage connections.

#### Divorce.

A man cannot divorce his wife for any other reason than that of her adultery or loss of caste, and the wife can separate herself from her husband only if the latter is thrown out of caste. If they do not agree to live together, the caste panchayet enquires into the case; if the woman is at fault she is outcasted, but if the fault be on the side of the man the woman may live separately. In some parts of the state a woman divorced or separated from her husband may marry under *kutike* form, while in other parts the caste discipline is stricter and the woman is not allowed to marry so long as her first husband is alive. A woman living in criminal intimacy with a man of the same caste may have her fault condoned at the option of the husband; but if she is found in adulterous intercourse with a man of a lower caste, she is put out of caste. Such women are generally branded with the symbols of Vaishnava faith, Sankha and Chakra, and become public women. If one of them dies, her body is not touched by any of the <sup>A</sup>Idigas, but is disposed of by Dásayyas. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste, may have her fault condoned, and married to him subsequently under *kutike* form. <sup>A</sup>Idigas do not dedicate Basavis.

#### Death ceremonies.

<sup>A</sup>Idigas bury the dead, but the bodies of those suffering from leprosy are burnt, because they believe that their burial prevents rains during the year. Pregnant women dying are in some places disposed of by *kallusève* (burial

under a heap of stones) and sometimes the dead bodies of lepers are exposed in the woods under a shed so that they may be eaten away by birds. In cases of burial the body is laid flat with the head turned to the south. The corpse of a married person is carried by four persons on a bier (ಚಟ್ಟ), but that of an unmarried person by hands. When burying, a pie piece is placed in the nostril and the pit is closed in. On the grave, a mound is raised and the chief mourner plants *Tumbe* plants at the four corners of the grave, with his back turned towards it. Then a shovelful of earth is thrown on each spot and some coin placed there, the latter being taken away by the Holeyas as *nelahaga*. If the death has occurred on a Friday or a Tuesday, instead of cooked rice being carried in a pot by the chief mourner, some quantity of uncooked rice is tied up in a bundle to the end of the shroud and when the corpse is buried, the bundle is untied and the rice kept at the head of the body and the grave is closed in. After the body is so disposed of, the party go direct to a water course, where the chief mourner bathes, others wash their hands and feet, and all return home and see the light of a lamp placed at the spot where the deceased expired. Then the relatives offer betel leaves and nuts to the people of the deceased's family by way of condolence and go to their houses. As usual, on the spot of the deceased's death, water and light are kept in the night for the spirit of the deceased. The men who carried the body may not enter the inner parts of their houses till the third day's ceremony is over.

On that day, if the deceased was unmarried, only milk and clarified butter and some parched grain are placed on the grave and no other ceremony is observed. If he was married, all the agnates go to the graveyard with cooked food, a hen being killed for the purpose, and after burning frankincense and breaking a cocoanut, offer the food on the grave in a plantain leaf and invoke the deceased to come and partake of it, which he is supposed to do when crows devour the food. In the evening, all the agnates and other near relatives bring each of them a fowl, one seer of rice and some incense, and present them to the deceased's family. These provisions are cooked. A *Kalasa* is kept in a room in the deceased's house and the food is offered on leaf plates. After burning incense, they close the door of the room and retire to leave the ancestral spirits free to partake of the feast. After this, some milk and ghee

are rubbed on the shoulders of the corpse-bearers to remove the effects of having carried their inauspicious burden. Some butter is smeared on a stone image of a bull (Basavan a) and a little of it is put into its mouth. That day all the agnates must eat in the house of the deceased.

All the agnates have to get rid of the *Sâtaka* by bathing on the eleventh day. The Brahman Purôhit purifies the house and presents of money and provisions are given to Brahmans and Jangamas. They cook the day's food with the fire made by the Brahman for sacrifice. Some of the food is offered on the grave and a little scattered on the roof of the house for crows. In some places in the Mysore District, cooked food is taken to a water course and served on a plantain leaf on the bank. They make *pûja* to the spirit of the deceased and then let the plantain leaf carrying the food float away in the water to be carried to the deceased. The corpse-bearers are invited to the house where the chief mourner smears their shoulders with milk and ghee while they are seated on a pounding pestle. The Tirunâmadhâri section, known also as Dêsa-bhâgadavarû, invite Sâtânîs to worship Chakra that night. This is attended with drinking as usual, but the Iḍigas themselves keep away from taking part in it.

Ten days is the period of *Sâtaka* for the death of married persons, and three days for unmarried persons and distant agnates. For daughter's children, only bathing is enjoined. They abstain from milk and sugar and do not put on their caste marks, and the other members of the caste refrain from eating in their houses, during pollution. They make offerings to the ancestors generally on the Mahâlâya New-Moon day and on the New Year's day, but they do not perform any anniversary *Srâddhas* for the dead.

Social  
Status.

The Iḍigas are of the eighteen Phanâs or the right hand section, and their professional weapon (the spatula or the scraper) is engraved on the bell and ladle carried by the Chalavâdi, whose presence is necessary on the occasions of all extraordinary ceremonies. Bellada Iḍigas were formerly a wandering tribe and used to pitch their huts (of date leaves) wherever they had the work of tapping trees and making jaggory. They are considered lower in status than U'ru-Iḍigas, and in villages they generally live in a separate quarter. Iḍigas, as a class, occupy the same position as Bêḍas. The barber and the washerman give them their services without any demur. They may draw water

from the common village well, but are allowed to enter only the outer parts of temples.

They are flesh eaters, and eat sheep, goats, fowls and fish, but do not eat beef, monkeys, snakes, etc. They are perfect teetotallers; but the Bella section are said to be not so particular. They do not consider themselves higher in status than those who indulge in drink, but attribute their abstinence to the injunction of their tribal deity. It is said that formerly they were not eating fowls, but now this abstinence is not observed.

Iḍigas are in comparatively easy circumstances and build houses of a substantial character. There is nothing typical in the construction of their dwellings except perhaps that in front of their houses, they have generally an enclosure sometimes covered with thatch roofing in which they tether their donkeys which are employed for carrying liquor from the toddy trees in leather pouches slung on their backs. Sometimes ponies are used as beasts of burden for this purpose, and many of them keep riding animals also. They consider bullocks sacred and never use them for carrying toddy.

They have a larger proportion of persons who have learnt to read and write than other castes of the same status. Brahmans are allowed to minister to them as priests and are employed on marriage and other festive occasions. They are also called in to purify their houses after pollution of death. They have a Srivaishṇava Brahman known as Tâtâchârya of Tirumale as their guru and some have Sâtâni gurus likewise. These are given money presents (generally a haṇṇa) and provisions whenever they visit their disciples; but they have no authority to enquire into caste disputes, unless their help is sought by the Yajaman of the caste, to whom they are carried in the first instance.

Outsiders belonging to any recognised higher castes, such as Okkaligas may be admitted into their caste, though such admissions occur very rarely. As usual, these admissions are brought about for the purpose of forming or legalising sexual union. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes \* and such converts though at first kept apart, merge in the general community in one or two generations.

Admission of outsiders.

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\* See Monograph on Bédî Caste pp. 15—16.

Inherit  
ance.

They generally resort to caste Punchâyati to effect partition of property. Sometimes the youngest son is allowed the first choice of the share and then the next above him. The share given to a father in a partition during his life is said to belong to the son who defrays the funeral expenses at his death. A married daughter is not given any portion,\* but a widow or an unmarried daughter living in the family is given some article of value or a field for her maintenance. The marriage expenses of unmarried sons are first deducted. With these few qualifications, they follow the general law of inheritance.

Supersti-  
tions.

They believe in omens, miracles, sorcery, magic, soothsaying, etc., and whenever they undertake an important work, they consult a soothsayer or a Brahman astrologer.

Tribal  
Constitu-  
tion.

The caste is a well organised one. It is divided into several groups, each having its own headman. The jurisdiction of each group is known as Kattēmane under a headman styled a 'Gauda.' He has a Kôlkâr or messenger to help him or is served by a Chalavâdi of the Holeya caste to do his errands in summoning people and other matters. The Yajaman has the lead in the determination of caste disputes, the admission of strangers and excommunication of members and in the conduct of worship of tribal gods. He is given certain perquisites—either present of cloths or money.

Religion.

Idigas worship Siva and Vishnu without any undue partiality for either. They also do Pûja to minor deities, such as, Munîsvara, Mâramma and Durgi, and offer animal sacrifices. Their special gods are known as Kâtamēsvara or Kâtamadēvaru, and Yellamma or Surābhāndēsvari (that is, the goddess of the toddy pot.) Some of them keep at home images of these gods and offer Pûja, on Mondays to Kâtamadēvaru and on Tuesdays and Fridays to Yellamma. They celebrate the worship of these gods periodically on a large scale, when all the members of the caste living in different places at a convenient distance meet together for one or two days of feasting.

Kâtamadēvaru (the god of woods) is said to represent Siva who had to conceal himself in an Idiga's house once. The latter was a man of such virtue that the trees would bend down of their own accord to allow him to tie the toddy

\* Proverb :—ಮಾರಲಿಕ್ಕೊಂಡವಳು ಮನೆಗೇ ನೆನೆಸಿಕೊಂಡಾಳು—One that has been sold has no connection with the house.

pots as he walked along. Siva wishing to test whether he had a worthy mate, went to his house during his absence disguised as a beggar and tempted his wife. He did not succeed, and the husband returned while the pretended beggar was inside the house. Not finding any other place of concealment, the disguised god entered a toddy pot and was discovered when his breathing set up bubbles in the toddy. The real rank of the mendicant being discovered, he was worshipped by the Iḍiga and his wife, and promised to stand as the god of his tribe and commanded that he should be invoked as Kāṭamadēvaru in palm groves.

If this story is an attempt to render the calling of a toddy drawer respectable, that about Yallamma was meant to discover an excuse for adulteration of the liquor. Once she appeared to one of two brothers in the disguise of an ordinary mortal and asked him to fill up the shell of a margosa fruit with toddy for her. He thought she must be insane and sent her away. The other brother was however ready to humour her, and though he emptied all the pots in the grove, the shell remained unfilled. She mentioned three trees that had been untapped; but even their sap did not fill the cup. At last, he begged the woman herself to solve the difficulty and she advised him to add a pot of water from a well to the liquor, and when this was poured, the liquor ran over the sides of the cup and flowed in three large streams. She then drank the liquor drawn for her from the reserved tree (known as Basavi tree), and was so pleased that she dropped handfuls of precious stones from her cloth and vanished. She has ever since been worshipped as the tutelary goddess of the tribe.

When they tap the toddy trees for the first time in the year, they select one or more (generally three) trees, the side leaves of which they clear. At the foot of one of them they instal, on a bed of sand, a stone which they call Kāṭamadēvaru. They worship it in the usual fashion, but offer only cocoanuts. They never tap these trees and to identify them from the other untapped trees, they split all the leaves in the middle, and any one who ventures to tap a tree so marked is liable to be excommunicated.

They hold periodical celebration of the worship of these gods. There are temples dedicated to them in many places in the State situated in or near the groves of toddy trees. Once a year either in Chaitra (March, April) after Ugādi, or about the time of E'kādasi feast (Aṣṭadha—June-July), they observe the *pūja* of Yallamma when they

set up two pots full of toddy, in the yard of the house. The devotees of this goddess of lower castes, are invited. The <sup>A</sup>Asùdi (who is a man of the Mádiga caste) and the Mátangi, a Basavi woman of the Mádigas also take part in the worship. He sings the praises of Yallamma and repeats the story of her origin, and Mátangi pours forth abuse on the goddess, dances about and exhibits herself in ridiculous postures. It is said that if a man and his wife approach each other during this Jàtra, it is pollution; and it is believed that the Pùjari will be able to discover the guilty parties. If he marks then during the time the goddess has possessed him, by putting garlands of flowers on their necks, they will have to live for ever afterwards apart from each other.

The other god worshipped is styled *Mátangi*. It is, also worshipped once a year on the day Yallamma's Pùja takes place. It is represented by an earthen pot filled with toddy and decorated with red flowers and margosa leaves. The pot is installed on a bed of ragi under a margosa tree in front of Yallamma's temple. After the worship is over, the toddy pot and the articles offered to it are given to a Holeya who is regarded as their Halémaga. Sometimes it is given away to Jógis of the Kuruba, Holeya or other caste who are styled *Darsunadavaru* (ದರ್ಶನದವರು) that is, persons putting on cowries and painting their bodies with turmeric and Kunkuma.

Near all important toddy shops (which are always situated at some distance from the village) they have a margosa tree, at the foot of which on a platform is built a small temple for Yallamma. Before the selling of liquor begins, the Idiga places a small quantity of it near the goddess as an offering. On Tuesdays and Fridays, they offer Pùja by burning incense and breaking a cocoanut.

They worship all the village and other local gods and observe the principal Hindu feasts, such as, Ugádi, Gauri and Ganésa feasts, Dipávali and Sankrànti and fast on two days in the year, Sivarátri in Māgha (January-February) and Ekádasi in Ashádhā (June-July). Besides the Hindu gods they occasionally worship and make vows to Mahammadan Pirs and take part in Moharrum festivities, tying a *lúdi* thread and becoming Fakirs, as they call it.

Idigas have a class of beggars known as Enúṭivallu (ಏನುಟಿವಾಳ್ಳು) who visit them periodically and receive some presents. They are said to be custodians of the tribal

history of the caste which they recite during their visits. They are also said to be I'digas with whom other I'digas may eat, though there is no intermarriage between them.

There is nothing peculiar as regards their mode of dressing, men putting on the usual clothes such as short breeches (ಚ್ಚೂಣ), and turban. Their women do not use the bodice, though people living in towns have taken to this item of dress also. Women get tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty-five, the designs being similar to those used by other classes, except that of a toddy tree which is peculiar to this class.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XIX.**  
**MÉDÁR CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## M É D Á R S .

The Médárs (ಮೇದಾರರು) are makers of bamboo articles, such as mats and baskets. They are higher in status than Korachas who also are of the same trade, and the splitting knife they use has the emblem of a *tri-s'ála* engraved on it to indicate their superior position. Their number was 5,774 at the Census of 1901, the sexes being equally represented. They are chiefly found in the Shinoga, Kadur and Mysore Districts. Name.

Their common name is Médára (ಮೇದಾರ), of which the literal meaning cannot be ascertained. In the Mysore District, they are known as Gaurigas (ಗೌರಿಗರು) and sometimes call themselves Gauri-Makkaḷu (Gauri's children), as distinguished from Bestas who call themselves the children of Gaṅga (Gaṅgé-Makkaḷu—ಗಂಗೆಮಕ್ಕಳು), Gaṅga and Gauri being popularly regarded as rivals in the love of Siva. It is said that they eschew flesh during the season of Gauri worship (beginning on the third day of the Bhádrapada month—August-September). They also say that they were originally a sect of the Baṇajigas, separated from the main body by reason of their profession. Some claim to be descended from Vidura, well-known in the Mahábhárata ; but the origin of this story is apparently nothing more than the similarity of that name to the Kannada word Bidaru (ಬಿದಾರು) which signified bamboos, the chief material with which they work.

Gavariga was Kavariga originally and means a splitter (of bamboos) ; and this word apparently gave rise to the fancy of their being Gauri's children.

They have a story that they are descended from a person who was created specially for making winnows for Párvati, the consort of Siva, having come out of the mouth of Basava (Siva's bull) while he was chewing the cud after swallowing grains of iron. Siva turned the serpents on his body into bamboos. The divine customer was so pleased with the man's handiwork, that she offered him basketfuls of precious stones in recompense. But the fool did not know their value and ran away from his good fortune. The Gods got disgusted and ordained that he should never gain more than a pittance from his trade. Origin.

**Endogamous divisions.**

The Médárs are divided into two linguistic divisions ; Kannada Médárs and Telugu Médárs. Besides these divisions, the Médárs are divided into the following groups :— (1) Gavarigas found only in the Mysore District, (2) Palli Médárs and (3) Bandikára Médárs. These divisions confine their marriages among themselves and do not even eat together. They do not know how these divisions originated. They say that the division known as Bandikára is so called because they use a cart (ಬಂಡಿ) on which they carry their god, whenever the latter has to be taken in procession.

**Exogamous divisions.**

The division Gavarigaru has two exogamous septs, namely, Belli-kula (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿಕುಲ silver division), and Nágara-kula (ನಾಗರಕುಲ cobra division). These groups if they ever were of totemistic nature, have at present, lost that significance. They vaguely say that the Belli division people should not properly speaking use silver toe-rings, but that prohibition is not generally observed. The Nágara-kula Gavarigas, in common with other people, consider the cobras sacred and do not kill them.

Palli Médárs who were probably immigrants from the Tamil country, are said to have a large number of exogamous divisions, such as *A'lu kula* (ಅಲಕುಲ—Banyan division), *Sampige* (ಸಂಪಿಗ) *kula*, *Káre* (ಕಾರೆ—a thorny tree) *kula*, and *Kuruba* (ಕುರುಬ) *kula*, with the usual prohibition as regards the objects denoted by these names.

The Bandikár Médárs have four exogamous divisions grouped into two sets of two allied divisions, persons of each set being related as brothers and sisters :—

- (1) (a) Náyakana Bídu \* (ನಾಯಕನಬಿಡು) and  
(b) Musakànni Bídu (ಮುಸಕಾನ್ನಿಬಿಡು)
- (2) (a) Gaṇḍana Bídu (ಗಂಜನಬಿಡು) and  
(b) Raṭṭara or Ratna Bídu (ರಟ್ಟರ or ರತ್ನಬಿಡು).

These divisions have not any totemistic significance, but seem to be based upon their respective functions in caste constitution ; thus the Yajaman of the caste belongs to the Náyaka sub-division and the next man styled Buddhivanta, to the Gaṇḍa division.

Médárs have other divisions which are neither endogamous nor exogamous, e.g. people of one marriage booth and of two booths (ಒಂದು ಚಪ್ಪರವರು and ಎರಡು ಚಪ್ಪರವರು) ; of Gold Arivéni (ಚಿನ್ನದ ಅರಿವಣಿ—painted with ornamental drawings) and Silver Arivéni (ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ ಅರಿವಣಿ—of plain Arivéni pots).

\* Bídu means the same thing as Bedigu or Kula, viz., a division.

As in other castes, a woman is taken to her parent's house for the first delivery and on an auspicious day in the seventh month, she is given a sumptuous dinner and presented with a Siré and a bodice cloth. On delivery, the woman is considered impure for nine days when she is confined to a room, the usual precautions, such as placing, at the door, old shoes and shoots of an Ankóle plant, being taken to prevent the ingress of evil spirits. The woman and the child are given a bath on the ninth day, when the neighbours belonging to the same caste, do her the honour of presenting her with turmeric and *kunkuma* and bring a potful of hot water each for her bath. The husband gives the usual dinner to all the castemen and in the evening an old cradle is worshipped and the child is put into it and rocked by an elderly matron. The child is given a name, generally in consultation with a soothsayer. The practice of giving opprobrious names is common. They have no peculiar typical names. Birth ceremonies

The tonsure ceremony takes place in the third year of the child, when the ear-lobes are also pierced. This must be observed in the temple of their family god, when all the relatives gather and present the child with some coins, the father of the child giving the usual caste dinner.

Adoption is allowed and practised. They say that even a sister's son may be adopted, the latter ceasing to belong to his natural father's stock. The ceremony is the same as in other castes of similar status, the natural parents getting some presents. Adoption.

Polygamy is allowed, but is not generally practised unless the first wife happens to be barren or suffering from an incurable disease. On account of the general poverty of the caste, the men are as a rule satisfied with one wife. As regards marriage relations, persons belonging to the same *kula* are prohibited from marrying each other even to the remotest degree of relationship, the affinity to the *kula* being traced through the males. A man may not marry the daughter of his maternal aunt or of paternal uncle. The daughter of a paternal aunt or of a maternal uncle may be married. Elder sister's daughter may be taken in marriage, but not that of a younger sister. Two brothers may be married to two sisters and two sisters may be taken in marriage by one man either simultaneously or at different times. Polygamy is unknown. Marriage.



Boys are married at 15 years of age or upwards. Girls may be married either before or after puberty. It is not considered derogatory if a woman remains unmarried all through her life, provided her continence is not questioned; but, as in other castes, she may not take part in marriage ceremonies, and on her death, her body is carried without a bier for burial, and with the third day ceremonies, her obsequies are finished. When a girl is married after puberty, before the marriage ceremonies are begun, she is treated to the ceremony of Osage when she is seated on a *Maṇe* in the evening in the company of married women and has her garments filled with cocoanuts, etc. The husband's father presents her with a cloth. When about to rise from the *Maṇe*, the bridegroom is made to lift her up and carry her to a room and leave her there. This is called *Sóbhana* (સોબન). As usual, the consummation of marriage is put off for three months after the marriage.

The offer of marriage comes from the father of the boy who on an auspicious day proceeds to the girl's house with some castemen. The *Vilyada Sástra* (betel leaves ceremony) takes place there and the girl is presented with a new *Síré* and a *Ravike*. A *Simhásana* or an improvised seat is worshiped and *pan-supari* is distributed to all. In some parts of the State, this ceremony is treated as having a binding effect on both parties; and when this is done, if either party withdraws from the contract, not only have they to pay the other party's expenses and a fine to the caste people, but the girl is deprived of the privilege of the full marriage ceremonial subsequently. It is usual for the bridegroom's party to pay a portion of the bride price on this day and to give some jewels to the girl.

The marriage ceremony proper generally takes place in the boy's house, whither the other party repair on the evening of the day previous to the *Dévarūṭa* (God's feast). On this day two pandals are put up, one before the bride's house and the other before that of the bridegroom. Two sets of milk posts of either *Atti* (fig) or *Kaḷli* tree are brought and set up in the pandals and two sets of *Arivéni* pots are installed in the houses of the bride and the bridegroom. Each party observe the *Dévarūṭa* in their own house to which their relatives are invited.

Next day the *Dháre*, *Kankana*-tying and *Táli*-tying ceremonies take place in the usual order and the couple

are made to eat food (ಋವ್ಯ) from the same dish in front of the Arivēni pots in the boy's house. In the evening, the couple are shown the star Arundhati. The tying of the Tāli forms the essential and the binding portion of the ceremony. In the night of the same day, or in some cases, on the following day, another Dhāre styled Tumbe Huvvina'Dhāre (ತುಂಬೆ ಹ.ವ್ವಿನ ಧಾರ, takes place in the pandal put up in the bride's house. All the ceremonials observed in the morning are gone through again, and the girl is given away for the second time, by the maternal uncle. At this ceremony no Brahman is required to be present.

The next ceremony is known as Gindi Sāstra (ಗಿಂಡಿ ಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) and takes place on the day following the Dhāre day. This day the bridegroom steals a bangle from the bride and a brass vessel (*gindi*-ಗಿಂಡಿ) from the father-in-law's house and conceals himself in his house. From the bride's house, a procession goes headed by the bride herself. She is made to search for her husband, and by mistake finds out his brother. The latter is caught, his hands being tied up (ಬಿಗಟ್ಟು ಹಿಟ್ಟು) and is led to the marriage house dressed in a fantastic manner, garlands of castor berries being put on his neck. The mistake is, however, found out to the chagrin of all, and the supposed thief is let free with some presents to compensate for the annoyance. The real thief, the bridegroom, is subsequently discovered and is led to his wife's house where he is propitiated so as to behave better in future.

In some parts of the State, this ceremony is varied in the following manner. The bridegroom pretends to be dissatisfied with his wife and runs away intending to marry another. Then the bride and her brother or a man related to her as brother disguised as a woman go to the bridegroom's house. The feigned bride cajoles the bridegroom and offers herself to become his wife if he is not satisfied with his other wife and brings him to the bride's house where the mistake is found out. The bride bows to him and implores his pardon. The father-in-law promising good presents, the bridegroom consents to take his wife. They are then made to sit together and are besmeared with turmeric.

The next day takes place Nāgavali. The couple undergo the nail-paring ceremony and after bathing go out in state to fetch earth from an ant-hill for the worship of the pandal posts.\* Then the pot-searching

\* See Kuruba account, page 14.

ceremony and the untying of Kankaṇas take place. In the evening Simhāsana Pūja is observed and the milk pot is removed after pouring some milk on it, and a portion of the pandal is pulled down.

During these days, Médárs do not kill any animal and their dinners consist of purely vegetable food. The following day is devoted to the caste dinner, given in honour of the marriage, for which several sheep and goats are killed and all the relatives are treated to copious libations of liquor.

The bride-price varies from Rs. 12 to Rs. 24. A widower has to pay sometimes double this sum to get a wife. It is said that if a maternal uncle marries the girl, the price is lowered and sometimes it is excused. But when he does not marry her, he has no right to share in the Tera obtained from others.

#### Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for seven days during which time she sits by herself in a shed of green leaves erected outside the house. On the seventh day, she is admitted into the house after bathing; but for the first sixteen days she is not considered as fully purified. If she has been already married, the consummation takes place on the sixteenth day.

#### Widow marriage.

Widow marriage is allowed and freely practised. It is said that a woman is not allowed to marry more than twice but the practice varies in different places. The usual degrees of prohibited relationship are avoided in such marriages also. A widow may not marry her husband's brother, and in some cases, not only his near agnates but the whole sept to which he belonged has to be avoided. It is generally a widower or a married man that is permitted to marry a widow; but if a bachelor has to be married to a widow because of their living together before the union is sanctioned by the caste, the man is married to an *Elaka* plant first.\* This form of the marriage is called Kūṭike or Śīruḍike and is performed on any day in the evening time before the father's house. The ceremony observed is the usual one.† Married women do not attend the ceremony, but they may join the dinner given on the occasion. The couple are seated together on a Kambli,

\* In some places, Shimoga for instance, a bachelor marrying a widow is not admitted into all the social privileges of caste, unless he marries again a virgin in the usual manner.

† Vide Koracha account, page 12.

widows throw rice on their heads and the husband ties a Táli before castemen. It is reported that in the Shinoga District, after dinner the couple are sent away from their village and have to spend that night in a neighbouring village. They return the next morning and then may live together without any objection. The remarried widow does not suffer from any serious disabilities and her issue may be married by those born of a regular marriage.

The bride price or Tera for a widow is Rs. 12 which properly belongs to the relatives of her previous husband; but generally the latter do not condescend to accept it and it is either appropriated by the woman's father or is spent in giving a feast to the castemen.

Divorce is permitted on account of the wife's adultery, or the husband's loss of caste, and sometimes on account of continual disagreement, and the divorced woman may marry again in the Kútíke form. In cases of the wife's unfaithfulness with a man of the same caste, the paramour is made to pay the husband's marriage expenses and a fine to the castemen before he marries the woman to render the issue legitimate and to retain his caste status unimpaired. Adultery within the caste may be condoned at the option of the husband, after the levying of a small fine from the paramour, but if he happens to be a man of lower caste, the woman is outcasted.

Divorce and  
adultery.

Médárs do not dedicate girls as Basavis. If a girl becomes pregnant before marriage by a man of the same caste, he will be compelled to marry her under a modified form of marriage in which some important ceremonies such as the worship of the Arivéñis are omitted.

Médárs generally bury the dead. Sometimes they practise Kallu Séve (burying under a heap of stones) or cremation, when the deceased has met with an unnatural death or was suffering from leprosy. The corpse is buried with the head turned to the south. The eldest son, or if there is no son, the nearest agnate acts as the chief mourner. After disposing of the body, all return home to see a light kept on the spot where the deceased expired. The headman of the caste and other relatives pay visits of condolence and settle the order of the funeral rites to be performed.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies

The Dèśabhága section invite the Sátáni priest to worship the Chakra before the body is removed to the burial ground. They observe their usual rites secretly in the

night. The others observe the third day ceremony and the eleventh day ceremony. On the third day they offer cooked food on the grave and wait there for the crows to eat it. If crows do not touch the food, they promise to the deceased that all his dying requests, if any, would be scrupulously complied with ; but if the crows still persist in not coming, they let in a cow to eat away the food. On return home after bathing in a river or a well they receive Tírtha from a Jangama priest and Bandára\* from a Goravayya and then eat their food.

On the eleventh day, they repeat the same ceremony and give a dinner to the caste people, after having the house purified by Panyáha. Sometimes they give another dinner to their caste people either on the twentieth day or some other day within the end of the first month. This removes the pollution finally.

The period of mourning, or Sútaka is twelve days, when they abstain from meat, milk, and sweets and do not use the caste mark on the forehead. They do not observe the Śráddha ceremony, but on the Mahálaya new-moon and Yugádi days, and on the Gauri feast, they worship an earthen pot filled with water in memory of all the deceased in the family. They believe that persons dying in a family are reborn in the same family and that on this account, children should be given the names of the deceased ancestors.

Religion.

There are both Saivas and Vaishnavas among the Mèdàrs. They also pay respect to such minor gods and goddesses as Máramma and other village deities. The Saivas often embrace the order of Dèvaraguddas and are initiated into it by a Rudráksha bead being tied round the neck of the person. Vaishnavas sometimes become Dàsaris and have Vaishanava symbols branded on their arms.

The tribal deity of the Mèdàrs is variously known as Durgamma, Kukkaváḍadamma (ಕುಕ್ಕವಾಡವಮ್ಮ), Malálamma (ಮಲಾಲಮ್ಮ) and Chaudamma (ಚೌಡಮ್ಮ). This goddess has temples dedicated to her in different places, in some of which men of Mèdàrs officiate as priests. Periodical worship of this goddess is held when invitations are sent out by the Yajmanas of the Kattēmanes to all their constituents to assemble on a particular day. Contributions towards the expenses are levied. Along with the image of the goddess new bamboos are kept and worshipped. It is said that people of no other caste are allowed to take part

\* Bandára is the turmeric, Kunkama and Vibhúti used in worshipping the deity.

in the celebration. A number of animals are sacrificed. On this day no one, not even a child, is given any food till the Púja is over. The bamboos are cut into small pieces and distributed to all, who have to use them for some article of wicker work which they subsequently prepare. The festival is closed with a common dinner.

On a day after the Dípávali, they repair to a jungle and offer Púja to new-bamboos (Hosa-bidaru Púje-ಹೊಸ ಬಿದರು ಪೂಜೆ). On a cleaned spot, a stone is set up and three bundles of fine bamboos freshly cut, are placed beside it. The Pújári, who should have been fasting, offers a sheep or a goat and they all feast on the meat. In some places, the Pújári then proclaims that no one should attend to their professional work for the succeeding three days. Any transgression of this injunction to take these holidays brings on expulsion from caste. On a subsequent day, they go with their implements to the jungle, and after breaking a cocoanut and burning incense near a bamboo bush, they cut the bamboos for their work.

There is another deity called Gidada Muttaráya (tree spirit) which they worship periodically, with the object of preventing tigers and other wild animals from molesting them.

They revere a female named Médára Mallamma who was said to have been a very pious woman during her life, and consequently deified after death. They worship also I'ragáranu.

Unlike Korachas, the other caste engaged in bamboo splitting and basket-making, the Médárs are settled people and are found usually in towns where their labour is largely in demand. In such places they have a separate quarter for themselves but are not prohibited from living with other castes of the same status. Their rank in the social scale is about the same as that of Bédás and they are not regarded as impure caste, as the Buruds are in the Bombay Presidency. The barber and the washerman give them their services and the former also pares their toe-nails when shaving. They draw water from the common village well. They do not enter the inner portions of a temple.

Social  
status.

They belong to the Right Hand section (Eighteen Phañas) and their professional implement, namely, the bamboo-splitting knife, is engraved on the bell and ladle, the

insignia of the Eighteen Phapas, which is kept in the custody of the Holeyá servant known as Chalavádi. The latter is invited to be present at all important ceremonies, such as deaths and marriages, and gets some fees.

Médárs have no objection to take into their caste men and women belonging to a recognised higher caste. The purificatory ceremony observed is slightly branding the tongue of the novice with a bit of gold or a margosa stick, after bathing and making him pass through seven sheds which are set fire to as he leaves them. The Kolkár of the caste puts Vibhúti to his forehead and announces the fact of admission into the fraternity.

They follow the ordinary law of inheritance and generally determine their disputes at caste Panchayatís. They have a strong belief in omens and magic, and whenever they begin their day's work, they offer prayers to their cutting implement and observe good and bad omens before they start for bamboos in the jungle.

They are flesh-eaters and eat sheep, goats and pigs but eschew beef and reptiles. They are also intemperate drinkers and indulge largely in liquor on festive occasions. They eat in the houses of Kurubas, Gollas and Upparas and the only castes who eat in their houses are Holeyas and Mádi-gas. It is said that in some places Agasas also eat in their houses, but the practice is not uniform.

Médárs generally do not employ Brahmans to conduct their ceremonies, but their own people officiate at them. Saiyas respect Jangams and Vaishnavas Sátánis, and get Tirtha and Prasáda after funerals and other ceremonies.

Tribal  
constitu-  
tion.

\* Médárs are a well organised caste. Each of the endogamous divisions has a tribal constitution independent of other divisions. They have Kat'émanes at important places where they also have the temples of their tribal deity. The head of the caste is the Yajaman or Gauda who belongs to the exogamous division styled Náyani Kula. He presides over the meetings to enquire into their caste disputes. He is assisted by another man styled Biniga Gauda (ಬಿಣಿಗ ಗೌಡ) or Buddhivanta (ಬುದ್ಧಿವಂತ) who belongs to the Gauda or Ratṭa division. Whenever caste disputes arise, the matter has to be reported to this official who disposes of trivial cases himself. In serious cases, he submits the matter to the Headman at a general assembly. In widow marriages and other important occasions, such as admitting

a stranger into the caste, he has to signify his assent by marking the party's forehead with Vibhúti (ashes). These two offices are hereditary. They have also sometimes a Kolkár who is appointed for each occasion to act as convener of caste meetings. These officials are given small presents for their services.

Médárs are cane-splitters and makers of baskets, mats, winnows and other wicker work. Their work is always in demand but is not lucrative. They have adhered to their caste profession, and only a few of them are agriculturists either owning lands or cultivating them on Vára tenure. Some are day labourers. Occupation.

Médárs split the bamboo from the top or the thin end while the Korachas split it from the bottom. They do not know the reason but do not on any account depart from the practice. The Korachas, moreover, do not have a trident mark on their knives. Miscellaneous.

They have a Ha'emaga belonging to the Holeyá caste, who pays them periodical visits and gets the customary fees. But the Bandikar section of the Médárs have a Ha'emaga who belongs to the Médár caste. He is styled Panchamaga (ಪಂಚಮಗ) and is not allowed to practise their caste profession. The progenitor of the Panchamaga is said to have perjured a bamboo from those belonging to another Bandikar Médár and was consequently thrown out of caste. He subsequently implored the mercy of his castemen who took pity on him and converted him into a Ha'emaga agreeing to pay a Ha'ra from each family for his maintenance.

There is nothing peculiar in the dress of the Médárs; women wear the bodice cloth and get tattooed, the designs being the ordinary ones.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

# The Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

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X.

**SALE CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## SÁLE.

Sále (ಸಾಲೆ) is a general term applied to a group of castes who are connected with weaving as their profession. It comes from the Sanskrit *Sálīka* (weaver) and its Kannaḍa equivalent is *Néyige* (ನೇಯಿಗ), which name is sometimes applied to them. The term *Seṭṭi* is used as a title besides the usual honorific terms of *Appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ) and *Ayya* (ಅಯ್ಯ) for males and *Ammu* (ಅಮ್ಮ) and *Akka* (ಅಕ್ಕ) for females. Some learned in the rules guiding their society have recently adopted the title of *Sāstri* (ಶಸ್ತ್ರಿ), that is, learned in the *Sāstras*, but this is by no means common.

To account for their origin it is given out that in order to clothe the nakedness of people in the world, Siva commissioned Markandeya to perform a sacrifice, and one Bhāvana Rishi came out of the holy fire, holding a lotus flower (*padma* ಪದ್ಮ) in his hand. He married two wives Prasannāvatī and Bhadrāvatī, daughters of Sūrya (the Sun) and had a hundred and one sons, who all took to weaving cloth out of the fibre of the lotus flower for men to wear, and became the progenitors of the one hundred and one gótras of this caste. God Surya being pleased with what they did gave them a fifth Veda called *Padma Vēda* (ಪದ್ಮವೇದ); and so men of this caste give out that they belong to *Padma Sākha* and *Markandēya Sūtra*, analogous to the *sakhas*, *sūtras* and *gotras* of the *Brahmans*.

They profess to have been following all the religious rites prescribed for *Brahmans*, till in the beginning of the *Kali* age, one of their caste named *Padmaksha* declined to reveal the virtues of a miraculous gem which *Brahma* had given to their caste, to *Ganapati* who sought to learn the secret which they had been enjoined to keep, and who on his wish not being gratified cursed them to fall from their high status. It is said however that one *Parabrahmamūrti* born in *Srīrāma Agrahara* pleased *Ganapati* by his *tapas*,

and got the curse removed, so that after 5000 years of the kali-yuga, they should regain their lost position. This Parabrahmamūrti otherwise known as Padmabhavācharyā, it is said, redistributed the caste into ninety-six gotras arranged in eight groups, and established four Mathās with gurus for them.

The age and origin of this story cannot be ascertained. It may have been meant to explain the name Padmasāle given to them; and many of these castes have been busy since the advent of the Census in discovering their long-lost pedigrees.\*

They have a tradition which says that they emigrated from Vijayanagar territory, in particular from Hampi, the head-quarters of that empire, during the time of Kempe Gauda.

**Language.** Persons of the Padmasāle section speak Telugu and those of Pattusāle and Sakumasāle speak Kannada. Such of them, however, as, live in the purely Telugu or the purely Kannada parts of the State speak the language prevalent therein.

**Divisions.** In this category are included a number of tribes who eat with one another but are not allowed to intermarry. They form a population numbering 11,000. The principal of them are:—

<i>Padmasāle</i>	..	(ಪದ್ಮಸಾಲೆ)
<i>Pattusāle</i> (silk)	..	(ಪಟ್ಟುಸಾಲೆ)
<i>Sakumasāle</i>	..	(ಶಕುಮಸಾಲೆ)

The origin of these sub-divisions is not clear. All of them have a common tradition concerning their descent from Markandēya, the weaver of the gods. Bhāvana Rish is believed to be the man who invented weaving. *Padmasāl* is the most important division. *Pattusāle*, corrupted into *Padusāle*, are the people who weave silk cloths. Most of them have been converted into Lingayatism. The Sakumasāles seem to be later immigrants, and the meaning of the term is not known.

\* Mr. Stuart has the following note as regards the origin of the caste:—“They claim to be the descendants of the sage named Mri-  
kanda, the weaver of the gods. Their original house appears to have  
“been the Andhra country from whence a section of the Saliyas was  
“invited by the Chōla king, Rajaraja I., after the union of the  
“Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties”. Census Report of Madras  
for 1891, p. 285.

The Lingayats of this community say that "the whole Sâle formerly wore the *Linga*; but a house having been possessed by a devil, and this sect having been called upon to cast him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten persons, having thrown aside the *Linga* and offered up their supplications to Vishnu, they succeeded in expelling the enemy; and ever afterwards followed the worship of this god, in which they have been imitated by many of their brethren."\* The men that so separated themselves are said to be *Padmasâles*. It is however more likely that the Lingayats are the persons that separated from the main body.

The caste is further divided into a number of exogamous divisions, denoted by family names, with which are associated also the names of some Rishis. There are a hundred and one of such different families; some bear names of familiar objects, but it is difficult to find out the signification of many names. A list of the family names is given in the appendix.

There are no hypergamous divisions in the caste.

When the wife is pregnant, the husband is not allowed to carry a dead body or to take part in building a house. The ceremonies observed after birth are the same as in other castes of similar standing. The Lingayats invite the Jangama priest to tie a *Linga* to the child. On the sixth day, a spot in the house is washed with cow-dung, and an eight-sided figure is drawn on it with *Vibhûti* powder, at each corner of which a *tâmbûla* and *dukshane* are kept. The father of the child then worships a *Linga*, washing it with sugar, honey, milk and ghee. The Jangama repeats *mantras*. A *Linga* is then tied to the child's arm, with a thread composed of one hundred and eight lines twisted together. Then the priest touches the child with the toe of his right foot and hands it over to the mother.

Birth ceremonies.

Among the other sections of the caste, the child and the mother are bathed on the eleventh day, and a caste dinner is given and in the night married women are invited, who put the child in the cradle after *pûja* to a *Pillâri* (cow-dung cone) meant to represent God Ganésa. A round stone is first put into the cradle and rocked to

\* Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Vol. I, p. 178.



the tune of songs; it is then removed and the child is put into the cradle.\*

The Lingayats generally give names after Siva, while the non-Lingayat portion adopt the names of both Vishnu and Siva. As in other castes, the names of the deceased ancestors of the family are adopted and in villages, the consulting of a soothsayer for suggesting an appropriate name is not uncommon.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is practised. The adopted boy must come from the same *gōtra* as the adoptive father's. A sister's son cannot be adopted. The boy taken in adoption is prohibited from marrying in the exogamous division of both the families. A boy cannot be adopted after he has married. The ceremony observed is that the natural parents hand over the boy to the adopting parents formally before an assembly of the castemen, after previously taking off his waist thread. Generally he is given a new name. A general dinner is then given, and the natural parents are presented with some clothes by the adoptive father.

#### Marriage.

Marriages are generally infant, but adult marriages may take place. No sort of penalty is imposed if the girl is not married before the age of puberty. They have no system of marrying their girls to swords, trees or dedicating them to temples.

Girls are married generally between ten and twelve years of age. There seems to be no serious harm if a woman remains unmarried all her life, but it appears that such a case has not been actually heard of.

After marriage, the girl remains with her parents until the marriage is consummated after puberty. The consummation of marriage may take place any day within sixteen days after the first signs of puberty. But if it is postponed, they have to select some auspicious day according to the positions of the stars. Marriages are arranged for and brought about by the parents of the parties or other elders. Exchange of daughters is permitted, but it is not popular owing to the belief that one couple prospers while the other fails. Polygamous marriages are allowed but monogamy is the rule. Polyandry is unknown.

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\* The idea of introducing a stone as a child in such ceremonies seems to be to symbolise a wish that the real child should be as strong and as long-lived as such an object.

As regards the selection of brides, they choose by preference either an elder sister's or a paternal uncle's or a maternal uncle's daughter. Padmasáles do not marry their younger sister's daughter. The rest of the sub-divisions have no such restriction. A man may marry two sisters at different times, and it is said that a wife's sister cannot be married when the wife is alive. Two brothers may take in marriage two sisters, the elder marrying the elder, the younger the younger sister.

Some days, it may be months, before a marriage, the preliminary agreement called *Vakkaku Sástra* (the ceremony of betel-nuts) takes place, in the presence of the village elders. The bridegroom's father goes to the bride's house and expresses his desire to take the girl in marriage for his son, and they exchange *tambúlas* as a token of consent, and the village officers, the astrologer and others assembled are given *tambúlas* as witnesses.

It is said that the promise so made is irrevocable and its breaking entails the displeasure of the caste people, who impose a fine in consequence. But the occurrence of an ill omen or other event supposed to be token divine disapproval is regarded as a sufficient excuse for breaking it, and the other party can only ask to be compensated for any loss sustained.

The marriage ceremonies last for four days. The first day is known as God's feast or entertainment in honor of ancestors, analogous to *Nándi-Sráddha* among Brahmans. In the evening of that day, a marriage pandal is set up with either a *Páricála* (ಪರಿವಾಲ) or a *Raginánu* (ರಾಗಿಮಾನು peepul tree) branch, for the *milkpost*. This twig has to be brought by the maternal uncle of the girl who gets a present of a *hana* (4 As. 8 p.) for his trouble.

On the second day, the bridegroom puts on the sacred thread before the marriage proper. The ceremonies observed this day are the same as in other castes. Among some Sáles, the bridegroom, leaves the house feigning anger and sits in a temple. A procession, from the bride's house with a mock bride, a boy disguised as a bride, goes to him and brings him to the marriage pandal, after which the other ceremonies take place. A Brahman Purohit or a Jangama repeats some lucky verses (ಮಂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು) and makes the bridegroom tie the *táli* to the bride. Then *dháre* and the *kankana*-tying take place. The couple retire into the house holding each other by the hand and going round the milk

post. They have a general dinner for the caste, and the couple sit to eat out of a common plate (*bhūma*, ಬೂಮ). The tying of the *tāli* to the bride by the bridegroom and the pouring of milk into the closed hands of the bride and bridegroom by the priest and the elders of the caste are the essential portions of the ceremony.

The last day called *Nāgavali* (ನಾಗವಲಿ) is dedicated to the worship of the ant-hill and the carrying of earth therefrom, and the removal of the marriage pandal.

The presence of a Brahman priest is not indispensable but in most cases he is called in to offer certain invocations at the time. The bride price in this caste is Rs. 25. A widower is not required to pay anything higher for his second marriage.

#### Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty she is considered impure for three days and is kept in a shed of green leaves. In the evening the usual congregations of the married women are held and the distribution to them of turmeric, kun-kuma and *pansupuri* takes place. The girl is bathed on the fourth day and is admitted into the house. From the sixth day, the relatives of the girl including the parents of her husband give her presents doing what is known as *Osiyé* (ಒಸಿಗೆ) to her. If the girl is already married, the consummation of the marriage takes place if possible before the 16th day; but in the case of girls who are married after puberty, some time is allowed to elapse before the consummation comes off.

#### Widow marriage and divorce.

Widow marriage is not allowed. A wife guilty of adultery may be divorced, but divorced woman cannot remarry.

#### Adultery.

Adultery is looked upon with severity but is compoundable with a fine levied upon the culprits. Part of the fine goes towards the worship of their patron deity.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated and subsequent marriage with a lover though of the same caste is not recognized as condoning such fault. They have no traditions regarding capture of wives from other tribes.

#### Death ceremonies.

They bury the dead with the head turned towards the South. During *Sutaka* (pollution) for the dead, they abstain from sweets and milk; and do not perform any auspicious ceremonies or take part in festive or other social gather-

ings. The Lingayat Sâles carry dead bodies in a *vimâna* (ವಿಮಾನ) and bury it in a sitting posture. They observe no pollution. But among the non-Lingayat Sâles the agnates observe pollution for 12 days for the death of adults, three days for the death of children and of a daughter's son. They do not perform *Kâlasrâdha*, but on the Mahalaya day, they give presents to Brahmans of uncooked provisions with some money known as *eda* (ಎಡೆ) and they offer *tarpâna* (libations) of water to the deceased ancestors.

They do not take outsiders into their caste.

They profess to be vegetarian in food and to eschew spirituous liquors, but it is not unusual for them to indulge in both with the connivance of their fellow castemen. Their chief profession is weaving with the allied one of dyeing. Many are also merchants, jewellers, carpenters or other skilled artisans. A very few follow agriculture. The learned professions are hardly represented among them though many of them know how to read and write.

General  
character-  
istics.

The members of the caste follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. The decisions of their tribal councils in the matter of property are respected but are not binding. They have no trials by ordeal; an oath taken in a temple is of course considered to be a greater safeguard than usual that the witness is speaking the truth.

Inheritance.

The caste contains worshippers of both Siva and Vishnu who are to be distinguished by the different marks on the forehead. The goddess of their special cult is Chaudesvari, which is a sylvan deity located in groves. They also worship all the village gods. There is nothing peculiar with them regarding the worship of the inanimate objects and in the superstitious beliefs regarding the spirits surviving death and their powers for good and evil over human beings.

Religion

Their belief in sorcery, oracles, etc., is similar to those of Komatis and other tribes.

## APPENDIX.

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Bāpu</i> (ಬಾಪು)	Purisha Rishi (ಪುರುಷಯುಷಿ)	
<i>Battini</i> (ಬತ್ತಿನಿ)	Suka (ಕುಕ)	
<i>Bandi</i> (ಬಂಡಿ)	T'washtu (ತ್ವಷ್ಟು)	Cart
<i>Bussa</i> (ಬುಸ್ಸು)	Mrikandeya (ಮೃಕಂಡೇಯ)	
<i>Bandara</i> (ಬಂಡಾರ)	Vidhu (ವಿಧು)	
<i>Bāku</i> (ಬಾಕು)	Saunaka (ಕೌನಕ)	Dagger
<i>Bōdā</i> (ಬೋಡಾ)	Mānasvi (ಮಾನಸ್ಯ)	
<i>Bajja</i> (ಬಜ್ಜಾ)	Sindhu (ಸಿಂಧು)	
<i>Balabhadra</i> (ಬಲಭದ್ರ)	Pāchvin (ಪಾಚ್ವಿನ್)	
<i>Bhēri</i> (ಭೇರಿ)	Jharela (ಜ್ಹಾರೇಲ)	Drum
<i>Betta</i> (ಬೆಟ್ಟ)	Vakava (ವಕವ)	Mountain
<i>Bhōga</i> (ಭೋಗಾ)	Rishidhara (ರಿಷಿದ್ಧರ)	
<i>Byramuri</i> (ಬೈರಮುರಿ)	Pranchiva (ಪ್ರಾಂಚಿವ)	
<i>Bhīma</i> (ಭೀಮ)	Vrishā (ವೃಷ)	
<i>Bandāri</i> (ಬಂಡಾರಿ)	Ambarīsha (ಅಂಬರೀಷ)	Temple servant
<i>Oharugu</i> (ಅಹರುಗು)	Narada (ನಾರದ)	Hem of the garment

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Chakka</i> (ಚಕ್ರ)	Válakhilya (ವಾಲಖಿಲ್ಯ)	Bark
<i>Chappa</i> (ಚಪ್ಪ)	Mandavya (ಮಾಂಡವ್ಯ)	
<i>Ghiruvélu</i> (ಚಿರುವೇಲು)	Vasishtha (ವಸಿಷ್ಠ)	
<i>Chettalu</i> (ಚೆಟ್ಟಲು)	• Agastya (ಅಗಸ್ತ್ಯ)	
<i>Cheppur</i> (ಚೆಪ್ಪುರು)	Gowtama (ಗೌತಮ)	
<i>Channa</i> (ಚನ್ನ)	Dhananjaya (ಧನಂಜಯ)	
<i>Chintaginjala</i> (ಚಿಂತಗಿಂಜಲು)	Swayambu (ಸ್ವಯಂಭು)	Tamarind seed
<i>Dérareddi</i> (ದೇವರಡ್ಡಿ)	Daksha (ದಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Dharmācaram</i> (ಧರ್ಮಾವರಂ)	Brahmarishi (ಬ್ರಹ್ಮರುಷಿ)	Name of a place
<i>Diddi</i> (ದಿಡ್ಡಿ)	Madhurishi (ಮಧುರುಷಿ)	
<i>Durga</i> (ದುರ್ಗ)	Sramsī (ಸ್ರಾಂಸಿ)	Fortress or hill fort
<i>Gaddamu</i> (ಗಡ್ಡಮು)	Koundilya (ಕೌಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)	Chin
<i>Góllu</i> (ಗೋಲ್ಕು)	Srivatsa (ಶ್ರೀವತ್ಸ)	Nail
<i>Gópi</i> (ಗೋಪಿ)	Vyása (ವ್ಯಾಸ)	A kind of earth of yellow color
<i>Gujjári</i> (ಗುಜ್ಜಾರಿ)	Kousila (ಕೌಸಿಲ)	Dwarf
<i>Gundalu</i> (ಗುಂಡಲು)	Digvāsa (ದಿಗ್ವಾಸ)	
<i>Gurramu</i> (ಗುರ್ರಮು)	Paundrika (ಪೌಂದ್ರೀಕ)	Horse

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Gòranṭlu</i> (ಗೋರಂಟು)	Kutsa (ಕುತ್ಸ)	A kind of plant
<i>Janaga</i> (ಜನಗ)		
<i>Ganchigudlu</i> (ಗಂಜಿಗುದ್ಲು)	Puttarishi (ಪುತ್ತರಾಷಿ)	
<i>Guvvalu</i> (ಗುವ್ವಲು)	Bhārathi (ಭಾರತಿ)	Sparrows
<i>Gājulu</i> (ಗಾಜಲು)		Bangles
<i>Jinka</i> (ಜಿಂಕ)	Méshajatha (ಮೇಷಜಠ)	A deer
<i>Kundālam</i> (ಕಂದಾಳಂ)	Ruruksha (ರುರುಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Kāyatti</i> (ಕಾಯತ್ತಿ)	Sādu (ಸಾದು)	
<i>Karijepalle</i> (ಕರಿಜೇಪಲ್ಲಿ)	Pulastya (ಪುಲಸ್ತ್ಯ)	Name of a place
<i>Kenchā</i> (ಕೆಂಚಾ)	Sutīsha (ಸುತೀಷ)	
<i>Kuppa</i> (ಕುಪ್ಪ)	Pururusha (ಪುರುರೂಷ)	Manure heap
<i>Kyātha</i> (ಕ್ಯಾತಾ)	Yadurishi (ಯದುರಾಷಿ)	
<i>Karipili</i> (ಕರಿಪಿಲಿ)	Upēndra (ಉಪೇಂದ)	
<i>Kongatti</i> (ಕೋಂಗತ್ತಿ)	Gargēya (ಗಾರ್ಗೇಯ)	
<i>Kōta</i> (ಕೋಟಾ)	Kapili (ಕಪಿಲಿ)	
<i>Kyābarēsi</i> (ಕ್ಯಾಬರೇಸಿ)	Kundali (ಕುಂಡಲಿ)	
<i>Kōsala</i> (ಕೋಸಲಾ)	Vēdatama (ವೇದತಮ)	

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Kolku</i> (ಕೊಕ್ಕು)	Pravrisha (ಪ್ರವೃಷ)	Bandicoot
<i>Makam</i> (ಮಕಂ)	Sukirthi (ಸುಕೀರ್ತಿ)	
<i>Màncharlu</i> (ಮಾಂಚರ್ಲ)	Vurahvasa (ವೃಧ್ವಸ)	
<i>Myadam</i> (ಮೇಡಂ)	Vurjiswa (ವೃರ್ಜಿಸ್ವ)	
<i>Munagapati</i> (ಮುನಗಪಾಟ)	Punyava (ಪುಣ್ಯವ)	Drumstick
<i>Myakala</i> (ಮೇಕಲ)	Sutra (ಸೂತ್ರ)	Goat
<i>Māra</i> (ಮಾರ)	Atri (ಅತ್ರಿ)	
<i>Madduri</i> (ಮದ್ದೂರಿ)	Tukshi (ತುಷ್ಕಿ)	Name of a place
<i>Marepalli</i> (ಮಾರೇಪಲ್ಲಿ)	Guhā (ಗುಹ)	
<i>Manjarlu</i> (ಮಂಜಾರ್ಲು)	Sandilya (ಶಾಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)	
<i>Nallamu</i> (ನಲ್ಲಮು)	Sanstidi (ಸಂಸ್ಥಿಡಿ)	
<i>Nallagondlu</i> (ನಲ್ಲಗೊಂಡಲು)	Deynaka (ದೇನಕ)	Indigo
<i>Vili or Nūkula</i> (ನೀಲಿ or ನೂಕಲ)	Bhārgava (ಭಾರ್ಗವ)	
<i>Nendūri</i> or <i>Nyayamu</i> (ನೆನುರಿ or ನ್ಯಾಯಮು)	Prithvi (ಪೃಥ್ವಿ)	
<i>Paḍadimi</i> (ಪಡಡಿಮಿ)		
<i>Paḍimili</i> (ಪಡಿಮಿಲಿ)	Purasina (ಪುರಾಸಿನ)	
	Nishnata (ನಿಷ್ನತ)	



Family name.	Eponymous hero	Meaning of term. or Guru.
<i>Panaganti</i> (ಪನಗಂಟಿ)	Akrama (ಆಕ್ರಮ)	A herbe
<i>Palapati</i> (ಪಲಪಾಟಿ)	Niyanti (ನಿಯಂತಿ)	
or		
<i>Pegada</i> (ಪೆಗಡ)		
<i>Pulakanda</i> (ಪುಲಕಂಡ)	Kamandala (ಕಮಂಡಲ)	
<i>Polachalli</i> (ಪೊಲಚಳ್ಳಿ)		
<i>Potu</i> (ಪೊತು)	Atréya (ಆತ್ರೇಯ)	He-buffaloe
<i>Prāvanātham</i> (ಪ್ರವಣಾಥಂ)	Bhṛigu (ಭೃಗು)	
<i>Parimi</i> (ಪರಿಮಿ)	Kaundila (ಕೌಂಡಿಲ)	
<i>Palumari</i> (ಪಲಮರಿ)	Chokrida (ಚೊಕ್ರಿದ)	
<i>Palukalapalli</i> (ಪಲಕಲಪಲ್ಲಿ)	Kousika (ಕೌಷಿಕ)	Name of a place
<i>Pabbiti</i> (ಪಬ್ಬಿತಿ)	Mārkandēya (ಮಾರ್ಕಂಡೇಯ)	Do
<i>Pattigondlu</i> (ಪತ್ತಿಗೊಂಡ್ಲು)	Bhārgava (ಭಾರ್ಗವ)	
<i>Pellukōoru</i> (ಪೆಲ್ಲುಕೂರು)	Raghu (ರಘು)	
<i>Palāram</i> (ಪಲಾರಂ)	Mārīcha (ಮಾರೀಚ)	
<i>Sūda</i> (ಸೂದಾ)	Rikshibha (ರುಕ್ಷಿಭ)	
<i>Siripi</i> (ಸಿರಿಪಿ)	Rishyasringa (ರುಷ್ಯಶೃಂಗ)	
<i>Silam</i> (ಸೀಲಂ)		

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Sultāni</i> (ಸುಲ್ತಾನಿ)	Brihatti (ಬೃಹತ್ತಿ)	
<i>Sōma</i> (ಸೋಮ)	Brisista (ಬೃಷಿಸ್ತ)	
<i>Sandra</i> (ಸಂದ್ರ)	Bhikshu (ಭಿಕ್ಷು)	
<i>Sādanapalli</i> (ಸಾದನಪಲ್ಲಿ)	Subhikshu (ಸುಭಿಕ್ಷು)	Name of a place
<i>Sāmadēsi</i> (ಸಾಮದೇಶಿ)	Somdilya (ಶೌಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)	
<i>Sāma</i> (ಸಾಮಾ)	Vaidhatri (ವೈಧತ್ರಿ)	
<i>Suppala</i> (ಸ.ಪ್ಪಲ)	Bharadvāja (ಭರದ್ವಾಜ)	
<i>Srirāma</i> (ಶ್ರೀರಾಮ)	Parāsara (ಪರಾಶರ)	
<i>Tyāka</i> (ತ್ಯಾಕಾ)		
<i>Tāḍipatri</i> (ತಾಡಿಪತ್ರಿ)	Dhribarishi (ದ್ರಿಹುರುಷಿ)	Name of a place
<i>Tāṭigonḍu</i> (ತಾಟಗೊಂಡು)	Srashtarishi (ಸ್ರಶ್ಚರುಷಿ)	
<i>Tāḍa</i> (ತಾಡ)	Chaudrarishi (ಚೌದ್ರರುಷಿ)	
<i>Tadri</i> (ತಾದಿ)	Chanava (ಚನವ)	
<i>Tarunīkanti</i> (ತರುಣಿಕಂಟ)	Dūrvāsa (ದೂರ್ವಾಸ)	
<i>Tumma</i> (ತುಮ್ಮಾ)		
<i>Tirumala</i> (ತಿರುಮಲ)	Visvavasu (ವಿಶ್ವಾಸು)	
<i>Togatūru</i> (ತೊಗಟೂರು)	Vaichina (ವೈಚಿನ)	

Family name.	Eponymous hero or Guru.	Meaning of term.
<i>Vangari</i> (ವಂಗರಿ)	Pavana (ಪವನ)	
<i>Vina</i> (ವೀಣ)	Jatila (ಜಟಿಲ)	Musical Instru- ment
<i>Vudatu</i> (ಉಡ್ಡ)	Jamadagni (ಜಮದಗ್ನಿ)	Squirrel
<i>Vastralu</i> (ವಸ್ತ್ರಲು)	Angirasa (ಅಂಗೀರಸ)	Cloth
<i>Vási</i> (ವಾಸಿ)	Trisaka (ತ್ರಿಶಕ್)	
<i>Vangam</i> (ವಂಗಂ)	Pavana (ಪವನ)	
<i>Yallalu</i> (ಯಲ್ಲಾಲು)	Mauksha (ಮೌಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Yinchamuri</i> (ಯಿಂಚಮೂರಿ)	Tahksa (ತಕ್ಷ)	
<i>Yalakalu</i> (ಯಲಕಲು)	Kasyapa (ಕಶ್ಯಪ)	Rats.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.

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XXII.  
KILLÉKYÁTAS CASTE.

BY

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## KILLÉKYÁTAS.

The Killékyátas are a wandering tribe of picture showmen found scattered all over the State. They are also known locally as Shillékyátas, *Bombé Aquadararu* and ತೊಗಲು ಗೊಂಬೆಯವರು. Another section of them who fish in rivers are known as Burude Bestas, i.e., Bestas, or fishermen of dry gourds, on account of their using dry gourds to swim in water while fishing. They are Mahrattas by origin and use that language as their home tongue. They are well built, fair and tall, but the fishing section are rather slovenly in their dress, black and stunted in growth. The last Census (1901) shows them to be about 1,000 in population made up of 373 males and nearly twice as many females, but there is reason to believe that this is a result of faulty enumeration, and they form a larger section, and the disparity between the sexes cannot be so great.

Killékyáta means a mischievous imp, *Kille* (ಕಿಲ್ಲೆ or ಕಿಲ್ಲೆ) meaning mischievous and *kyáta*, imp or a crooked fellow. Whenever they perform their shows, after the usual offering of prayers to Ganapati and Sarasvati, they exhibit a doll of fantastic appearance, jet black in colour, with tilted nose, dishevelled hair, flowing beard, protruding lips, pot-belly and crooked hands and legs. This figure, which is known as the Killékyáta, is accompanied by his wife Bangárakka, which is equally hideous in appearance. Both these figures represent the buffoons of the performance, and keep the audience amused with rude jests and indecent jokes. The whole exhibition has come to be known as the play of Killékyáta, and the name has thence passed to the caste itself. With reference to this profession they are also known as marionette dancers. *Bommaláta-vállu* (ಬೊಮ್ಮಲಾಟವಾಳು) in Telugu and *Togalu-bombeyavaru* (ತೊಗಲುಬೊಂಬೆಯವರು) in Kannada. Another section have altogether given up this trade, and taken to fishing; and they are on that account styled *Burude-Bestas* (ಬುರಡೆ ಬೆಸ್ಟೆರು).

They style themselves *Dátyéru*, but the origin of this term cannot be traced. In the adjoining districts of the

Heading  
names.

Meanings  
of terms.



They have no titles, but the usual honorific suffixes Appa, Ayya and Anna for males and Amma and Akka for females are used ; but generally they are addressed without these suffixes by persons of higher castes.

**Language.**

Killékýátas always speak Mahratti among themselves, but they know the language of the locality where they live. One section of the caste, namely, Doddá Togalu Bombeyátadavaru, know how to read and write Telugu and enact their plays in that language, repeating verses from the Bhárata or Ráwáyana.

**Origin.**

Killékýátas are immigrants into the State from the Mahratta Country to which they are believed to have come from the north either from Kolhápúr or Satára.\* The following appears in the Bijapur Gazetteer† about them :—"They appear to have long belonged to the district as they have no tradition of having moved from any other country. The oldest paper that has been found in their possession is a deed or *Sannad* dated the month of *Kártik* or October-November of 930 Fasli, that is, A.D. 1520, in the reign of the second King of Bijapur. They claim descent from a Kshatriya, who is said to have followed Pándavas in their wanderings after the loss of their kingdom."

They were originally Mahratta Okkaligas following the profession of agriculture. It is said that one of their women became intimate with a man of the Goldsmith caste named Kattáre Káláchari and had seven sons by him. They were, of course, put out of caste, and the smith taught his sons to cut out dolls out of mats, leaves and pieces of leather, and earn their living by exhibiting marionettes before village audiences. The brothers of the woman who were poor were induced to join their nephews subsequently, and they formed a separate caste by themselves, reinforced by other accessions. It was after this that they migrated from the Mahratta Country into different parts of Southern India. They must have come into Mysore in different gangs as indicated by the number of their exogamous divisions. Thus while the earliest immigrants have only five divisions, the more recent have nine or eleven and those that are living on the borders of the Dharwar District, as many as thirteen.

In token of this connection, these showmen extol the caste of the goldsmiths, soon after their invocations to the

\* Belgaum Gazetteer, page 185.

† Pages 196-97.

gods at the commencement of their play, and say in explanation that the credit of the performance would be theirs (the goldsmiths') while only the doles collected would belong to themselves.\*

The patron caste are exempted from subscribing towards the expenses of such plays, but give some presents to the players who go to their houses the day after the performance. Killékyátas have sometimes been given inams for their profession, of which some exist in this State, though the condition of service has been removed.†

The two main divisions are doll-exhibiting Killé-  
kyátas and fishing Killékyátas. The former are distin-  
guished either as major or minor showmen (ಮೊಟ್ಟೆಬೋಂಬೆಯಾಟ  
ದವರು, ಚಿಕ್ಕಬೋಂಬೆಯಾಟದವರು), and these two sections are at  
present showing a tendency to become separated not only  
in the matter of marriages but also in food. The major  
section have better plays borrowed from standard render-  
ings of the Rámáyána and Bháráta, and also employ mario-  
nettes with separate joints so that the action of the play  
may be more effectively exhibited. They have also a  
better appointed stage, large enough to accommodate all  
the actors and musicians inside. The minor showmen  
composing the other division have a much cruder appa-  
ratus, and the singer of the party, generally a woman, has  
to sit outside the booth, her sounding instrument being a  
reed fixed on the back of a bell-metal eating dish with  
a base of wax, on which she produces a shrill monotonous  
sound, by the friction of both her hands. This is accom-  
panied by a drum (ಝೇಳ). The plays enacted by these  
are also of very poor style, very coarse in language and  
sentiment.

Divisions.

The Killékyátas seem to have migrated into the State  
in different batches. The Bombe section came first, the  
minor (or Chikka) Bombe showmen being the earliest,  
as is indicated by their converting their old exogamous  
names to their local equivalents, as Aivaṭ into Enumala,  
Sindhya into Gujjala. It is said that there are thirteen  
exogamous divisions of this caste in Bijapur District,  
brought about by one Hanumantarao Narasing of Haveli  
in Poona, who styled himself Sar Gaṇáchári of the caste.‡

Exogamous  
divisions.

\* ಬಿಡುವಾಳ್ವದಿ ರಿಕ್ಷಮುಖಾರಿ.

† Mysore Revenue Manual, page 248.

‡ See Bijapur Gazetteer, page 197.

The Bombe section have the following exogamous divisions each carrying certain definite tribal functions, with it:—Ganácháři or Vanárasī, Sivácháři or Avêt, Nékhnár (corrupted into Lékhandar), Pánchangis or Ataka or Bhandári and Sindhya.

The fishing (ವಿವಸು ಹಿಡಿಯುವ) section have in addition to these five divisions, returned four more, *viz.*, Śálavya, Śásanik, Moharga and Sinagána in the taluk of Shikarpur, and an additional one, namely, Dhúravya in Channagiri. Those found near Harihar have all the thirteen divisions, the three names besides these given above being Vákudās, Dôḍkars and Dhamalkars.

It will thus be seen that the caste found in the Mysore State is the same as that of the Bombay Presidency, with this difference, that the Bombe Adiso section appear to have separated themselves when the caste contained only five divisions, while the other divisions appear to have lost touch with the main group at different periods in recent times.

Marriage among the members of the same division is prohibited and relationship is traced through males. The members of the same division are regarded as brothers and sisters.

Birth  
ceremonies.

It is not customary as in other castes, to take the new wife to her parent's house for her first confinement. In fact, she goes but rarely to her parents after her marriage.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered unclean for seven days when she remains in a separate shed erected for her. On the fifth day she is made to set up a stone in the confinement shed and worship it under the name of Satvi or Kontemma with the object of ensuring a long life to the new-born baby. The midwife is fed and presented with a cloth. On the seventh day, the mother and the child are washed and the mother gets a change of clothes. After this cleansing, the shed in which she was confined is pulled down and another is put up for her occupation. A general dinner is given in the afternoon, and in the evening, the child is put in a cradle by an elderly woman who also gives a name to it after consulting with a soothsayer. There are no names peculiar to this caste, though Hanumanta seems to be a very popular name. They are fond of giving nicknames expressive of some

peculiar characteristic of the person, as for example *Donka* a crooked fellow and *Monda* a stubborn fellow. The giving of opprobrious names is also very common, and the object aimed at is to deceive the malignant powers.

The first hair of the child are removed either in the first or in the third year. The child, after a bath, is taken to a temple and seated in front. His maternal uncle places a handful of dates on his head, which when scattered on the floor are picked by children. He then first goes through the form of cutting the hair with a pair of leaf scissors, and then cuts it with a pair of iron scissors.\* Then the child is again bathed and is taken to the temple to get *Tirtha* and *Prasáda*. The maternal uncle is given a present of a new turban, and after the usual dinner, all return home.

Children are considered specially liable to the attacks of spirits and to avoid such misfortune are made to wear some charms. *Hanumanta Tāli* (a disk bearing the figure of Hanumanta), in the neck and white beads round the waist are the more common precautions.

Adoption is unknown among the fishing and the Chikka Bombe sections. They have generally little property to leave behind them. It is sometimes, though rarely, practised by the Dodda Bombe section when a man is childless. They may take any boy they please and of any age. It is not uncommon for a man to take a foundling or a boy from even other castes and bring him up as his own son. No particular ceremony is required.

Adoption.

Infant marriages are very rare; and a woman may, if she chooses, live without marrying at all; polygamy is rather common, but polyandry is unknown.

Marriage.

The three main divisions are strictly endogamous, though it is said that the fishing section give but do not bring girls from the other sections. The Chikka Bombe and Dodda Bombe sections were apparently one formerly, as may be inferred from the custom of their inviting each other for any important caste panchayat, but intermarriages between them are almost unheard of. Marriages between members belonging to the same exogamous sect are strictly prohibited and any illegal intimacy between a man and a woman belonging to such a division is punished by putting the guilty persons out of the pale of

\* Bijapur Gazetteer, pages. 199-200.

caste without a chance of expiation. Such persons are not allowed to live in the caste quarters and are interdicted fire and water from the other members of the caste.

The negotiation for marriage must always begin from the male's side, unless the boy is a very near relation such as a cousin. The boy's father goes to the girl's house and settles the marriage with her father at *Vīlya Śāstra* (betel leaves ceremony). On this occasion the boy's father has to give Rs. 2 to the caste pancháyat and five quarter anna pieces to the girl's mother. The girl dressed in the *Síre* presented to her is seated on a *Kambli* in the presence of caste pancháyat and is made to put on glass bangles given to her in the name of the boy. If, after this, the contract is broken by either party, he has to pay a fine to the caste *Yajaman*, besides the expenses incurred by the other side.

Being a wandering community, *Kiḷlékyátas* do not observe any elaborate ceremonies for marriage. One of the *Gañáchári* section conducts the ceremony and a Brahman's presence is not required. Usually all persons of the caste living or wandering within a definite area meet together on such occasions, and perform a number of marriages together. But the tendency to copy the manners of the higher castes is asserting itself and marriages lasting for four days instead of a single day are becoming more common, and are separately celebrated for each couple.

The marriage ceremonies commence with the worship of an ant-hill. A party from the girl's house go, after bathing, to the ant-hill and after making *Púja*, pour some milk in the snake-hole, touch it with a *Táli* with a serpent engraved in it, which they afterwards tie round the girl's neck. This is known as *Huttada Tali* (ಹುತ್ತದ ತಲಿ).

The marriage *pandal* is raised on four pillars, of which one known as *Muhúrtakamba* (ಮುಹೂರ್ತಕಂಬ) or marriage post, is brought in by the girl's maternal uncle, and is set up by married women, who tie round it a package containing five kinds of grains and a *Kankana*. The *Arivēni* or sacred pots are placed within it, and some *Tális* with human figures engraved on them as representing ancestors, and a *Kalasa* are also placed near and worshipped. A pot filled with toddy is kept there, and offerings are made of cooked food and a sheep or goat is killed. A married woman is then specially selected to serve

during the whole marriage as bridesmaid (known in their language as Varne). She has to attend to the bridal pair and, whenever necessary, smear their bodies with turmeric paste, carry Kāṣa, wave A'rati and render other similar services. In some places, a man also is likewise selected to attend on the bridegroom.\*

On the next day, each party is made to bathe in Male-nirut separately. The bridegroom is taken to a temple or some other place, and conducted thence in state to the marriage pandal, at the entrance of which an A'rati is waved before him. After this, the caste functionaries have each certain definite parts assigned to them in the ceremony. Thus the Sindhya spreads blankets on the bridal seats. The bride and bridegroom being led on the marriage dais, stand facing each other with a curtain between them held by the Sivāchāri. The Sālva, or in his absence the Sindhya recites the names of the gods and the ancestors of the bridal pair, and thereupon the curtain is removed. The bride and bridegroom place on each other's head jirige (cummin seed) and jaggory. The Néklmār ties the hems of their clothes in a knot. The Gaṇāchāri, who is in fact the chief functionary or the Puróhit, hands over the Tāli or the marriage disk to the bridegroom who ties it to the neck of the bride. Then Kankas are tied to the bridal pair. The Pānchangi distributes grains of rice to the assembled guests and the Gaṇāchāri, Sivāchāri and other functionaries and the rest in order place it on the heads of the couple. The couple sit in front of a large vessel, and milk is poured on their joined hands by the relatives and others. This ceremony, known as milk-pouring (ಮಾಂಸ ಪೂಜೆ), completes the gift of the girl. After being shown the star Arundhati, the two go round the milk-post and bow before the Arivēni pots. Buvva or the eating together of food by the bride and the bridegroom and their nearest relations takes place as a practical manifestation of the union of the two families.

Simbāsana-Pūja takes place the next day when the Gaṇāchāri worships a heap of betel leaves and nuts and distributes to all, in a prescribed order of precedence, the number of Tāmbūlas they are entitled to by the recognised custom of the caste.

\* In some places, (Chitaldrug) five women are so set apart.

† See monograph on Bēda caste No. 3, page 8, as to what this means.

The next day is devoted to Nágavali, and worship of the ant-hill and the pandal posts. The Kankanas are removed after the pot-searching ceremony, and a caste dinner is then given.

In the evening, the girl is concealed in a place, and the bridegroom with a Bháshinga tied to his forehead is made to search for her. On being discovered, she makes a pretence of refusing to go with him and is coaxed to yield. Then all proceed in state to a temple and worship the God. On their return, the bride and the bridegroom are taken up on the shoulders of two able-bodied men, and a dance takes place in the street. Towards the close of this dance, the husband carries away the newly married wife to his house but just as he reaches the threshold of his house, he is waylaid and obstructed by the wife's party, who release him on his promise to let them have the first-born daughter. This entry of the wife to her husband's house finishes the marriage ceremonies. The bride-price varies from Rs. 10 to 20 pagodas. The whole expense of the marriage, which again varies from Rs. 50 to 200, has to be borne by the father of the bridegroom, who has to spend a great deal on toddy, so that a marriage looks often like a drunken brawl.

#### Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for five days, during which period she remains in a separate shed of green leaves. She is given a bath every day and the clothes are removed as the degree of impurity lessens day by day. In some places, even the sheds are renewed each day. On the last day, some little girls are given a dinner; and for two or three days afterwards Osage is performed, at which she is exhibited before an assembly of married women. If she is already married, her husband pays the expenses of one of these shows: if not, her maternal uncle. No particular ceremony is observed at the time of the consummation. The husband presents a new cloth and she is given presents of fruits and flowers, and they begin to live together thenceforth.

#### Widow marriage.

Not only is widow marriage allowed and freely practised, but it is said to be compulsory in the case of childless widows. Such a woman is sent away to her parent's house after her husband's death, to be there free to choose any one she likes. The offer of a marriage to a widow has to be made to her father who, through the caste people, obtains the formal consent of the widow's previous husband's relations.

The property and the issue of her previous husband are returned to his family. In the evening of the day fixed, the intended husband with the headman and others of the caste goes to the house of the widow's father and gives to the woman presents of clothes, bangles and other things, which she puts on. The couple stand in the assembly on a black blanket. The Siváchári (Avét) applies Vibhúti (sacred ashes) to their forehead, and the husband (or a widow in some places) ties a string of black glass beads or (in some places a Táli) to her neck and the Siváchári loudly proclaims that the pair have become husband and wife. Pan-supari is distributed and a hookah is passed round the assembly beginning with the headman. This is followed by a dinner and a liberal use of toddy. Married women do not take part in the ceremony but may join the dinner. A bachelor may not marry a widow, but where there has been previous intimacy, he is married first to an Ekka plant and then to her. The bride price of a widow is half that of a virgin girl and varies between Rs. 6 and Rs. 40. A widow cannot marry her previous husband's brother.

• Divorce is very easy and pretty common. If the husband and wife cannot get on together, either party may put an end to the connection by going away from the other. The separation is signalised by the husband's taking away the Táli and bangles given by him and tearing the loose end of the wife's garment. The divorced woman may marry again after payment of a small fine to the caste. They are said to be rather loose in sexual relations, and adultery especially with a person of the same or a higher caste is easily condoned. Divorce and adultery.

The fishing section do not dedicate girls as Basavis. Basavis. But the minor Bombe section set apart a girl in each family as a public woman. The dedication always takes place before puberty and the ceremony is short and simple. On an auspicious day the girl after bathing is dressed in fresh clothes and seated on a plank and a dirk (Báku) is placed by her. A Dásayya brands her with the seal of Sankha and Chakra on the back just below the right shoulder, and places in her garment lucky things such as rice, cocoanut and jaggery. After puberty, she may bestow her favours on any one she chooses. She remains in the father's house and sometimes sets up for herself a separate shed to receive her lovers.



Death ceremonies.

The dead bodies are generally buried. Those of persons affected with such diseases as leprosy and of pregnant women are cremated ; and bodies of those meeting with unnatural death such as from wild animals are sometimes buried under stone heaps. The bodies of married persons are placed in a sitting, and those of others in a lying posture in the graves. When a Killókya dies, his body is washed and dressed in new clothes, and if it is a married woman, the hair is decked with flowers as for a bridal. Betel-leaves and nuts are crushed and kept in its mouth. It is placed on a quilt and is carried by four persons taking hold of the four corners, a fifth person holding up its head in position. The chief mourner carries a faggot of fire and a new earthen pot full of rice. While about half way to the burial ground, the bearers change sides, and the articles carried by the mourner are thrown away. At that place, the body is stripped of all clothing, and is placed in the grave with a bit of gold in its mouth. To retain it in a sitting posture, the head is fastened by a string to a peg driven to the side of the pit. After filling up, a stone slab is placed on the grave to mark the place of the head, and a Tulasi or a Tumbé plant is planted on the spot. The funeral party then bathe and return home to look at a lamp kept burning at the place of death. Thence they repair to a toddy shop euphemistically called Sabhá-Kachéri (meeting place) in Telugu, to drown their grief.

The family of the deceased do not cook their food on the first day, and some of their relatives send cooked food for them. On the third day, the mourners repair to the burial-ground with all the eatables, cooked and uncooked, which the deceased was fond of when alive, and offer two Edés, one at the spot where the corpse had been deposited on the way to the graveyard and the other on the grave. If crows do not eat up the food, they consider that the deceased had some cause for anger against the survivors, and make vows to satisfy his soul. If, however, crows hover over the food but do not touch it, they imagine that he had some particular longing in mind and promise to fulfil his wish. Then they bathe and return home and in the evening, take their near relatives to the toddy shop for a drink. On the eleventh day they observe the Tithi ceremony. Their castemen and other relatives are sent for. They cleanse the house and all bathe and put on washed clothes

A pot is set up in the house to which offerings of new clothes and food are made. The company then feast and drink in honour of the dead man. Another feast is held after three months, and a Tāli (a metal disk) on which an image of the deceased is engraved is consecrated with the sacrifice of a goat or sheep, and placed among the household gods.

There is no doubt that in this caste, real ancestor worship is practised. They say that the dead are not to be consigned wholly to the grave. (ಸತ್ತವರನ್ನು ಆಡಿಯಾಪಾಲ ಮಾಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.) They believe that their deceased ancestors, especially the married among them, always remain with them. The names of the departed should be given to children in the family.

Religion.

On occasions such as Dasara, Ugādi and Mahālaya Amāvāsya, they wash the images, burn incense near them and offer food and drink. In addition to the images of ancestors, they generally keep idols of Durgamma, Bhairava Dévaru and Anjanāya, which they worship on all festive occasions. Yallamma is another god to which they pay special reverence and celebrate Pūja periodically.

On such occasions, a toddy pot to the neck of which a saffron-coloured thread is tied, is placed in the shade of a margosa tree to represent the goddess, and animals are sacrificed before it. The praises of the goddess are sung, and the festival is celebrated with great eclat by the assembled castemen of the neighbourhood. They also offer Pūja to the god of small-pox, to Gangamma, the Sun, the Asvatha tree, and generally worship all the Hindu gods. They prefer to employ as Pūjaris (worshippers) young boys, who are considered to be yet uncontaminated with wordly vices.

The following description given of Killékýatas in the Bombay Presidency is more or less applicable to them in this State :—

“ Their two leading divinities are Mahādev and Durgavva. Mahādev is said to be found only in the houses of the head of the Gaṇāchāris, but many have Durgavva in their sheds and worship her themselves. Those who have no image of Durgavva, on her great day, a Tuesday about *Māgh* full moon in January-February, make an image of meal and worship it. They do not keep the sweet-basil plant or worship it. They worship their leather pictures and offer them *polis* or sugar-rolly-polis on *Ganesh-Cháturthi*, the bright fourth of Bhādrapad or August-September. During the first month after death on any convenient days the chief mourner kills a goat in honor of his house-gods and a brass image representing the dead is added to the gods. They

keep all the leading Hindu fasts and feasts, and a few sometimes make pilgrimages to Parasgad in Belgaum and to Pandharpur in Sholapur. Their priests are Ganacharis and the head Ganáchári is their spiritual teacher.\*

Killékýátas believe in omens and consult soothsayers. They believe that they can exorcise evil spirits by making the person possessed lie down near the boxes containing the pictures of their show.

Social  
status.

Killékýátas are a wandering tribe and live outside the villages in sheds constructed of arched bamboos covered with mats. Though they profess to be Kshatriyas, they are looked upon as very low in the social scale. But some of the Bombe section have on account of their education earned a respectable position and are received even by Brahmans into their houses. The showmen wander in definite areas and in some places have Inams given them on account of their proficiency in their art.

They admit recruits especially women from the higher castes, with the sanction of the Ganáchári obtained after payment of a fine.

They eat the flesh of sheep, goats, deer, hares and rabbits but eschew beef and pork. Both the sexes indulge in liquor. They eat in the houses of Kurubas, Uppáras and Bestas. Mádigas and Holeyas are the only castes who eat in the houses of the Killékýátas.

They have no social disabilities in the matter of conveniences in the village. The barbers may shave them but not pare their nails; but the fishing section have usually their own washerman.

Inherit-  
ance.

It is stated that the youngest son succeeds to the property of his parents by preference. This is brought about apparently by the fact that the elder ones set up separate sheds for themselves soon after marriage, and that the youngest remaining longest with the parents has to support them in their old age.

Caste  
constitution

They have a strong caste constitution, and in some matters such as marriage, excommunication and admission of strangers into the caste, the concurrence of the caste tribunal is indispensable. The head of the caste is styled Ganáchári, and there is also a chief over all the Ganácháris known as Sar Ganáchári. The Ganáchári presides over all meetings, directs marriage and other ceremonials and per-

\* Bijapur Gazetteer, page 199.

forms the purifying ceremony. He acts also as the Purôhit in marriages and throws the rice on the married pair. Next to him comes the Sivâchâri, whose duty is to apply sacred ashes to the head of the person subjected to any Prâyaschitta (purification). He belongs to Avêt division. The Néknâr also called Patêl is the head of a Kattêmane, that is, a seat of subordinate jurisdiction. In marriages, he has to untie the knot, tied by the Sivâchâri, of the hem of the bridal pair's garments. Pâchangya who is of the Atka division, has to distribute betel leaves and nuts in an assembly and when the next functionary Sindhya is absent, he has to spread the blanket for the caste people to sit on. Sindhya spreads the blankets on occasions of marriage and does the office of drummer. Sâlavya has to bring materials for erecting the marriage booth. Sâsanika puts Sâse\* to the bridal couple and Sinagâna who is called the Kôlkar of the caste, carries a baton in his hand, collects people of the caste and seats them in the regular order. He has also to attend the caste Panchâyati and execute the orders of the Ganâchâri, Sivâchâri and Néknâr. Dhuravya is another officer who buys provisions for a marriage.

\* Each of these offices is hereditary and belongs to a family in a particular exogamous division. The quantity of Pan-supari and the fee to be given to each of them on ceremonial occasions are fixed definitely.† The Bombe section have only five office-bearers stopping with the Sindhya who acts as the Kôlkar or servant of the caste. Whenever there is a caste dispute, all the office-holders of the caste, especially the first five of them, must join. If, however, on account of unavoidable reason any one does not appear, his function has to be carried out by the next lower; a representative of the Sindhya division, however, cannot preside at any caste deliberation. The matters of dispute that come up for settlement are such as adultery, divorce, abusing

\* *I.e.*, pouring handfuls of rice on their heads.

	Betel leaves	Nuts	Money
† Ganâchâri ...	5	5	5 quarter annas.
Sivâchâri ...	4	4	4 do
Néknâr ...	4	4	4 do
Pâchangi ...	4	4	4 do
Sindhya ...	2	2	2 do
Sâlavya ...	2	2	2 do
Sâsanik ...	2	2	2 do
Sinagâna ...	2	2	2 do
Dhuravya ..	1	1	1 do

caste people and striking some one with a shoe. In such cases the accused person has to answer the charge against him. When the charge is proved or admitted, the second official (Siváchári) who is specially invested with secular authority, settles the amount of fine which has to be paid by the culprit. After paying the fine, the latter passes round a hookah to all the members of the assembly, each of whom smokes it as a sign that the fault has been expiated. The business is finished with an entertainment of drink and dinner.

**Occupation.** The characteristic occupations of the caste are marionette shows and fishing. They play various scenes of the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, the former being more in demand. The dolls are cut out of goatskin and painted in gaudy colours. They are made of several members cut separately and joined together with wires and various motions and postures are caused by dexterous manipulation behind the curtain with the aid of thin bamboo splits. The action of the figures are made to correspond to the story as recited by the showman in prose and doggerel. For the minor class of showmen (ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಬೋಬೆ ಅಸುನವರು), the stage is made of screens of kamblies and white cloths borrowed of a washerman. The showman alone sits inside and uses both hands for moving the dolls. A woman sitting outside produces low shrill music with a reed sounded on the back of a flat dish of bell metal. The words of the play are crudely conceived, and often fit only for a low class audience. The stage of the Dodda Bombe A'tadavaru, on the other hand, is built on a raised platform and is decorated with plantain and mango leaves. It is spacious enough to accommodate within its curtains the whole troupe furnished with fiddle, drum, cymbals, etc. The text is taken from recognised books on the epics, and players including women are all literate. The women do the singing while the men show the pictures over the curtain. The play begins at about 10 p.m. and continues the whole night. The performance is enlivened by the appearance, on the scene at intervals, of the buffoons, a Killékyáta and his wife in fantastic garb, whose part sometimes borders on indecency. When the performance is over, the whole party go to every house in the village and get presents in kind, in addition to the lump sum collected by the whole village. Besides, during the enactment of the play they

demand for and obtain presents of cloths and other articles from the spectators. It is considered auspicious for rains and crops to have these shows about the harvest time, and in certain places, Killékyátas are entitled to customary annual fees for their services. Agriculturists draw with charcoal powder rude figures of a man on each of the corners of a field when there is crop on it. The various agricultural implements are said to be the limbs of this demon who is known as Karébhanta or Killékyáta. His brother known by the name of Jókumára is invoked to bring about rains in seasons of drought. He comes to being four days after the death of Vináyaka, *i.e.*, after Vináyaka's idol is removed after Púja on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Bhádrapada every year. Lime-burners make a rude earthen image of him. A boy takes this on his head and goes to all the houses in a village, singing songs and calling upon the god of rain to send rain to the earth. He gets doles of grain and a feast is held on the full-moon day. Next day, Jókumára is said to die of choking with a bone stuck in his throat. After death, he goes to the god of rain and implores him to send rain to moisten the parched up soil and to save people from dying of famine.

The fishing section who are expert swimmers live by fishing. During high floods they tie up two gourds together with a stout rope, and ride on the water over incredible distances by sitting astride on the floating rope between the gourds, riding as if it were a horse. They say they feel more at home in water than on land where there is fear of stumbling on stones and meeting snakes and evil spirits. These last never approach them on water for fear of being caught in the meshes of their nets.

Boys begin to swim at about ten, learning the art by imitation. Their expertness is such that not one of this caste is believed to have ever been drowned. They profess to take a man through the highest floods without any danger. They let him in water up to the neck and simply lead him by the hand, always keeping his head above water. They are not afraid of crocodiles and it is said that these huge reptiles are scared away when they see their bodies reflected in the water while riding.

The women of the Killékyáta section are expert tattooers and earn money by this profession.

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXIII.**

**MONDARU CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## MONDARU.

Monḍaru (మోండరు) form a small caste low in social scale which has been erroneously included under Jógis in the Census reports. It is therefore not possible to give any estimate of their number. The caste is said to have sprung from a couple belonging to the Mandala sub-division of the Bédā caste who married each other in ignorance of their belonging to the same exogamous section and were therefore put out of caste. Even now a beggar of the Monḍaru caste never enters the houses of Bédās and is not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala section. General.

The caste is generally known as Monḍaru and sometimes Banda in Telugu. The terms have come to denote obstinacy coupled with a lack of shame, but it is not easy to say whether the caste acquired the name on account of their character or the word its meaning as being the name of such a caste. They have no special caste titles added to their names, but they claim to belong to the Setṭi Phana, that is, the right-hand group of castes. Name.

They seem to be Telugu beggars and speak Telugu generally. They also know the language of the country they live in. They have a dialect which resembles that of the Dombars.\* In their dialect they style a man of their caste as Makárigáḍu (మకారి గాడు). Language.

The caste which originally was one has recently become divided into four or five endogamous groups, Uru Monḍaru (అరు మోండరు), Banda or Kákalu Monḍaru (బండ ఇథవె కాకలు మోండరు), Sikhandi Monḍaru (శిఖండి మోండరు) and Kastúri Monḍaru (కస్తూరి మోండరు). Uru Monḍaru live in villages and are a little more advanced than the others. The second lead a wandering life and are so called as they eat crow's flesh. Sikhandi Monḍaru are those who lie down in the streets for begging, covering the entire face with filth and mud to attract the attention of passers-by. They are perhaps so styled (Sikhandi means a hermaphrodite) as the men often appear covered in a woman's cloth. Kastúri means musk and the term is applied ironically to this Divisions.

\* See Appendix of the Dombār Caste, Monograph XIII.

class as they smear themselves with ordure and bring it with them in a gourd while begging, to compel persons to dismiss them soon with alms.

They have exogamous divisions of which some are the following :—Salla (సల్లా), Kamádula (కామాదూల), Mailúru (మైలూరు), Tella Mékala (తెల్ల మేకల) Maddibetla (మద్దిబెట్లా), Gavaraḍḍi (గవారాడ్డి) and Sáke (సాకే).

Birth cere-  
monies.

On the birth of a child a woman is kept in a separate hut and is unclean for three days. Their own midwife attends at the delivery and remains with her all the three days. A crow-catching net is hung at the door of the hut to ward off evil spirits. The navel cord with the afterbirth is put into an earthen vessel and placed near the woman, after smoking it with incense. On the third day the midwife offers Púja to it burning incense and breaking a cocoanut and buries it in a hole dug in front of the hut. The child is then bathed over this hole along with the mother. A dinner is given to the caste people and the child is named. When the child is a month old, white glass beads are tied to its neck and when it is five or seven years old, the tonsure ceremony is observed for both sexes before the temple of their god.

Marriage.

Mondaru observe the same prohibited degrees of consanguinity as the other Hindus. A man may marry his elder sister's daughter or the daughter of maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may be married either by one man or two brothers. A man may marry more than one wife but polyandry is not known. Marriages are generally adult but infant marriages are also allowed. Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the boy's family. If the girl's family consents to the match, the boy's party take betel leaves and nuts and four rupees in money to the girl's house for the ceremony of "Spreading the blanket." The girl's father is paid four rupees and a caste dinner is given. Four or five days before the day fixed for the marriage, the boy and his party go to the girl's house and there settle with the girl's father as to the number of invitations to be issued for the marriage and other important matters. On the morning of the wedding day, the pair are bathed and presented with new cloths. In the evening a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a blanket is spread. The boy and the girl are seated there facing each other with Kankapas of turmeric

root tied to their wrists. Two Arivéni pots filled with rice and dhal and covered with lids are brought by married women and placed one near the bridegroom and the other near the bride. The boy and the girl are besmeared with turmeric paste and all the married women individually present the girl with rice and other articles placed in her garment. Then the couple rise with the fringes of their garments knotted together and are taken round both the Arivéni pots three times. A man of the Sáke section unties the knot and then the boy and the girl go into their huts. Then a dinner is given to the caste.

Next day in the evening, the girl puts on a white Sádi. The bridegroom and the bride are seated on a Kambli between the Arivéni pots. All the people assembled throw some rice on their heads. The couple then rise and stand facing each other. The boy takes the Tali in his hands and placing his left foot on the right foot of the girl, ties it to her neck. This finishes the marriage ceremony. Then all the assembled married pairs present pour Sáse over the married pair. Next day the father of the girl gives a dinner to all; and if the girl has already attained puberty, the consummation of marriage also takes place.

The Mondaru who have settled in villages observe the ceremonies more elaborately and put up a Pandal and pour Dhäre. The ceremonies are continued for five days and either a Jangam or a Brahman is also invited to conduct the ceremony.

The amount of Tera varies between six rupees and sixteen rupees. As regards the cost of marriage, the expenses of the first two days are to be paid for by the boy's family and those of the third day by the girl's.

When a girl attains puberty she is considered impure Puberty. for five days and sits by herself in a shed of green leaves. Before putting up the shed, a cocoanut is broken on the spot selected and the maternal uncle, or in his absence, a man who is in marriageable relation to the girl procures the materials. On the fifth day, the girl is bathed and the shed is pulled down and burnt by the uncle. On the day the girl bathes, her relatives present her with dry cocoanut, jaggory and fried grain.

Widow marriage is permitted and freely practised. Widow marriage. They avoid the same prohibited degrees of relationship for

such marriages as for the regular marriages. A widow is not permitted to marry her deceased husband's brother. A fine of six rupees is paid to the caste and the Tera, which is half the amount required for a virgin marriage, is paid to the relations of the woman's deceased husband. A bachelor may marry a widow and disparity of age is no bar. The ceremony is held in the evening and no auspicious day is necessary. In the presence of the caste people, the husband presents a cloth to the woman which she wears, and ties the Tali; and it is said that married women may not only be present when the ceremony takes place, but actually assist at it.

**Divorce.**

Their morals are believed to be lax and a separation may take place on very slight grounds. The party at fault may freely marry again, provided the expenses of the previous marriage are reimbursed and a fine paid to the caste. A woman suspected of adultery may have her fault condoned by either corporal punishment inflicted by the husband, or in very serious cases by payment by the husband of a fine to the caste.

**Funerals.**

Mondaru dispose of dead bodies by burial. The corpse is rolled up in a new cloth and carried by hands to the burial ground where it is stripped naked and interred in the grave. The party wash their hands and feet and repair to a toddy shop, where they all drink and have a few drops of the liquid sprinkled on their heads as a mark of purification. Thence they all return to the hut of the deceased and look at a lamp kept alight on the spot where he breathed his last. On the third day or Chinna Dinam (చిన్న దినము) they cook together all such articles of food as the deceased was fond of, including crow's flesh, and place it on the grave on a plantain leaf. On the eleventh day the spot on which the deceased died is cleaned. Food is cooked there in a new earthen vessel and an Ede offered before a lamp-stand (నామకంబం) after Púja is performed by a Dásayya. Each of the deceased's relatives puts a little incense on the fire kept near the stand and prays to the ghost of the deceased for his welfare. They do not perform Sráddhas but on the Mahálaya Amávásya all bathe and placing new clothes near a Kalasa, burn incense and offer cocoanuts in the names of all the deceased ancestors.

**Religion.**

They worship all the Hindu gods but their favourite deities are Máramma, Kollápuramma, Sunkalamma and other minor goddesses. Once a year, on a Tuesday or a

Friday, they set up a stone in the names of these goddesses at the foot of a margosa tree and sacrifice a pig, which they cook and eat on the spot. Gurumúrti is another god they worship, to which they offer Púja on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Asháḍha (July-August) month. They believe in the existence of devils and say that persons who die an unnáatural death become devils and always hover on large trees and at the meeting of three paths. The spirit of a man always catches a woman and that of a woman catches a man. They resort to exorcising it with the help of a devil-scarer.

Monḍaru occupy a low place in the social scale. They are regarded as unclean people and are not generally touched even by non-Brahmans. They are a wandering class and live in huts pitched outside villages or under trees or in deserted temples or Maṇṭapas. They are, however, allowed to use the common well of the village. The barber shaves them but does not pare their nails and the washerman does not touch the cloth worn by a woman during her monthly sickness. Those of them who have succeeded in attaining a better position in life than their confreres have settled down in villages and are treated socially somewhat like Bédars. They admit outsiders into their caste. They follow the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, pigs and also crows and drink toddy and other country and foreign liquor. They do not eat beef or the flesh of monkeys, kites, vultures or snakes or the leavings of other people. No other castes, not even Mádigas, eat in their houses.

Social  
status.

They are beggars by profession but some have settled down to agriculture. Even the latter have to go out begging at least once a year. They wander about singing or rather warbling, for they utter inarticulate words, and if money or grain be not given to them they sit obstinately in front of houses and compel the owners by various practices to comply with their demand. They go about on their begging excursion almost naked and are distinguished by iron bangles worn on their forearms, a band of twisted rags on their right upper arm, and a band of human hair round their left wrist. Their object is evidently to make themselves as disgusting in appearance as possible and they add to their personal charms by cutting themselves with a blunt knife so as to draw blood and smear their limbs with it. They also vomit forcibly

Occupation



or spit out gruel which they carry in a gourd for the purpose. As they approach a house, they announce their presence by making a peculiar whirring guttural sound and belching as if ready to vomit. They beg from all castes including Mádigas, but when they go to houses of Bédars, Akkasáles and Mondaru living in villages, they must receive what is voluntarily given and should not resort to annoyance for enforcing compliance.

Caste or-  
ganisation.

The caste is divided into several groups, each of which has the right to collect alms within a particular area. If any of them trespass into another's tract against his will, he will be punished with a fine by the caste Pancháyat. Each of these groups has a headman called Gudi-gádu. They have no caste servant, but whenever any meeting of the caste is called together, the man at whose instance it is convened has to collect the people. They meet periodically to decide the more important disputes.

Miscella-  
neous.

When they are not begging, they put on the ordinary dress. Men grow their hair long and matted, which they tie round into a conical shape when begging.

(Preliminary Issue.)

**The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXIV.**

**KUMBĀRAS CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## KUMBÁRAS.

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Kumbáras are makers of earthen pots and tiles, and form an important section of a village community. They numbered, according to the Census of 1901, 43,418, of whom 22,839 were males. The largest number of them is found in the Mysore District, the rest being scattered in the remaining districts. Owing to the reluctance of the Siváchúr section among them to return themselves as Kumbáras, it is likely that their number, according to the Census, is below the mark. General.

The caste is commonly known as Kumbáras (ಕುಂಬಾರರು). Name.  
One section describe themselves as belonging to the family of Gundā Brahma (ಗುಂಡಾಬ್ರಹ್ಮವಂಶದವರು) or Gundābhaktaru (ಗುಂಡಾಭಕ್ತರು), while another section say they are the descendants of Sáliváhana (ಸಾಲೀವಾಹನವಂಶದವರು), the reputed originator of the Era of that name. Those that have embraced Lingáyatism are gradually disowning the name of Kumbáras, and when pressed for an answer, say that they are Lingáyats who have adopted the profession of pot-making. Kumbáras have no other names. The proper honorific suffix of their name is Setti; but ordinarily men add *Appa*, *Ayya* or *Anna* and women *Amma* or *Akka* to their names. Kumbára is from Sanskrit Kunbhakára, maker of pots, and the other names mentioned refer to their supposed descent from persons bearing those names.

The progenitor of the caste is said to have been one Gundayya, also styled Gundābrahma. He is believed to have sprung from Gundā or the fireplace in which the three gods of the Triad together offered sacrifice. He was appointed to make pots for the use of earthly beings. The section who style themselves as Sáliváhanas separated from the main body in course of time. They trace their origin from Sáliváhana, said to have been begotten by a Brahman on a damsel of the potter caste. A learned Brahman, while away from home, discovered that offspring impregnated at a particular moment would become a mighty king, and was hastening back to meet his wife. When he arrived at the bank of the Krishna, a storm Origin.

overtook him and he was obliged to seek shelter in the house of a potter. The lucky hour was fast approaching, and the Brahman became more and more impatient. The potter, on learning what it was that was troubling the Brahman, begged him to allow his daughter to share the luck of the auspicious moment and Sáliváhana was the fruit of the union.

The boy was left with his mother in the potter's house and was duly instructed in the trade. As he grew up, however, he showed an inclination to neglect his proper work and took a delight in manufacturing toy soldiers, horses and implements of war. He stored them all carefully in a room, though his grandfather would have been glad if the boy would devote his time to the more useful work of making pots. The king of the country, who had a bad reputation as an oppressor of the poor, sent his messengers to extort money ; and when they reached the old potter's house, Sáliváhana jeered at them and drove them away with whips. The complaint reached the king who naturally got angry and ordered a small company of men to raze the potter's house to the ground and to drag the presumptuous boy to his presence. The young man in the meanwhile had opened the door of his magazine and sprinkled holy water on the toys that he had stored there. The men and animals came to life and a fully equipped army was ready at his service. The king's men were cut to pieces and later on the whole army was utterly routed and the king himself slain. Sáliváhana seized the throne and ruled the country very successfully.

#### Divisions.

There are three main divisions among the Kumbáras : Telugu Kumbáras (తెలుగు కుంబారರು), otherwise known as Sajjana Kumbáras (సజ్జన కుంబారరు), Kannada Kumbáras (ಕನ್ನಡ ಕುಂబಾರರು), and Lingáyat Kumbáras (ಲಿಂಗಾಯತ ಕುಂಬಾರರು). There are said to be two more divisions styled Kudipaṭṭala (కుడిపాట్ల) and Tamil Kumbáras (தமிழ் குంబாரರು). The former is a division found in almost all the castes, the women whereof wear their garment (Sīre) so as to allow its loose end to fall on the right shoulder, and the latter division is linguistic and applies only to the Tamil speaking section, of whom there are few in the State.\*

\* NOTE. Nīligáras, spoken of in the Census Report of 1901, were, it appears, a division of Kumbáras who were dyeing cloth with indigo colour. This section is scarcely found now in the State. It is also reported that some Kumbáras drew toddy and were hence called Idiga Kumbáras.

These divisions are not only endogamous but do not sometimes eat together. The third division who wear the Linga, are, for all practical purposes, considered as Lingáyats, following the rites and ceremonies peculiar to that sect and having a Jangama as their priest.

There is little doubt that the Lingáyat section are recent converts from the main body. Some, however, namely, the Sajjana section, state that they were all Lingáyats originally but lost rank by taking to drinking and flesh-eating. It is said that one of them who was possessed of extraordinary powers was put out of caste for indulging himself in these forbidden practices. To revenge himself he sent plague and pestilence amongst them and would not relent till most of his castemen joined and partook of the forbidden food and drink. Only a few who had fled from their homes remained as Lingáyats.

Kannada Kumbáras have a large number of exogamous divisions, but many, especially those in the Mysore District, have forgotten them. The names, as usual, represent some material object, such as a plant or an animal, and the members of a division observe the usual prohibitions against eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing that division. The following are a few of them :—Kastúri (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ musk) kula, Sámantigé (ಪ್ಯಾಮಂತಿಗೆ crysanthemum) kula, Nágara (ನಾಗರ cobra) kula, Kendávare (ಕಂದಾವರೆ red lotus) kula, and Rávaḷa (ರಾವಳ a drug) kula.

The Sajjana Kumbáras had, they say, one hundred and eight divisions formerly, but many of them having subsequently become Lingáyats, the number has been reduced to sixteen. Some of them bear the names of material objects to which they show the usual respect, while most of them bear territorial names.

The Lingáyat Kumbáras are also said to have similar exogamous divisions but those of them who live in towns give out, like other Lingáyats, five gótras named after Rénuka, Dáruka, Gajakarṇa, Ghaṇṭakarṇa and Visva-karṇa.

A woman is considered impure for ten days on giving birth to a child. During this period of pollution, the woman is confined in a room at the door of which are placed an old shoe and a crowbar to scare away the evil spirits. Old rags are received from the neighbours for the child's bed. On the eleventh day, the mother and the

Birth ceremonies



child are bathed and the mother is given some stimulating drugs to keep warm. For the purification ceremony, the Kannaḍa Kumbáras invite a Brahman, while the others have their own priests. The child is named and put into a cradle in the evening. In some cases either an astrologer or a soothsayer is consulted as to the name.

Unlike the other Lingáyats, the Lingáyat Kumbáras observe birth pollution for ten days, but the ceremonies connected with the birth are the same as those among other Lingáyats. On the day of the birth of the child, a Jangama priest is called. His feet are washed and a drop of this water is put into the child's mouth. On the eleventh day, after the bath, a Linga is given to the child which the mother keeps with her till he is old enough to take charge of it.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. Mópúrappa may be taken as a name very commonly used among them. Opprobrious names are given, and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames such as Gidḍa (dwarf), Kariya (black), Kempa (red) are also common.

The confined woman becomes fully purified only at the end of the third month, when she offers Púja to Ganga at a well and visits a temple in the evening. The tonsure ceremony to the child takes place generally in the third year and in the case of Lingáyat Kumbáras, Díksha or the ceremony of initiation into the mysteries of the Lingáyat cult, takes place when the child is about ten years of age.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is allowed and practised when a man has no natural-born son alive. A brother's son or a boy belonging to the same division, is preferred ; but if no such boy is available an outsider may be taken. A man may adopt his daughter's or sister's son, but cannot adopt his own brother. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes of a similar status.

#### Marriage.

Marriages may be infant or adult ; but of late, owing to the influence of higher castes, such as Brahmans, infant marriage is becoming very popular among the well-to-do people and those living in towns. As already observed, they have both endogamous and exogamous divisions and there is nothing peculiar to the caste in the matter of prohibited relationships for marriages. Exchange of daughters is allowed but is not common. Polygamy is permitted and is practised only when the first wife either has no children or is afflicted with an incurable disease. But polyandry is unknown.

For settling the marriage, the bridegroom's party go to the girl's house announcing that they wish "to eat sweets." The Oppu Vilya, (ಒಪ್ಪು ವೀಲ್ಯ) or agreement by exchange of Tambúla, then takes place and some presents are given to the girl.

The marriage proper may take place either in the boy's or in the girl's house. The first day is devoted to the worship of their family god (god's feast) and to the propitiation of the deceased ancestors by the offerings of clothes and food, before a Kalasa installed in their name. On the evening of that day, a pandal is erected on twelve pillars, one of which, the milk-post, is brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle of either party and set up by married women. In the same night, Arivéni's (or sacred pots) are brought from another Kumbára's house.

Next day early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom get their nails pared and bathe in Malenru. After presenting some bangles to married women, the girl is made to put on new bangles, and new clothes and ornaments. This is styled Banna Bangára Sástra (ಬಣ್ಣ ಬಂಗಾರಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ) ceremony of clothing and ornamenting). The bridegroom, in the meanwhile, is dressed in new clothes and conducted to the temple. After a short stay there, when the clothes, jewels, turmeric and other articles are sent to the girl's house, he is taken to the marriage pandal by his parents-in-law, with a Bháshinga tied to the forehead, and a dagger in his hand. An Arati is waved before him at the entrance and then he goes and stands on the dais facing the west. The bride is brought there by her maternal uncle and made to stand opposite to him with a screen dividing the two.

Then the throwing of cummin seed and jaggory on each other's head at the appointed time, pouring of Dháre water, tying of the Táli and Kankanas and other items take place in the usual course as in other castes. After going round the "Milk-post" and worshipping the Arundhati star, the couple bow before the Arivéni pots, get the Bháshingas removed by the maternal uncle and eat the common meal served in dishes before the Arivéni pots.

Among the Sajjana Kumbáras, the Púja of their tribal deity Gunda Brahma is held the next day. All bathe and put on Maḍi (washed) clothes. The image of the god is brought from their Kattémane for the occasion and the

Púja is done by a man of the Dévara sub-division. After worship, the idol is taken in procession through all the Kumbára streets. On return to the house, the bridal pair make their offerings to the god. Then Tírtha and Prasáda are distributed to all.

The Nágavali takes place the next day, in which the chief events are the bringing of ant-hill earth, worshipping pandal posts and the worship of Simhásana in the evening. The Sajjana Kumbáras are very punctilious in the matter of distribution of Támbúlas. For example, fourteen Támbúlas must be given for Gauḍa division, eight Támbúlas for each of Dévara and Chaudh divisions and six Támbúlas for Madanapu division. Támbúlas are also set apart on this occasion for other sections of Kumbáras. This night "Milk-post" is loosened and the next day the bride and the bridegroom, with some of their relatives, go to the bridegroom's village, and after a sojourn of a few days there, the bride returns to her father's house.

Some of them get a Brahman to regulate their ceremonies while others perform them under the direction of their own Gowḍa.

The bride price varies from twenty-five rupees to fifty rupees. A widower has not to pay anything more but, as a matter of fact, an additional jewel styled Savati Bangára (ಸವತಿಬಂಗರ co-wife's gold) is generally demanded.

If the girl has already come of age, the couple are generally allowed to live together from any subsequent auspicious day, without any further ceremony, but some observe the custom of having a separate ceremonial for it. In such a case, the ceremony begins on a Thursday and ends on a Saturday. It is the custom in some places to allow a period of three months to elapse between the marriage and the consummation ceremony.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, when she is made to live in a shed of green leaves. The usual precautions against the attacks of evil spirits are taken and an elderly woman sleeps with the girl during the nights. She bathes on the fourth day, but is not admitted into the inner part of the house till the sixteenth day has passed, when she is taken to a river and does Gangápúja. If the girl has been already married the Osage ceremony takes place this day. In the case of unmarried girls, Osage is not observed now but is put off to some day before the ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence.

•Widow marriage is generally allowed, but is not popular with some sections, especially that of Sajjana Kumbáras, though some of them seem anxious to reintroduce the practice. Widow marriage.

The remarried widow labours, as in other castes of a similar status, under such disadvantages as not entering the marriage pandal and her offspring forming a separate line at least for three generations. The bride-price is Rs. 12½. No regularly married woman takes part in the ceremonies and in some places they do not see the face of the remarried widow for three days.

Divorce is not popular, and takes place only among the more backward portion of the caste living in villages. The divorced woman may not marry a second time. If the divorce is brought about by the adultery of the woman with a man of the same caste, the latter has to pay the aggrieved husband his marriage expenses. Adultery with a man of the same caste may be condoned on payment of a small fine. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste may be married to him in the lower form of marriage styled Kúḍaváli (union). Divorce.

Except in the case of lepers or persons who meet with an unnatural death, by wild beasts or otherwise, the corpses of Kumbáras are buried. All carry the dead body in a lying posture, except the Lingáyats, who carry it in a sitting posture and bury it according to the ceremonies observed by other Lingáyats. Among the Sajjana Kumbáras persons carrying the corpse put on a Janivára (sacred thread) and also invest the dead body with one. These threads are removed and thrown into the grave while filling it up. If a widow survives, she is made to exchange Tábúla with the dead body, as indicating a final farewell. After interment all go to a well or a river, bathe and return to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. Death ceremony.

The third and eleventh day ceremonies take place as in other castes, such as Okkaligas. They observe pollution for ten days for the nearest agnates, and three days for more distant ones. For the death of a daughter's son, they simply bathe over head to get rid of the pollution. They do not observe Sráddhas, but on the Mahálaya New-moon day, they offer rice doles and money to Brahmans to propitiate all the deceased ancestors.

Kumbáras worship both Siva and Vishnu as well as his ordinary local deities. Even the Lingáyats among Religion.

them, reverence Vishnu and sometimes bear Vaishṇava names. Their tribal god is known by the name of Kumbhésvara (god of pots) to whom the non-Iṅḡāyat Kumbhāras offer animal sacrifice. At Minakanagurki, in the Goribidnur Taluk, there is a temple dedicated to one Kondappa who had been an Avadhūta during his life-time. An annual Jātra is held at this spot and they generally take advantage of the occasion to settle their caste disputes.

They worship also the implements of their profession, such as the kiln, Chakra or the wheel, Kōlu or the stick with which they turn the wheel, and the stone used for beating and finally giving shape to the vessels. They hold a grand worship of their tribal god during marriages on the day after the Dhāre.

Mōpūri Bhairava is another of their special deities of which they often keep an image in their houses for worship.

#### Occupation.

Kumbhāras have generally adhered to their original industry, that is, making of pots and tiles. They used to dye cloths formerly, but that profession has almost completely gone out of use now. The potter is one of the recognised village functionaries, and in places still under the influence of the old customary régime, he gets his yearly fees in kind and supplies earthen pots free to the raiyats. He was also bound to supply pots required for communal purposes, such as Pūja of the village deity or common feeding. He ranks higher than the washerman and the barber.

The Kumbhāra works with the most rudimentary tools. He gets his earth out of a field set apart for the purpose, or digs it out of the bed of a tank. The clay is well mixed by being trodden on, and is generally transported in carts to the place of work. The wheel is made of twigs and leaves bound together on two cross twigs and plastered over with mud mixed with hair or other similar binding material. It turns on a pivot (an iron peg or nail) fixed on a pedestal of mud. He turns it about deftly with a long stick which helps him to do work without bending his back.

The tiles and pots are turned out with considerable speed and they are all dried in the sun and afterwards baked in a round oven in which the articles are placed.

#### Social status.

Kumbhāras are regarded as pretty high among the Sūdra classes and come next only to Okkaligas and Kurubas. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The Kannada section of the Kumbhāras, it is said, admit persons of higher castes into their ḍvya, but the other division strictly prohibit

such conversion. But all sections readmit persons thrown out of their caste, the usual ceremony, such as procuring them Tírtha and Prasáda, slightly burning the tongue with a gold bit or a margosa twig, being observed. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas and Kurubas, and Bestas, Agasas and Bédas eat in their houses. Kumbáras are flesh eaters, but abstain from liquor. They belong to the Eighteen Phaṇas and their caste sign, namely, the wheel, is shown on the spoon and the ladle, the insignia of the Eighteen Phaṇas, and they are served by the Chalavádi, the servant of their Phaṇa group.

Kumbáras are a well-organised body and each section has its own caste government, but it is said that whenever an important question affecting the whole caste has to be considered, the headmen of all these divisions join together. During marriages not only are the heads of their own groups respected, but those of other divisions are given Maryáda Tábúlas. Thus, it is said, that when a marriage takes place in the house of a Kumbára of the Lingáyat persuasion, Tábúlas are given or sent to the headmen of the non-Lingáyat Kumbára group.

Tribal  
organiza-  
tion.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. The women of the Sajjana Kumbára section do not put on the nose screw; and when questioned as to the origin of the custom, they say that the man who went to fetch it during a marriage did not return in time and the marriage had to be performed without it. Hence the women could not wear the ornament afterwards. Kumbára women get tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty, with such ordinary designs as a plantain tree, and a bunch of glass bangles (ಬಳ್ಳೆಮಲ್ಲಾರ).

Miscellaneous.













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